



**AGE OF TRANSITION:  
A STUDY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIAN PRIVATE GIRLS'  
SCHOOLS 1875-1925**

by

**Helen M. J. Reid**

O.A.M. M.A.(Edin.) M.Ed. St.(Adel) Dip. Ed.(Oxon) Cert. Ed.(Scot)

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Graduate School of Education  
University of Adelaide**

**May, 1996.**

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgments</b>		p. iii
<b>Dedication</b>		p. iii
<b>Declaration</b>		p. iv
<b>Abstract</b>		p. v
<b>List of Tables</b>		p. vi
<b>List of Illustrations</b>		p. vii
<b>Chapter 1</b>	Setting the Background: The Victorian Middle Class	p. 1
<b>Chapter 2</b>	The South Australian Middle Class	p. 42
<b>Chapter 3</b>	Ladies' Education - a Quiet Transformation	p. 75
<b>Chapter 4</b>	The Hardwicke Enterprise, 1873 - 1910	p. 122
<b>Chapter 5</b>	Mrs Thornber's Unley Park School, 1855 - 1910	p. 158
<b>Chapter 6</b>	Dryburgh House, 1876 - 1914	p. 196
<b>Chapter 7</b>	Yoothamurra School, Glenelg, 1892 - 1926	p. 238
<b>Conclusion</b>		p. 274
<b>Appendices:</b>	<b>I</b> South Australian Private Venture Girls' Schools 1850-1925	p. 296
	<b>II</b> Map I: South Australia	p. 305
	<b>III</b> Map II: Adelaide Districts	p. 306
	<b>IV</b> Map III: City of Adelaide and Districts	p. 307
	<b>V</b> Map IV: Adelaide District tram routes	p. 308
<b>Bibliography</b>		p. 309

## Minor Amendments

The author is grateful for the following suggestions from examiners in Australia and Canada.

- p. 8, n. 32      At the birth of her first child the average age of a mother was 27.3 years.
- p. 32, l. 5      considers
- p. 33, l. 3      'helpful information' in place of 'valuable insight'.
- p. 33, para 3    The complexity of the female experience suggests that a multiple array of theoretical tools is needed to clarify its relevance and analyse its importance. In the attempt to understand the social and educational development of girls at this period of the South Australian record, elements from various branches of history will be used. These include a consideration of social history and women's history and of conceptual frameworks of feminist historians, including those of subjectivity.
- p. 39, para 2    An understanding of how South Australian girls viewed themselves has been attempted by reviewing diaries and contemporary personal writing and making an analysis of feelings, aspirations and inner thoughts.
- p. 43, para 2,    2nd last line 'gain' in place of 'gained'
- p. 44, para 2    ideal woman
- p. 59, l. 10      Close quote thus: standards].'
- p. 71, l. 20      remove '
- p. 99, l. 1       a venture
- p. 13, n. 71     Tilly
- p. 122, n. 4     Many ladies' schools were advertised in the local daily press. See Chapter 3.
- p. 131, para 2   'This infectious disease' replaced by 'Tuberculosis'.
- p. 304            Add footnote: Source: Local contemporary newspapers, mainly the *Register*.

The convention of small letters for academic disciplines and capital letters for examination subjects has been used throughout the thesis.

1.9.96

## Acknowledgments

I wish to record my appreciation to my supervisors, Mr Ian Brice and Dr Gillian Weiss for their incisive criticism, helpful debate and patience throughout the writing of this thesis. My thanks also go to other helpful members of staff of the Department of Education at the University of Adelaide, especially the Head, Mr Robert Brown and to librarians at the Barr Smith and Mortlock Library. To the many Old Scholars and their descendants who so graciously responded to my appeal for information and to the historians and friends who took an interest in the project, I express my sincere thanks. Dr R. Petersen of the University of Sydney has been particularly generous with his time and comments. With too many names to mention, I have been fortunate to have had such invaluable support.

## Dedication

This work is dedicated to the pioneering Australian Headmistresses, on whose heritage we still build.



## Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not include any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any University. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any material previously written or published by another person unless duly acknowledged.

I consent to the thesis being made available for photocopying and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

May, 1996

## Abstract

This thesis examines Victorian middle class values and expectations transplanted to early colonial South Australia to determine the significance of the 'English curriculum with accomplishments' in shaping female roles in the context of social mobility and the establishment of civil institutions and enlightened mores. Previous studies of girls' education beyond elementary level have concentrated mainly on the Advanced School for Girls, the University and the few Church schools founded before 1900. This study surveys numerous privately owned, often transient ladies' schools in existence since 1838 and then examines in depth four of the most significant and enduring in Adelaide.

Acceptance of women from the opening of the University in 1876 acted as a stimulus to transform the orthodox education of ladies' schools. Maintaining an emphasis on accomplishments, particular schools paid greater attention to the development of academic rigour, adopting a structured curriculum which prepared girls for competitive examinations. This work examines these schools' response to change and the resultant impact on pupils in terms of expanding their life choices.

With over one hundred pupils, Hardwicke, 1873-1910, gained initial examination success under its first untrained Headmistress, Mrs Shuttleworth. Subsequently, the wide interests of its professionally trained proprietors, the Misses Tilly, ensured that pupils were exposed to a variety of educational opportunities. Girls at Mrs Thornber's Unley Park School, 1855-1910, experienced a stimulating academic education in which the accomplishments were highlighted, as were the arts of civilised living. Under the moral rubric of seeking 'truth and beauty', Mrs Kelsey's Dryburgh House, 1876-1914, also accentuated rigour in the accomplishments while encouraging the formation of future independence.

These three schools pioneered an outward-looking education which developed increasingly autonomous young women who could adjust to contemporary social change. They contrast with the fourth establishment, Miss Dow's Yoothamurra, 1892-1926, which adhered to traditional and more limited aims.

The study concludes with an assessment of the significance of private schools and their proprietors on the transformation of girls' education and argues that their contribution rivalled that of the Advanced School and laid the foundation for larger corporate Church schools, the evolving pattern of the twentieth century.

## List of Tables

<b>I</b>	South Australian Population at Census Dates 1844-1921	p. 61
<b>II</b>	Population of Metropolitan Adelaide 1851-1921	p. 61
<b>III</b>	Primary Examination: Honours Results 1878-1880	p. 111
<b>IV</b>	Primary Examination: Option Passes 1878-1880	p. 111
<b>V</b>	Hardwicke Public Examinations 1878-1900	p. 139
<b>VI</b>	Unley Park Public Examinations 1890-1906	p. 170
<b>VII</b>	Number of Unley Park School Pupils 1890-1906	p. 179
<b>VIII</b>	A Comparison of Unley Park School/Tormore Numbers 1907-1910	p. 191
<b>IX</b>	Dryburgh Public Examinations 1880-1891	p. 203
<b>X</b>	A Comparison of Examination Certificates 1890-1891	p. 203
<b>XI</b>	Dryburgh Public Examinations 1893-1912	p. 204
<b>XII</b>	Dryburgh Art Examination Successes 1891-1906	p. 208
<b>XIII</b>	Yoothamura Music Examination Successes 1892-1902	p. 247
<b>XIV</b>	Comparison Yoothamurra/Dryburgh Examination Results 1899-1907	p. 255

## List of Illustrations

<b>I</b> Hardwicke College	p. 121
<b>II</b> The Unley Park School	p. 157
<b>III</b> Dryburgh House	p. 195
<b>IV</b> Yoothamurra	p. 237



## Chapter 1

### Setting the Background - The Victorian Middle Class

‘A person of bourgeois origin goes through life with some expectation of getting what he wants, within reasonable limits. Hence the fact that in times of stress ‘educated’ people tend to come to the front.’<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

The foundation of South Australia in 1836 differed from the genesis of other Australian colonies. In contrast to convict origins, Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s initial blueprint conceived a free and liberal society, built on British institutions. Provision for education received the early attention of the South Australian School Society, but its plans for government schooling proved inadequately financed and the province’s *laissez faire* policies ensured that private venture schools were prominent from the first. In the initial Education Ordinance of 1847, the government subsidised practising arrangements of educational provision and offered State Aid to schools set up by churches.<sup>2</sup> This was strongly contested and resulted in the 1851 Act which, while subsidising licensed schools of over twenty pupils, disallowed sectarian teaching. The main object of these Acts was to increase the provision of universal elementary education in schools which catered for boys and girls together. Wishing to retain an air of gentility and moral rectitude in their girls, middle class parents feared this intermingling. They had clear family aims of rising in society and were mindful of the value of education in the process. Ambitious colonists, therefore, readily supported private establishments for their children. This clientele assured the emergence of numerous small, often transitory, girls’ schools in a domestic setting, with little accountability beyond market forces and no official registration or inspection, to meet the educational need of girls, society’s future builders and mothers.

Alison Mackinnon argues that ‘Education systems, whether one views them as reflecting social change or as part of a dialectical relationship in that change, play a crucial part in the reproduction of that society.’<sup>3</sup> The adoption of particular aims and practices in certain schools may make them agents of social change, not merely reproducers of society or

---

<sup>1</sup> George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*, (London: Secker and Warburg, 1959), Chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Vick, ‘The Central Board of Education 1852-1875’, M. Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> A. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1984), p. 5.

reflectors of changes occurring elsewhere. The importance of the educative process in shaping society is a debatable topic. The work will consider the role of girls' schools with this question in mind.

This thesis explores the opportunities for schooling which were available to South Australian middle class girls in the context of a developing and shifting society. The work has a particular interest in changes of educational aim and emphasis determined by the increasing complexity of societal organisation and in the mutable status of women in the community. It seeks to understand the relations between men and women and the subsequent impact on educational possibilities for their children. The effect which education had on the society is also discussed.

This work particularly examines four schools which were prominent private educators of girls. Though without institutional backing, they have been selected as they appear to have been among the few which were comparatively enduring. Aspects of their programmes and philosophy have been briefly discussed in the work of South Australian historians Helen Jones and Alison Mackinnon.<sup>4</sup> Even though their presence on the official record is seldom noted as little information concerning private schools was required officially, additional material, sometimes sparse and uneven, has been uncovered. This research exposes a richer picture of: Hardwicke College (1873-1910), a predominantly Methodist establishment; Mrs Thornber's Unley Park School (1855-1910), a small 'cottage school' which developed into a conspicuous boarding school; Dryburgh House (1876-1914), which catered for the comfortable families of the nearby boys' foundations; and Yoothamurra (1892-1926), a ladies' boarding school in seaside Glenelg. Each, created as a result of the lady proprietor's misfortune and necessity to carve a livelihood for a dependent family, is now extinct.

A view held by at least two historians is that Wakefield's concept of the colony of South Australia was a critique of both the convict Australian colonies and the structure of British economic arrangements in the throes of the Industrial Age.<sup>5</sup> However, in building a new order where civil liberty, social opportunity and equality of denominational religion were assured, certain British patterns were adopted, including a society structured by class. Whereas the English configuration was rigidly defined affording little movement between

---

<sup>4</sup> H. Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1985), pp. 66-95; H. Jones, *In Her own Name: Women in South Australian History from 1836*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1994), pp. 31-48; Mention is also made in her 'History of Commercial Education in South Australia', M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1967; Mackinnon, *One Foot*, especially pp. 91-98, 102-103, 113, 139-140; A. Mackinnon, *The New Women*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986) has occasional references; A. Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women: Women, Higher Education and Family Formation in South Australia 1880-1920', Ph.D thesis, University of Adelaide, 1989, pp. 109-117.

<sup>5</sup> D. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1957), pp. 52, 89; E. Richards, *Flinders Social History of South Australia*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986), p. 89.

classes, the new society was more realistically conceived along a continuum, with the possibility of relocation up or down depending on personal initiative and industry allied to the ability to optimise auspicious circumstances. Though they rejected notions of patronage and inherited superiority, emigrants transported social theories and ideologies central to English life.

Therefore, in order to locate the derivative South Australian scene within its historical and social context, this chapter discusses elements of the British Victorian class system. Salient features of the middle class, including the centrality of Evangelical religion and its implications in family life and the notion of 'separate spheres', will be examined. Attention will be given to the ideology of domesticity and the 'Ideal Woman'. The formation of femininity in the home and in the context of schooling will be analysed in order to understand the influence of wider economic, social, cultural and ideological factors on the education of girls. The changing position of women along a dependency/autonomy continuum will also be considered.

### **The Victorian Class System**

Work of historians Margaret Bryant, Joan Burstyn, Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, Carol Dyhouse, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Joyce Senders Pedersen and June Purvis, among others, has contributed to a rich British historiography of the topic.<sup>6</sup> Common to their ideas are notions of class and gender. A consideration of the origins of the increasing separation of lives along these divides reveals that in British aristocratic life, where economic security of family and kin was assured by the tenure of land, responsibilities and privileges between men and women were shared.<sup>7</sup> A mutual premise argued in the writing of David Levine, Lawrence Stone, Louise Tilly and Joan Scott is that the economic basis of the majority of English pre-industrial communities centered round the work of the family unit.<sup>8</sup> Shared engagement in agriculture or in cottage industry gave

---

<sup>6</sup> M. Bryant, *The Unexpected Revolution*, (London: University of London Institute of Education, 1979); J. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, (London: Croom Helm, 1980); S. Delamont and L. Duffin, eds., *The Nineteenth - Century Woman*, (London: Croom Helm, 1978); C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981); C. Dyhouse, *Feminism and the Family in England, 1880-1939*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780- 1850*, (London: Hutchinson, 1987); J. Senders Pedersen, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses: The Reforms of Women's Secondary and Higher Education in Nineteenth Century England: A Study of Elite Groups', *Journal of British Studies* Vol.15, No.1 1975, pp. 135-162; J. Senders Pedersen, 'The Reform of Women's Secondary Education and Higher Education: Institutional Change and Social Values in Mid and Late Victorian England', *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol.19, 1979, pp. 61-91; J. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England*, (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991); J. Purvis and M. Hales, eds. *Achievement and Inequality in Education*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983).

<sup>7</sup> R. Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Relations in Eighteenth Century England*, (New York: Academic Press, 1978), p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> L. Tilly, and J. Scott, *Women, Work and the Family*, (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1978), pp. 50-51; Also, L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, (New York: Wenderfield and

women and children the opportunity to add to the family economy, thereby assuring them of accepted status and limited influence. Gathering industrialisation, which stimulated urbanisation and the transfer of traditional home-based skills of livelihood to distant and larger manufactories, increasingly relocated the work site from the familial and private to the public domain. This resulted in a wage economy and impoverished the function of the family as an economic unit and usually reduced women's economic importance. This brought broad social change in family structure and in wider social patterns with confirmation of the ascendant and growing 'middle class' as a distinct rank between the landed aristocracy and waged workers.<sup>9</sup>

Social historians of the Victorian period, including Geoffrey Best, Asa Briggs, William Burn and George Kitson Clark agree that class was defined by a combination of occupation, income and values.<sup>10</sup> Deprecating the privileged inherited position of the landed gentry, the middle class challenged aristocratic political power and moral standards, validating its stance by forging distinctive values. Actively seeking income rather than living off rents and the emoluments of office, personal industry and hard work were linchpins of the successful. In their comprehensive work on the formation and important influence of this class, *Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Class*, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall claim 'Men framed rational scientific practice just as they pushed forward qualitative thought. It was their birthright seen as an inborn quality of masculinity.'<sup>11</sup> Manhood was legitimated through ability in the market and in the professions. Work was elevated into a serious and dignified, but masculine, business, a Christian calling, an undertaking of God's duty in the world.

### **The Centrality of Religion**

Backed by a rational outlook, the ideals of Evangelical Christianity underpinned the active pursuit of commerce. This association between a Christian way of life and the middle class ensured that adherence to evangelical Protestantism became an accepted part of its all-important respectability and gentility.

---

Nicholson, 1977), pp. 164-180; D. Levine, 'Industrialisation and the Proletarian Family in England', *Past and Present*, No. 107, May 1985, p. 179; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> By 1867 these numbered 150,000 families (about 750,000 total members) in the upper ranks earning more than £300 per annum, the necessary income to keep a refined middle class lifestyle. Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-70*, (London: Fontana, 1971), pp. 98-124; A. Briggs, *Victorian People*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), pp. 19-21; W. L. Burn, *The Age of Equipioise*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1964), pp. 253-255; G. K. Clark, *The Making of Victorian England*, (London: Methuen, 1962), p. 119.

<sup>11</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 27.



Honour and competence in business and professional dealings became more associated with manhood and respectability. It was no longer necessary to be gentry to qualify for gentility. Real gentility was an inner state, not an outer casting.<sup>12</sup>

Religious belonging grew to be a central path of middle class culture. Membership of a church could give position and status and church attendance was a social necessity even when not a spiritual imperative. Indeed, Robert Ensor concluded,

No one will ever understand Victorian England who does not appreciate that among highly civilised countries it was one of the most religious ever known. Moreover, its particular type of Christianity laid a direct emphasis on conduct.<sup>13</sup>

Davidoff and Hall maintain that in the early decades of the nineteenth century there was a 'Christian tint' over the general aspect of society.<sup>14</sup> Mary Ryan notes a similar influence in her study of family and gender in antebellum America.<sup>15</sup> In both instances, there was a strong linkage between Christian godliness and the family.

Indeed, Joan Burstyn, Davidoff and Hall, and Ryan all argue that the goal of the bustle of the capitalist activity was to provide for the family, not only for material requirements, but for their proper moral and religious life.<sup>16</sup> As the concept of the family was central to the middle class, its practical nurturing and everyday needs were an important determinant of the canons of acceptable behaviour. Men gradually dominated the market place where the situation of women became marginalised. This differentiation of men's and women's work progressively meant that women's domain became the home, the centre for the family.

In her essay 'History of the Family in Modern England', Mary Lyndon Shanley argues 'As the prime socialising agent in society, the family both reflects and shapes the values of the dominant political culture.'<sup>17</sup> Her thesis is well illustrated in the relative relationships of this new family configuration. In place of their former position of shared economic provider, women became increasingly dependent upon the head of the family. A man became the sole provider, 'the lofty pine', creating a potentially subordinating arrangement for women, especially as it was backed by religious, social and legal sanction. The law awarded to husbands absolute power over their wives. The husband wielded total familial authority, accepting physical and legal responsibility for wife and family.<sup>18</sup> Women became dependent and secondary, 'the clinging vine', as adroitly summed up in the following bleak statement:

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>13</sup> R. C. K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 137.

<sup>14</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 76.

<sup>15</sup> M. Ryan *The Cradle of the Middle Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. xii.

<sup>16</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 225; Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, p. 30. The American situation is argued in Ryan, *The Cradle of the Middle Class*, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup> M. L. Shanley, 'The History of the Family in Modern England', *Signs*, Summer 1979, p. 741.

<sup>18</sup> Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-70*, p. 302.

We underestimate the character of woman and keep her in a state of forced submission to man: who in all his transactions with her treats her as an inferior. She has no legal rights. She is not supposed to exist as a citizen. Her personality is submerged with that of man. She is always a minor, never reaching majority. She still takes rank, in the eye of the law, among man's goods and chattels, and is classified with 'his ox and his ass'. The law defines her, in a state of marriage, as belonging to and the property of man.<sup>19</sup>

For men, home was no longer an integral part of working life, but a place of stability where wives and children could be protected, the foundation for the appropriate moral order, a haven from the rigours of competitive life. This confirmed a gendered and hierarchical division of labour. 'Man is formed for the turmoil and rigours of the outer world, women for the peace and quiet of home.'<sup>20</sup>

### **The Notion of 'Separate Spheres'**

With men in the market place, where major financial decisions were made, and women increasingly based in the home, middle class men and women inhabited 'separate spheres'. But whereas a man's labour was productive and public, a woman was removed from most productive labour but child bearing and was excluded from public debate and decision making. However, accepted Christian doctrine decreed that every woman had the right to salvation and spiritual equality.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, the Protestant tradition endowed women with a strong sense of self and a belief in personal responsibility for their own souls. In arguing for the important agency of women in the establishment and maintenance of the middle class, Davidoff and Hall contend that the precise delineation of a woman's role was a matter of negotiation rather than a fixed code. The contribution of a woman in the house was quite as vital as that of the men outside. She contributed the capital of maintaining social and kinship networks and of socialising heirs.<sup>22</sup> Hannah More summed it up thus, 'Whereas men had power, women had influence.'<sup>23</sup>

Modern historians continue to argue the importance of the concept of 'separate spheres' in the structure of Victorian life. Australian feminist historian Marilyn Lake asserts,

in considering historical reasons for the exclusion of women from places of power, I would suggest that the pervasiveness of the ideology of complementary and 'separate spheres' must rate close attention.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> 'Treatment of Women', *Eliza Cook's Journal*, Saturday, August, 9th, 1851, p. 225, quoted in Purvis, *Women's Education in England*, p. 155.

<sup>20</sup> Oxiensis, 'The Education of Women', a review of F. Power Cobbe, *Essays on the Pursuits of Women* (1863) in the *Christian Observer*, July, 1865, p. 547, quoted in Purvis, *Women's Education in England*, p. 154.

<sup>21</sup> Galatians, Chapter 3, v. 28, 'There is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.'

<sup>22</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 279, 280.

<sup>23</sup> After H. More, Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 170.

<sup>24</sup> M. Lake, 'To be denied a sense of past generations', *Hecate*, Vol.2, No.2, July, 1976, p. 73.

This ideology was demonstrated practically in the separation and differentiation of men's and women's work. Whereas men's Christian principles were severely tested in the competitive market place, the majority of women were protected from the evils of dishonesty and cheating by their removal from worldly transactions. In the gentler, private sphere of the home a woman could influence her husband in a proper moral and religious attitude. In addition, the mother, often aided by other women, took on much of the spiritual responsibility for parenthood, an effective focus of authority. A woman's influence was validated by reason of her moral purity. However, displacement from the commerce meant that a woman's moral strength was not given the opportunity of direct testing. From its domestic shelter, it remained a potent, yet declining force, a vulnerable power which could be exposed and declaimed under unfavourable conditions. A woman's 'natural' moral power decreased as the basic premise of the religious underpinning of the capitalist enterprise waned, depressing her overall position relative to the apparent precedence enjoyed by men.

However, Jane McDermid argues that if a woman was allowed moral superiority, she was not sanctioned to exhibit uncontrolled individualism. A woman's virtue had to be subordinate to male authority and measured by public opinion. Hence the importance of reputation to a woman.<sup>25</sup> In addition, the role of women as society's moral guardians was supplemented by their lead in cultivating taste and gentility. Indeed, Sylvania Tomaselli suggests that as well as moral arbiters of society, women were the cultural leaven, holding the prime responsibility for the development of civilisation.<sup>26</sup>

In *Achievement and Inequality in Education*, Joan Purvis makes the point that the division into 'separate spheres' was a social construct, though its gender division of authority and power became to appear as 'natural'.<sup>27</sup> Women were seen to occupy the domestic sphere 'naturally' and to be more 'naturally' religious than men. They were also understood to have inborn 'feminine' qualities which included a sympathy and capability for feeling, heightened emotional perception and intuition which resulted in a purer moral conscience. A woman's superior morality offered rewards, not the masculine commercial and financial gains of the market place, but the spiritual rewards found in her domestic influence. Burstyn suggests that a woman's mission was to cultivate particular characteristics of self-denial, forbearance and fidelity which would teach the whole world

---

<sup>25</sup> J. McDermid, 'Conservative Feminism and Female Education in the Eighteenth Century', *History of Education*, Vol.18, no.4, 1989, p. 310.

<sup>26</sup> S. Tomaselli, 'The Enlightenment Debate on Women', *History Workshop Journal*, Autumn 1985, p. 102.

<sup>27</sup> Purvis makes the 'natural' aspect the first of three major assumptions about the notion of of the separate spheres. Purvis and Hales, *Achievement and Inequality in Education*, (London: Routledge and Paul, 1983), p. 155.

how to live in virtue.<sup>28</sup> Whereas a man's rewards were in this world, a woman's were in the next.<sup>29</sup>

Primarily located within the home as wives and mothers, women were defined in relation to men and children rather than as individual beings with their own individual existence. The work of Mrs Ellis, an ideologue and respected adviser to Victorian mothers, was readily available in Australia.<sup>30</sup> She asserted,

Women, considered in their own and abstract nature, as isolated beings, must lose more than half their worth. They are, in fact, from their own constitution, and from the station they occupy in the world, strictly speaking, relative creatures.<sup>31</sup>

A woman's status was defined by her husband on whom she was economically dependent. Women became no longer providers but consumers, their feminine ideal to create a peaceful context for men to live. The vast prosperity gained as the result of industrialisation increased market yield which enabled middle class homes, now delineated into discrete districts, to become larger and more comfortable. Women were responsible for the orderly physical management of the household, for overseeing furniture and trappings, for providing food and services, in addition to frequent pregnancies and years of child care.<sup>32</sup> Domesticity itself became an ideal of the middle classes and the woman who could successfully manage the domestic enterprise, the Ideal Woman.

### **The Ideal Woman**

Exhibiting the Protestant work ethic, the Ideal Woman was industrious in her domestic life. The model middle class household had to reflect good order and good management, 'to do everything in its proper time, to use everything for its proper use' with sound economic constraints, which included the importance of saving. For some women, hurriedly elevated in changing economic and social conditions to new patterns of life and thus lacking the 'aura of a born lady', the use of manuals gave useful culinary, organisational and social advice. Mrs Isabella Beeton's *Book of Household Management* pointed out that 'a mistress must be thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of cooking as well as all the other arts of making and keeping a comfortable home. The functions of a mistress resemble those of the

---

<sup>28</sup> Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, p. 32.

<sup>29</sup> The Wisdom of Solomon, iii, vv. 4, 5 serves as an orthodox view of women's unselfishness.

<sup>30</sup> M. Allen, 'Three South Australian Women Writers, 1854-1923; Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin', Ph.D. thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1991, p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> Mrs S. S. Ellis, *The Women of England, their Social Duties, and Domestic Habits*, (London: Fisher, 1839), p. 149, quoted in Purvis, *Women's Education in England*, p. 155.

<sup>32</sup> Average age of the birth of the first child was 27.3 years and 40.6 years at the birth of last, an average of thirteen years of childbearing with more years of childcare. Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 337. The average number of children in a middle class family was seven. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

General of an army or the manager of a business concern'.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, Mrs Beeton proffered information on diverse household matters including etiquette, hospitality, dress and fashion, hiring servants, paying afternoon calls, cleanliness, first aid and thrift, clearly catering for readers who adhered to her dictum, 'A woman's home should be first and foremost in her life.'<sup>34</sup> Such manuals defined a new path for women and recognised their capacity and potential while elevating their work from drudgery and insignificance.<sup>35</sup> A wife's successful management of domestic arrangements enabled a man to devote more time to public affairs.<sup>36</sup> Home may have been a comfort and a haven for men, but it was a woman's business.

In contrast to the showy and ostentatious manner exemplified by women in aristocratic or working class life, middle class women were entreated to be virtuous, submissive, obedient, retiring and meek. One distinct quality of the Ideal Woman, also attributed to her Christian responsibilities, was the model of service and self-sacrifice. Mrs Ellis shrewdly noted,

It is justly remarked of women that the qualities of her heart and mind generally appear to the greatest advantage, none of them more so than her devotedness; by which I would be understood to mean, the power which she evinces of throwing every consideration of self into the balance as nothing, when weighed against the interest and happiness of those she loves.<sup>37</sup>

A woman's time and physical and emotional energy were freely at the disposal of the needs of others. Her home, with its people, was upheld to be 'the intended place where woman is taught by the spirit to find her most appropriate sphere for service.'<sup>38</sup> Within the rubric of the Church, women had unlimited scope for unselfishness. Involved in Church visiting and Dorcas clubs, they also distributed tracts, officiated in the ladies' associations of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Infant School Society and the Sunday School movement. Influence was transmitted by character and usefulness, their middle class position demanding contribution to both public and private charity. The tradition of middle class women taking an active part in concern for the needy has resonances in later South Australian life and will be considered as part of the programmes of the girls' schools in this thesis.

Enshrined in religious belief, for women, duty embraced service to the household and

---

<sup>33</sup> Mrs I. M. Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, (London: Wardlock and Co., 1861), pp. 1, 9.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 177.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>37</sup> Mrs S. S. Ellis, *The Daughters of England: Their Position in Society, Character and Responsibilities*, (London: Fisher, 1842), p. 341.

<sup>38</sup> From Dean J. Burgon, *To educate Young Women like Young Men - a thing Inexpedient and Immodest*. A sermon, Oxford, 1884, p. 17, quoted in Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, p. 32.

the wider family, to neighbours and to the poor, but not to herself. Acting as a powerful guide and yardstick for all action, the opposite to patriarchal puissance, the prime feminine virtue of unselfishness was internalised, as was the following advice,

As Women, the first thing of importance is to be content to be inferior to men, inferior in mental power as the same proportion as you are inferior in bodily strength.<sup>39</sup>

Responsible for the physical well-being and religious formation of the family, in addition to teaching elementary lessons to both boys and girls, the mother was expected to maintain and inculcate standards of gentility and decorum in behaviour. These in turn would uphold a family image of propriety, a condition vital for the continuance of public respect and for commercial confidence.<sup>40</sup> In *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, Joan Burstyn posits that coarse manners, rough personal presentation and language, and lax behaviour were acceptable in the rural environment of the eighteenth century. Gradually, however, they were reformed and refined in the more closely settled urban environment during succeeding generations. Seen as an extension of Christian concern for the other, refined individual manners were encouraged. A confident use of appropriate table manners became important, both in 'society' and in an occupation, as business was frequently conducted over a meal where social *savoir faire* added to commercial respectability and impressed an air of reliability. Society anticipated that middle class families would set examples of refinement. These included temperance, delicacy of language, prudence and self-denial, qualities which were thought to better their own and their families' status.

The nineteenth century citizen was expected to exert self-control and to internalise the need for restraint. Since respectability could only be demonstrated through behaviour, each person had always to maintain the expected standard.<sup>41</sup>

Refined language and behaviour had to be learned early and appropriate conduct internalised, which became an important job of the Victorian mother, especially as servant nursemaids were of lower class and therefore unlikely to have adopted the more genteel standards of everyday behaviour. Home provided not only the best context of salvation but also the best hope for reformed manners and morals to the world at large.

### **Middle Class Gentility and its Influence**

Obedience and self control were the essence of the middle class mission, one which they

---

<sup>39</sup> Ellis, *Daughters of England*, p. 11. This is a surprising statement considering that the majority of women bore over five babies.

<sup>40</sup> Davidoff and Hall assert that respectability was vital in maintaining the ability to achieve credit. *Family Fortunes*, pp. 207-209.

<sup>41</sup> Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, p. 16. Also expressed in Allen, 'Three South Australian Women Writers', pp. 40, 41.

also wished to inculcate upon the 'lower orders'. Best argues that Victorian Britain, far from being an 'idyllically peaceful, secure, virtuous land', contained 'much lawlessness, violence and beastliness.'<sup>42</sup> For self protection, the middle classes encouraged a good showing of orderliness and morality in the 'civilised' parts of society and endeavoured to control the 'lower orders', expecting police to be the effective agents of social subordination. Though economic conditions were less acute, similar threats lurked in the emerging South Australian colony. In *A Child's World*, James Walvin opines, 'It seems reasonable to expect the consequences of childhood lessons in obedience to have a profound effect on the evolution of a stable society.'<sup>43</sup> Obedience and 'knowing one's place' were important habits to be instilled in children and formative exposure within the middle class family to the concept of obedience began at an early age. Girls were taught to obey parents and to prepare themselves for the dictates of a husband.

In addition to attempting to wrestle political authority from the aristocracy, the middle class set out to challenge their social power. Davidoff and Hall argue that as a result of their lack of inherited position, the minutiae of everyday life - personal behaviour, dress and language became the arena for the middle class to judge and be judged.

The appearance and behaviour of the mistress on display in church and chapel could signal the reputability of the enterprise as clearly as bonnets or dresses indicated its spending power.<sup>44</sup>

However, they also suggest that as the middle class became confident and more firmly established, salvation, the mark of special status, was gradually replaced by a wider domestic morality linked with good taste and the capacity to decry vulgarity. Standards of refinement and good taste in everyday life were increasingly set and reproduced by women, confirmed by the expanding number of books, magazines and papers setting out lineaments of a genteel lifestyle. However, high behavioural expectations confined women with a particular notion of femininity in appearance and behaviour. For instance, to be loud voiced carried with it notions of moral collapse as well as physical failure to conform. It signalled a disrespect of the feelings of others and a lack of self-control, a misunderstanding of taste and refinement and thus threatened a woman's reputation.

In his early nineteenth century work, *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, James Loudon, self-styled arbiter of household taste, sought to elevate domestic life and the physical ambience of the middle class family which he thought could blossom in their new suburban surroundings.<sup>45</sup> By promoting family living in gracious houses and gardens,

---

<sup>42</sup> Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p. 294.

<sup>43</sup> J. Walvin, *A Child's World, A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914*, (London: Penguin Books, 1982), p. 109.

<sup>44</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 285.

<sup>45</sup> J. C. Loudon, *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, (London, n. p., 1838).

Louden consciously replicated elements of gentry living, but on a more modest scale, advocating that men and women work together to create domesticity and enjoyment of home life. Loudon expressed a practical and proper sense of belonging to a delicate, refined, gentle, domestic world, the middle class aspiration. His ideas are important as the creation and influence of respectable middle class suburbs in South Australia is examined in later chapters.

Middle class society set exacting standards of dress and behaviour with elaborate codes of etiquette and gentility. The status of 'lady' was defined by adherence to well defined rules of social and moral behaviour. Mrs Ellis boldly asserted,

Society is often to daughters of a family, what business or a profession is to the sons; at least so far as regards the importance attached to it, and the opportunity it affords of failure and success. Society! What a field for action and sensation! What an arena to display all her accomplishments! How much of what is now done, thought and uttered has society for its object. How much is left undone for the sake of society!<sup>46</sup>

Society dictated and society judged. Material prosperity brought sharpened class consciousness, including gradations within the ranks and the elevation of an elite who sought to emulate the pretensions of the nobility, spawning fierce social competition and snobbishness. In his work *The Public School Phenomenon*, J. Gathorne-Hardy suggests that there is a natural tendency for those who have just made money to join the company and ape the manners of those who have always had it - and to despise those they have left, a social phenomenon well documented in contemporary Victorian literature.<sup>47</sup> Middle class life gradually copied the style of the gentry, adopting the taste and forms which they and the landed aristocracy were seen to display. As the middle class grew richer, affluent families were able to buy the services of cooks, maids, and other specialised servants, a convenience which displayed family success and respectability. Servant labour gave formerly undreamed of leisure to the 'mistress of the house', so she also became a 'lady', filling her hours with social visiting and entertaining and with the creation and display of cultural forms in art, music and needlework. Similar but moderated cultural patterns developed in South Australia especially after the rigours of settlement, a topic explored in a later chapter.

### **The Education of Girls**

Within the family, girls learned the constructed social conventions of 'femininity'.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Ellis, *Daughters of England*, p. 212.

<sup>47</sup> J. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 57, 58. The novels of Jane Austen, *Emma*, *Mansfield Park*, *Northanger Abbey*, *Pride and Prejudice*, the Bronte Sisters, *Jane Eyre*, *Wuthering Heights*, *The Tenant of Wildfield Hall*, Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers*, *The Way We Live now*, among a profusion of similar works.

<sup>48</sup> Bryant, *Unexpected Revolution*, pp. 37-39; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 29, 450-451;



Confined within strict limits, conformity was sought and girls in particular were expected to be models of propriety from an early age, exemplars for their brothers whose boisterous high spirits were socially accepted and admired. Moralists and writers of manuals on 'womanly behaviour' constantly exhorted their young readers to curb their youthful spirits, as 'natural exuberance' in a boy approaching puberty was 'hoydenish behaviour' in a girl and thus unacceptable. Girls were expected to exercise an uplifting moral influence over their brothers by keeping before them a model of true feminine behaviour and refinement which boys would learn to respect and cherish.<sup>49</sup> A girl had to be controlled and restricted in her use of time, her choice of friends, her daily routines, her dress and in her physical movements. Like the proverbial Victorian policeman, a girl's lot was not always a happy one.

Although exploring a later stage of Victorian life, Dyhouse's work *Feminism and the Family in England 1880-1939*, offers interesting insight into the frustrations which girls in established middle class families found in their 'gilded cages'. Quoting directly from contemporary subjective literature, Dyhouse explores the confinement which girls found in their inferior place in the family. Constance Maynard, later Mistress of Westfield College wrote,

Shut up like eagles in a hen house with Mother being responsible for a constant pat, putting down all ambition "which might strengthen resolve to lead an independent life."<sup>50</sup>

Success in the middle class depended on hard work and respectability. As a defence against notions of the inherited superiority of the aristocracy, the middle class paid increased attention to education and self-improvement as a means of social advance. With expanded prosperity the ascendant middle class formed a widening clientele eager to seek improved education for their sons. One avenue by which the newly rich families could join the upper classes was via the public boys' schools, which they eagerly patronised, helping to bring about their reform and spectacular proliferation.<sup>51</sup> Families also sought education for their daughters in the hope that their improved social knowledge would make them more attractive in the marriage stakes and thus less of a drain on supporting parents.

An understanding of educational possibilities for British girls, including antecedent schools, is important in this thesis as many South Australian girls' schools, advertised under the pretentious title of 'ladies' academies', were modelled on them and resembled them in structure and management.

---

Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 115-138.

<sup>49</sup> Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 12.

<sup>50</sup> C. B. Firth, *Constance Louisa Maynard, Mistress of Westfield College: A Family Portrait*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1949, p. 54.

<sup>51</sup> Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon*, pp. 58, 78.

Educating middle class girls for the dominant ideal of 'perfect wife and mother' usually involved education by parents or governess within a familial domestic setting. Whereas boys might join their sisters in the nursery, when they were old enough they had a male tutor or were sent to a segregated school to receive some variation of a liberal education and to make useful contacts for their future in the competitive outside world. Later, girls might also attend a small 'ladies' school', usually managed by middle class women. Purvis argues 'as girls were defined as potential wives and mothers who would be economically supported rather than independent wage earners the content of their education was ornamental and social rather than academic.' It was aimed at attracting a husband, as forcibly confirmed by the contemporary Mrs Grey,

There is a pretty theory abroad, which is always brought forward when women's education is talked about - that they are educated to wives and mothers. I do not know a more fallacious one. They are not educated to be wives, but to get husbands. They are not educated to be mothers. They are not educated to be mistresses of households. What they are educated for is to come up to a conventional standard accepted in the class to which they belong, to adorn (if they can) the best parlour or the drawing room, as it may be, to gratify mother's vanity, to amuse a father's leisure hours, above all *to get married*.<sup>52</sup>

Accordingly, schools offered girls social accomplishments, personal presentation, self control and self discipline.<sup>53</sup> They supplemented home education, particularly where a mother lacked social skills and wished her daughter to marry well. In boarding schools, where girls were sent 'to finish', to achieve social confidence and polish, the absurdity of a girls' education was at its peak, with little general education and an almost exclusive concentration on often poorly taught 'accomplishments' and the proprieties. During his investigations for the Taunton Enquiry of 1867, Commissioner Bryce commented, 'The 'finishing' school is not so much an educational agent as a tribute which the parent pays to his own social position.'<sup>54</sup> Appropriate schooling was a critical element in a situation where bridegrooms were in demand, as in Victorian England, or in the considerable social-economic mobility of colonial South Australia and parents eagerly supported those which gave the prospect of advancement in society. Gathorne-Hardy confirms that girls' boarding schools were methods of class advancement, asserting, 'They were often cheap. The scheming daughters of tradesmen and blacksmiths [were] able to go and get the airs of a lady.'<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Mrs William Grey, *On the Education of Women*, a paper read at the Meeting of the Society of Arts, 31st May, 1871, quoted in Purvis, *Women's Education in England*, p. 163.

<sup>53</sup> Foremost among accomplishments was Music. Maria Edgeworth worked out in 1798 that a girl learning the piano from six to eighteen gave 14 000 hours of her life to playing scales. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon*, p. 252. Purvis, *Women's Education in England*, p. 72.

<sup>54</sup> Parliamentary Papers 1867-8, vol. IX, chap. VIII, p. 826, quoted in Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 42.

<sup>55</sup> Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon*, p. 254.

Some schools were showy and expensive, as recalled by Frances Power Cobbe.<sup>56</sup> Her 1830s 'education' was undertaken at a cost of £1000 for two years in a fashionable Brighton boarding establishment. In inverse ratio of their true importance, 'with Morals and Religion at the bottom of the scale and Music and Dancing at the top', lessons were undertaken in 'a frightful din with four pianos at once above and girls around reading aloud and reciting lessons in English, French, German and Italian'.<sup>57</sup> Cobbe recalled 'minor indiscretions, usually of a social or proprietorial nature, were punished by forcing girls of marriageable age dressed in full attire of silk or muslin with gloves and kid slippers to sit for hours in the corners of the three rooms like naughty babies.' She wrote 'The senseless rote learning and recitation and heterogeneous studies were 'of the smallest possible utility in later life. No-one dreamed that any one of us could be more or less than an "Ornament of Society". That a pupil should ever become an artist or authoress would have been looked down upon.' On leaving, 'her depth of ignorance revealed itself very unpleasantly' and 'she began to educate herself in earnest.' Frances Cobbe was thereafter a firm advocate of university education for women.

Girls with both intellect and spirit found these schools absurd. The education given to Mary Somerville demonstrates many of the hazards which faced an intelligent, inquiring girl, but its varying nature did not deter her from reaching heights of academic excellence in disciplines previously reserved for men. As a child in Scotland she enjoyed a high degree of physical freedom. After formal home lessons under a governess in deportment, dancing and pastry making, at ten she was sent to boarding school where, 'enclosed in stiff stays with a steel busk in front', her chief daily task was to 'learn by heart a page of Johnston's dictionary.' Brought home to learn sewing and to undertake social duties with her mother, she became interested in navigation and was allowed to attend an Arts academy for ladies in Edinburgh where she gleaned the rudiments of algebra. This was supplemented by information from her brother's tutor who purchased a copy of Euclid for her. Thus armed, she 'continued the study alone with courage and assiduity, knowing I was on the right road.'<sup>58</sup> Resuming her mathematical studies after the birth of three children, her interest in a learned journal led her to winning a prize competition and the acquaintance of the future Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh University. He helped her to acquire a list of requisite books which enabled her privately to go through a regular course of mathematics and astronomical science. Although this intellectual activity was disapproved of by many, especially members of her family, her second husband 'willingly acknowledged her

---

<sup>56</sup> J. H. Murray, *Strong Minded Women and other Lost Voices from 19th Century England*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), p. 198; See also Frances Power Cobbe, *The Life of Frances Power Cobbe*, 2 Vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), Vol. 1, pp. 92, 121, 162, 261; also Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>57</sup> Murray, *Strong Minded Women*, p. 169.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 209.

superiority to himself' and gave her support and encouragement. Mary Somerville had an illustrious career in mathematics and astronomy, in recognition of which later sympathisers called the newly established women's college at Oxford after her in 1879. Her excellence was achieved in spite of societal disapproval and the inadequacy of her early learning experiences.

Discussing the low standard of many Victorian girls' schools in her paper 'The Reform of Women's Secondary and Higher Education', Joyce Senders Pedersen maintains 'Girls were offered a basic instruction of English subjects while instruction in 'accomplishments', music, German, and drawing were charged as an 'extra'. In boarding schools, all manner of services were 'extras', making clear distinctions between those who could afford to supplement the basic offering.'<sup>59</sup> Pedersen analyses the structural deficiencies of the orthodox small private girls' establishment. Pointing out that the lack of any form of public regulation or objective means of ranking the achievements of girls' schools meant that their relative prestige was based on their pupils' social origins, she further claims,

The small size of schools and their total reliance on pupil fees resulted in the weak position of schoolmistresses whose authority followed an individual's social status rather than institutional power.<sup>60</sup>

In schools which resembled the family group in size and age-structure, girls were closely supervised and seldom had the opportunity to act independently of adult authority. Relationships between pupils and teachers tended to take on the emotional tones of family life and discipline was of an affective nature. The attention paid to social rank outweighed objective behavioural censure. The nature of these schools ensured that they fostered relationships amongst pupils based on dependency, a mode which they transferred to adult life which thwarted personal growth to full autonomy.

Many inadequacies in the educational provision for girls were exposed in the Taunton Commission of the 1860s. However, in a patriarchal society, this education for dependency and inward looking snobbery was acceptable to the upwardly mobile and recently affluent who sought the formation of accomplishments for their daughters in the search for their security in a suitable marriage. But Mrs Ella Armitage reported to the Commission,

By far the majority of these schools were distinguished by their unblushing assertion of caste exclusiveness. Large views of life are not seen from the windows of these schools; thoughts which live and quicken do not enter through these doors. The prime conservatism, the fixed hostility to new ideas which characterise the average British matron of good position are fostered in these seminaries.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> Pedersen, 'Reform of Secondary Education', p. 64.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 66.

<sup>61</sup> Report of Schools Enquiry Commission, Parliamentary Papers 1867, Vol IX ch. VI11, p. 826, quoted in Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 51.

Elements of Pedersen's careful analysis of the deficiencies of girls' education will be considered later in this work as South Australian girls' schools of the 1860s and 1870s reflected similar features.

Middle class girls were nurtured and educated so that, in their time, they could fulfil their fate and become Ideal Women. A girl's future was tied up with marriage, the sole respectable career for a girl, the object of her economic and emotional security, which could be further enhanced by motherhood. To be man's helpmeet, a companionable wife, careful and frugal housekeeper and caring mother was her ultimate destiny. A girl was prepared to be 'a decorative, marriable, modest being' to attract a suitable husband to be protector and economic provider, father to the next generation. Although marriage was the key to a girl's future, some girls felt forced into marriage by circumstances, unwilling to remain a burden to their family. There was no incentive for personal autonomy. Dependency was assumed.

Training to become Ideal Women, many girls received a home education in domestic requirements, spending time on chores which their brothers were excused. Deprecating their brothers' superior position and enhanced family status, girls often envied their opportunity of receiving a useful education. Girls were expected to sew and attend to men's needs.<sup>62</sup> Dorothea Beale, later Headmistress of Cheltenham College, recalled the time she spent on her brothers' sock darning, a task which, she ruefully wrote, 'falls to a girl's position in the family'. She could see no defensible reason why boys were not expected to help out with household duties and was jealous of her brothers' superior schooling.<sup>63</sup> But this was part of a girl's education in 'dignity and separateness of the male world'.

Honour was paid to a happy home life. But there were tensions. In *Girls Growing up in Victorian and Edwardian England*, Carol Dyhouse reports that mothers came in for resentment as inappropriate social models who had blinkered views of the indignities of position which girls often felt. Spirited, thinking daughters derided their lack of private time, complaining that social duties like paying calls were 'the ultimate in futility for an intelligent girl.'<sup>64</sup> Affectionate daughters found that their attachment to family, and their bonds of love and duty, especially to their father, made strivings for independence difficult.<sup>65</sup> Further, some declared that parents had never thought of them as independent beings, but only as appendages of themselves with few inklings of the bitter humiliation of

---

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> E. Raikes, *Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham*, (London: Archibald Constable, 1908), p. 16.

<sup>64</sup> Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 42.

<sup>65</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 333.

dependence and the deprivation of self.<sup>66</sup>

### **The Position of Women**

Realising the gross inequities in British economic and social life, not a few strained to be able to be useful in reordering the structures which shaped an unjust society. Lytton Strachey's account of the story of Florence Nightingale illustrates the futility felt by an intelligent girl from an upper class home, 'with the London season, tours on the Continent and glimpses of the celebrities of Paris', when faced with a strong call to 'go to Salisbury Hospital for several months as a nurse.'<sup>67</sup> Nightingale had visions of eventually setting up a house of her own in a neighbouring village and there founding a Protestant Sisterhood, without vows, for women of educated feelings. Strachey comments, 'Indeed, the difficulties in her path were great. For it was an almost unimaginable thing in those days for a woman of means to make her own way in the world and to live in independence.' Strachey concluded, 'A weaker spirit would have been overwhelmed by the load of distress, but this young woman held firm and fought her way to victory.'<sup>68</sup>

Some girls did not have the opportunity to marry. War had taken its toll. Emigration, careers in the navy and merchant marine and adventurous lives abroad beckoned young men who did not wish to tie themselves down to the not inconsiderable responsibilities of marriage. By 1850 there was a surplus of nearly half a million British women.<sup>69</sup> Schooled without reference to the prospect of ever earning a living, the middle class woman was especially vulnerable if wedding prospects failed as she had no fall-back in times of hardship. Orthodox female pursuits of sewing or millinery were considered as 'trade', out of the ambit of middle class respectability. Governessing was the sole middle class redemption for the unmarried woman who sought independence. By 1850, with 40 000 hopeful 'upper servants', governessing had become an overfilled, poorly paid profession.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, it spawned the first 'higher education' opportunity for middle class girls in the Governesses' Benevolent Institution in 1843, the forerunner of a range of teaching colleges for women.

In the patriarchal society middle class men protected, were legally responsible for and provided for the women in their charge. As it might reflect male inability to provide, a lady did not undertake independent economic action or work for money. Burstyn asks 'How

---

<sup>66</sup> A. W. Pearsall-Smith, 'A Reply from the Daughters' in *Nineteenth Century Opinion*, ed. M. Goodwin, (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1951), p. 90.

<sup>67</sup> L. Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1918), p. 131.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>69</sup> Bryant, *Unexpected Revolution*, p. 35.

<sup>70</sup> Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon*, p. 255.

could they earn money and remain ladies? Mrs Ellis exclaimed,

As society is at present constituted, a lady may do almost anything from motives of charity or zeal. But as soon as a woman begins to receive money, as soon as she makes money by her own efforts, she is transformed into a tradeswoman, and she must find her place in society as such.<sup>71</sup>

In short, a woman could not work except in dire economic circumstances whereupon her status could be thrown into jeopardy. Widows had special consideration. Having proved orthodox feminine commitment via marriage, they were given legal and customary sanctions to enter the market.<sup>72</sup>

The Headmistresses examined in this study had either ineffectual or absent husbands, were widows who supported families or were unmarried and acted as supporting adults to relatives. One of their few options to retain a vestige of gentility was to enter an unlegislated education field where competition was harsh, especially for untrained and inexperienced proprietors. But the success of their enterprises was necessary to maintain their hold in the middle class and to educate their dependent families. Failure would have meant serious loss of position and would have endangered their children's future. The stakes were high. Their difficult position required a prudent analysis of influences on their schools and the constant charting of an acceptable educational path which encompassed the requirements of parents without compromising personal ideals.

The plight of many of the half million surplus women in Britain who lacked suitable male support, focussed the minds of thoughtful men and women on possible solutions and on the underlying causes.<sup>73</sup> Jessie Boucherett, Adelaide Proctor and Barbara Bodichon, the reforming ladies of Langham Place circle, were not so much interested in disturbing the prevalent social structure of 'separate spheres' with its inborn gender inequities as they were keen to find suitable paid employment for indigent women.<sup>74</sup> Their solution to this 'Woman Question' lay in reorganising the gendered division of labour to widen the range of employment possibilities, thereby offering financial independence. Their efforts helped to stimulate discussion on the relative position of women in society, reopening debates which had simmered below the surface of Victorian complacency.

---

<sup>71</sup> Mrs S. S. Ellis, *Education of the Heart*, (London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1869), p. 14.

<sup>72</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 285.

<sup>73</sup> Purvis, *Women's Education in England*, p. 73.

<sup>74</sup> C. Bacchi, *Same Difference, Feminine and Sexual Difference*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1990), p. 10; Bryant, *Unexpected Revolution*, pp.78, 79, 82; Delamont And Duffin, *Nineteenth Century Women*, p. 194; Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 144.

## Early Feminist Theory

Early nineteenth century women writers on education, including Hannah More, Elizabeth Hamilton and Maria Edgeworth, show valuable insight on the debate on 'women's place'.<sup>75</sup> Their arguments for elevating the schooling of girls centre round the need to educate not for personal ends but as a preparation for life, for a nobler conception of womanhood. In sympathy with Enlightenment ideas, education was to train the mind, to make women rational beings. Jane McDermid's recent analysis of the work of these luminaries suggests that they shared three common themes. First, the function of education was utilitarian, to enable women to fulfil the duties of their station in both sexual and social hierarchies; further, education was to establish a balance between emotion and reason and, thirdly, to provide the basis for the complementarity of the sexes.<sup>76</sup> Women were to be socialised, not as individuals, but as members of a family. Their education was to be vocational, but for one profession only - wife, mother, housekeeper. Although they advised a girl's learning to be wide and general, there was caution against the over reliance on learning at the expense of femininity and the possibility of spinsterhood. With adroit perception, Jane West, in *The Advantages of Education*, insisted that girls be educated not simply for marriage but to gain respect of worthy people and to preserve their own self-respect.<sup>77</sup> But the single woman was a marginal consideration for these authors and their focus was on wife and mother, on the dependency of home. 'To women, moral excellence is the grand object of education; and of moral excellence, domestic life is the proper sphere.'<sup>78</sup> A woman could be well versed so that she made a more companionable wife and an understanding mother, but she must not appear to challenge a man's authority. The later work of Harriet Martineau echoed their ideas, cementing the 'separate spheres' ideology by maintaining that all girls should have the right to develop their full potential so that with individual fulfilment they could undertake their roles more intelligently.<sup>79</sup> In their writing they thus preserved the *status quo* - girls were to be educated to be good wives and mothers, secondary and non-threatening to men or to the doctrine of 'separate spheres'.

More radical and innovative ideas on the principles of liberty and freedom and the place

---

<sup>75</sup> H. More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, (London: Cadell and Davies, 1800); E. Hamilton, *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education*, 2 vols., (London, n. p., 1808); republished, (New York: Garland, 1974); M. Edgeworth, *Belinda*, 2 vols., (London: Dent, 1893).

<sup>76</sup> J. McDermid, 'Conservative Feminism and Female Education in the Eighteenth Century', *History of Education*, 1989, Vol.18, No.4, p. 315.

<sup>77</sup> J. West, *The Advantages of Education*, 2 vols., (London: Porter and Kelly, 1799).

<sup>78</sup> More, *Strictures*, 1, p. 164.

<sup>79</sup> H. Martineau, *Autobiography with Memorials by Maria Weston Chapman*, 3 vols., (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1877), vol. 1, p. 401. Also Martineau, *Household Education*, (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1867), pp. 241, 244, quoted in Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 186.



of women had already been articulated by Catharine Macaulay in 1790 and reiterated in 1792 by Mary Wollstonecraft in *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*.<sup>80</sup> Dale Spender and Jane Rendall have analysed their main stance.<sup>81</sup> Following Enlightenment ideas of the primacy of Reason on human progress, Wollstonecraft argued for developing the full potential of women. She posited there were no sexual virtues which predominantly belonged to one sex or the other and that virtue could have only one 'eternal standard'. Women were, equally with men, full moral agents and not destined only to please them via passivity and dependence. Indeed, she claimed that moral evil started in the inequitable arrangement of patriarchy and advised that society should look to women to carve out an ethical standard for men to follow. In a critique of the power relations in the contemporary family, she believed that domestic life needed to be reshaped with men and women equal in importance as citizens in relation to the life of the state, with women no longer dependent on a husband's income, but protected by civil laws. Wollstonecraft advocated activity for women, the majority as mothers, but, for some, in a suitable occupation.<sup>82</sup> Fearing the marginalisation of women from economic production, she advocated that they maintain a distinct power in political decision making, a critique of the formation of social and familial patterns around women's secondary, dependent place. Wollstonecraft argued that women's capacity for education was natural and divinely intended, and that it should serve the needs of citizens for order and governance. Her advocacy of political power and professional training for women presupposed a woman's education similar to a man's. Indeed, she condemned contemporary manual writers like Mrs Ellis for their contributing to 'render women as more artificial and weak characters than they would otherwise have been.'<sup>83</sup> Wollstonecraft believed that women had rights, but contemporary society focussed on their responsibilities. She suggested that women might achieve virtue only through exercising independence, testing their own powers via liberty and self-reliance, a radical republican stance, though one tempered by the idea of good citizenship and good motherhood and duty to oneself.

Bryant suggests that the strength, moderation and generosity of her arguments were counteracted by the irregularities of her own private life, which to opponents represented a retreat to the sexually promiscuous tolerance of the previous century.<sup>84</sup> This resulted in

---

<sup>80</sup> C. Macaulay, *Letters on Education with Observations on religious and metaphysical Subjects*, (London: Dilly, 1790), facsimile (New York: Garland Publishers, 1974); M. Wollstonecraft, *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*, (London: Joseph Johnston, 1792), which followed her 1791 publication, *Vindication of the Rights of Men*.

<sup>81</sup> D. Spender, *Feminist Theorists*, (London: Women's Press Ltd., 1983), pp. 42-59; J. Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism, Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860*, (London: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 56-64.

<sup>82</sup> She mentioned a trade or business or medicine. The latter was later the site of great antagonism towards the acceptance of women. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>83</sup> Bryant, *Unexpected Revolution*, p. 27.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

discussion of her ideas being thwarted both as being a dangerous attack on the social cohesion of society and as a warning of possible effects of giving power to women. Her experience demonstrates the misfit between the promulgation of new ideas and their non-acceptance because of lack of confidence in the source and the fear that novel concepts would cause too rapid change and threaten stability and the balance of power. Later pioneering educationists, intent on reforming the nature of girls' education in the 1850s and more acutely in their first steps into university education from 1870, learned from her experience. Principals of schools and colleges were particularly careful not to jeopardise their hard won position of authority by scrupulously upholding contemporary ideas of feminine propriety in dress and behaviour throughout their establishments.<sup>85</sup> Consideration both of the introduction of innovative ideas which challenged the prevailing ideology and the significance of upholding accepted contemporary standards will be considered in the lives of South Australian proprietors and their schools in later chapters.

In *The Nineteenth Century Women*, Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin's penetrating inquiry into the disabilities suffered by women, Nicholas McGuinn also argues that initially Wollstonecraft's treatise gained a measure of public support. He agrees that it was the notoriety which tainted the author's personal life which later brought the book into disrepute.<sup>86</sup> Further, he points out that although progressive women in Britain and America turned to it with interest, they were reluctant to defend its ideas publicly.<sup>87</sup> In 1855, writer Mary Ann Evans, the future George Elliot, who had herself 'defied almost every manifestation of masculine oppression and had experienced the inadequacies of girlish miseducation,' wrote a cautious defence of *Vindication* in the *Leader*, an influential London journal. The article recirculated Wollstonecraft's ideas among the reading public and, as Evans associated with educational reformers, medical campaigners and with the Langham Place circle, its ideas helped to influence their directions.

One theme shared by all these writers was the imperative of changing the nature of girls' education, a challenge also enthusiastically adopted by reformers intent on alleviating the disabilities which women faced, particularly as independent wage earners. Education was the key which would determine choices and widen employment opportunities should a woman either choose to not marry or be unable to. With better education, no longer would

---

<sup>85</sup> Burstyn, *Ideal of Womanhood*, p. 93; Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 57, 59, 69, 172; Georgina Battiscombe, *A Reluctant Pioneer: A Life of Elizabeth Wordsworth*, (London: Constable, 1978), p. 79; Elizabeth Bailey, *Lady Margaret Hall: a Short History*, (Oxford: Lady Margaret Hall, 1980), p. 25; Pedersen, 'Reform of Education', p. 154; Purvis, *Women's Education in England*, p. 81; G. Walford ed., *The Private Schooling of Girls*, (London: Woburn Press, 1993), p. 39.

<sup>86</sup> McGuinn maintains that support was forthcoming because of inherent conservative elements, including its stance that women should remain as 'rational wives', and that 'chastity must more universally prevail'. Delamont and Duffin, eds., *Nineteenth Century Women*, p. 189.

<sup>87</sup> McGuinn mentions its influence on Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Elizabeth Stanton, Lucretia Mott and Harriet Martineau. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

she have to 'suffer and be still'.<sup>88</sup>

### Reforming Girls' Education

The history of the pioneers of a reformed education for girls, including the setting up of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution in 1843, the formation of Queen's and Bedford Colleges in 1848, the opening in 1852 of the North London Collegiate school by the Buss family and the start of Cheltenham Ladies' College under Miss Beale in 1853, has been well documented.<sup>89</sup> Ideas which emanated from the latter two schools were influential in Australia, particularly in the creation in 1875 of Melbourne's Presbyterian Ladies' College, which in turn became a model to Hardwicke College, the first South Australian school examined in this thesis.<sup>90</sup> A study of the aims and characteristics which typify these English schools is therefore valuable, especially as later the more innovative South Australian Headmistresses made journeys 'home' to make comparisons and to gather ideas from them as educational models.

A seminal article by Joyce Senders Pedersen 'The Reform of Girls' and Women's Secondary and Higher Education', examines aims and practices in the reformed schools which differentiated them from the orthodox private 'ladies' schools'.<sup>91</sup> These differences may be summed up in three ways. First, they stressed academic achievement which could be tested against external criteria, as girls from these schools entered competitive examinations set by the Universities from 1863.<sup>92</sup> This necessitated better planned and structured classes and a systematic curriculum which gave scope for a wider range of subjects, including Latin and Mathematics. It assured increased intellectual rigour, which attracted larger numbers of pupils. Academic achievement was rewarded. Pedersen stresses, 'Students' academic achievements were cited at the public schools' annual prize day ceremonies, at which books and other token prizes were frequently presented.'<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Ellis, *Daughters of England*, p. 73. Title of Vicinus' study of women's lives. M. Vicinus ed., *Suffer and Be Still*, (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 1974).

<sup>89</sup> M. Tuke, *A History of Bedford College for Women*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1939); A. K. Clarke, *A History of Cheltenham Ladies' College 1853-1953*, (London: Faber, 1953); A. K. Clarke, *A History of the Cheltenham Ladies' College 1853-1979*, (Saxmundham: John Catt, 1979); *Cheltenham Ladies' College Centenary*, 1953; R. M. Scrimgeour ed., *The North London Collegiate School, 1850-1950. A Hundred Years of Girls' Education*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1950); J. Kamm, *Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History*, (London: Methuen, 1965); J. Kamm, *How Different from Us: a Biography of Miss Buss and Miss Beale*, (London: Bodley Head, 1958).

<sup>90</sup> K. Fitzpatrick, *Presbyterian Ladies' College, Melbourne The First Century 1875-1975*, (Burwood: Presbyterian Ladies' College, 1975); M. O. Reid, *The Ladies Came to Stay: Presbyterian Ladies' College, 1875-1960*, (Melbourne, The Presbyterian Ladies' College Council, 1960).

<sup>91</sup> Pedersen, 'Reform of Secondary Education', pp. 61-91.

<sup>92</sup> Burstyn, *Ideal of Womanhood*, pp. 158-9; Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 25, 34; Gathorne-Hardy, *Public School Phenomenon*, p. 258.

<sup>93</sup> Pedersen, 'Reform of Secondary Education', p. 81.

Girls were also encouraged to test their abilities in other non-academic pursuits, in music and art, charitable societies and sports and, in time, in dramatic groups, student newspapers and debating. These activities gave vastly increased opportunities for developing individual talent which could be confidently transferred on adulthood to an increasing range of challenges. Secondly, replacing former social criteria, comparisons of pupils could now be made by considering their achievements. This led to simpler dress and less showy pupil behaviour. It also enhanced the institutional authority of teachers, a phenomenon further helped by the ability of these schools to impose academic conditions for membership and to demand regular attendance and home study. Clearly, these schools were controlled internally and not by the demands of socially minded parents. Thirdly, their increased size resulted in these schools using institutional discipline and pupil management based on external and universal standards, not the affective style which related to a family structure. This helped girls to formulate their own personal standards and interpersonal relationships, fostering independent thinking rather than dependence.

The changing authority of the Headmistress was an important feature of the reforming schools. Their proprietary classification meant that she did not own the school, however, as an employee of an instituted school council, she could assume backing from its members. Pedersen comments that the lives of these Headmistresses was increasingly open to public scrutiny as they gained their accountability from external and academic criteria rather than acceding to the social wishes of influential parents to whom they felt beholden and subservient.<sup>94</sup> The influence and authority of the Headmistresses was critical to the success of the enterprise as their biographies demonstrate.<sup>95</sup> In the context of changing leadership styles, this thesis will analyse the position and power of the Headmistress as proprietor and owner of a business enterprise and her wider personal influence on pupils in the four South Australian schools. The performance of each Headmistress in her efforts to chart a path between parent approval and her personal educational aims will also be a subject of inquiry.

The success of the two pioneering English schools, the North London Collegiate School and Cheltenham Ladies' College, was confirmed by rising enrolments which suggests there was a thriving pool of girls keen to be educated in this novel intellectual environment.<sup>96</sup> Pedersen finds that they were the daughters of parents who belonged almost exclusively to the middle class, but they differed from those who attended the small privately owned schools, especially those which predominantly concentrated on social skills.<sup>97</sup> The majority

---

<sup>94</sup> Pedersen, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses', pp. 137-169.

<sup>95</sup> A. Ridley, *Frances Mary Buss and her Work for Education*, (London: Longmans, 1895); C. Steadman, *In the Days of Miss Beale: A Study of her Work and Influence*, (London: E. J. Borrow, 1931). Elizabeth Raikes, *Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham*, (London: Archibald Constable, 1908).

<sup>96</sup> Avery, *Best Type of Girl*, p. 91.

<sup>97</sup> Fathers' occupations are quoted as 66% professional and 27% 'gentlemen' at Cheltenham and 29%

of their parents were professionals, either from the older branches of medicine, law, the Church, the Army and Navy and teaching, but many were members of newly emerging groups - engineers, architects, actuaries, and scientists, serious-minded 'new professionals' who valued the scholarship of useful knowledge and other intellectual pursuits and wished to pass on this understanding to their offspring. Others were merchants, wealthier farmers, men occupied in business and commerce. These members of the middle classes who sought to use the authority of their professional expertise to remake the social order of the nineteenth century were known as the 'New Class'.

The work of Alvin Gouldner and Desley Deacon explores the creation and legitimacy of this new order of the middle class, explaining it as,

standing rather uneasily between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The new middle class can be thought of in general terms as consisting of those workers who depend on the sale of educational, technical and social skills or 'cultural capital'....It is new because its members do not own the means of production and it is differentiated from the working class by the type of labour it has to offer and by the culture and ideology which surround that work.<sup>98</sup>

Gouldner also posits that the concept of 'cultural capital' is central to the idea of the new middle class, arguing that cultural skills are just as much capital as are a factory's buildings or machines.<sup>99</sup> Further, Deacon suggests that the value of cultural capital for this class is something which was actively created and fought for through the processes of social closure and creditation.<sup>100</sup> As this class seldom inherited wealth or assets, it was keen to pass on cultural capital to its offspring as an investment and key to future success, Gouldner maintains 'The New Class at first readied for contest against the old class by and in the new education system.'<sup>101</sup> Margaret Allen supports this by pointing out that in their claim for moral and cultural authority the New Class sought to express their concerns in an ideological struggle in the formation of new institutions in which children were the target.<sup>102</sup> Parents looked for superior schooling, including the development of reasoning ability, political competence and the skills of polite living, which assured acceptable diction and 'social know-how'. Whereas the legacy of earlier generations had been religious certainty, the later 'New Class' sought to give their children intellectual and social confidence.

The path for middle class boys' advancement was by way of the reforming public

---

professional, 30% business, 23% tradesmen, 18% 'others' at the North London Collegiate School, 1850-94. Findings from the Taunton Commission suggest that private school pupils' parents were more homogeneous, with each small school characterised by pupils from similar ranks, including clerks, grocers, shopkeepers, tradesmen, and custom house officers. Pedersen, 'Reform of Secondary Education', pp. 62, 78.

<sup>98</sup> D. Deacon, *Managing Gender*, (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 4.

<sup>99</sup> A. Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*, (New York: Continuum, 1979), p. 45.

<sup>100</sup> Deacon, *Managing Gender*, p. 4.

<sup>101</sup> Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals*, p. 44.

<sup>102</sup> Allen, 'Three South Australian Women Writers', p. 46.

schools, where valuable contacts and elements of independence, gentlemanly behaviour, muscular Christianity and patriotism were stressed. Girls had fewer options but the pioneering Miss Beale determined that at Cheltenham, a boarding school for the 'daughters of gentlemen', girls should receive an education based on religious principles which gave sound intellectual training. Avery suggests that for the idealistic Miss Beale, 'education was a pattern of receiving and giving which should later be given back in service.'<sup>103</sup> At the predominantly day North London Collegiate School Miss Buss wanted to equip girls to support themselves. By offering a structured education she challenged girls to reach high intellectual standards. Recognising the stimulus to mental ambition afforded by outside examinations, she sent twenty five of the ninety one candidates who sat the first Cambridge Local examinations in 1863.<sup>104</sup> She modelled her education on masculine lines, determined that her pupils would emulate their achievements in spite of disabilities caused by her teachers' lack of experience and higher knowledge. In addition, Miss Buss stressed the importance of character and discipline. She encouraged these by imposing a plethora of school rules with the object of demonstrating the value of order and of frequent silences, especially necessary as girls were unaccustomed to working in large groups. By inculcating these standards, which she expected would be internalised for future use, Miss Buss endeavoured to give her pupils sufficient intellectual and cultural capital for them to succeed either in a life of domesticity or in the public arena of employment. These schools were the vanguards of reform in girls' education whose example was copied by reforming pioneers throughout Britain and its colonies.<sup>105</sup>

### **Australian Girls' Education**

The transfer of British ideas in girls' education and their adaptation to the Australian environment is described in the work of Marjorie Theobald in Victoria, Noeline Kyle in New South Wales, Coral Chambers in Queensland and, to a lesser extent, by Noleen Riordan in Western Australia.<sup>106</sup> Theobald argues that as instruments of ruling class culture the Victorian ladies' schools were instrumental in inducting girls into the proprieties of class and

---

<sup>103</sup> Avery, *Best Type of Girl*, p. 93.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>105</sup> In addition to Australia, this included Canada. A remarkably similar curriculum in the 1880s was followed in an Ontario Catholic Convent Academy, also assumed in Protestant ladies' schools. E. Smyth, 'A Noble Proof of Excellence', in *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader*, R. Heap, A. Prentice eds., (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 1991), pp. 272-281.

<sup>106</sup> M. Theobald, 'Women and Schools in Colonial Victoria 1840-1910', Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1985; N. Kyle, *Her Natural Destiny: The Education of Women in New South Wales*, (Kensington, New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1986); C. Chambers, *Lessons for Ladies*, (Sydney: C. J. Chambers, 1986); N. Riordan, 'Private Venture Schools in Western Australia between 1829 and 1914', M. Ed. Thesis, University of Western Australia, 1990.

gender, suggesting that the ideals of femininity which they espoused were within the family paradigm and therefore found a ready market with parents who anxiously looked back on the certainties of home amid the uncertainties of new colonial soil.<sup>107</sup> As in Britain, parents used education as a means of social confirmation and advance, seeking to reproduce the elite and its dominant culture. Within her school domain,

the lady Principal flourished within the consensus of the middle class gentility and respectability in a close textured and intimate society...she negotiated with her clientele an unspoken contract of approval, a personal accolade of professionalism which was not negotiable upon the transfer of the school to another owner. Often lacking formal qualifications, she relied on moral capital and personal reputation.<sup>108</sup>

Theobald stamps her lady Principals with the caste mark of gentility as accomplished Christian women of sense and propriety, rather than with professional canons of separation of private and professional persona. However, she argues that they assumed entrepreneurial, non-domestic roles and within ideological constraints created a legitimate space for studies for women where they nurtured feminine traditions and expertise.<sup>109</sup> In contrast to rational male studies which led to the professions and commerce and hence mastery of the public world, Theobald describes the essentially oppressive conditions of intuitive woman whose education centred round the pursuit of excellence in the orthodox accomplishment skills. These confirmed her in the private sphere, enhancing her womanly moral excellence and expectation of serving others, but barred her from public life and direct political influence.<sup>110</sup> Theobald believes that women's efforts to obtain education were evidence of an urge to pursue excellence and to understand the intellectual and cultural movements of the day. Gradually, private ladies' schools were reformed by the public accreditation of University entrance examinations, accepting the male curriculum to achieve common accountability at the same time as maintaining feminine accomplishments and proprieties. By the mechanism of this 'double conformity', a resonance of the British position, they did not overtly challenge the accepted gender order. Rather it was progressively reshaped by stealth and watchful diligence.

In *Her Natural Destiny*, an elucidation of girls' education in colonial New South Wales, Noeline Kyle reiterates the importance of the accomplishments curriculum to the elite, arguing that 'the assurance of an education informed by good taste, elegance, proper restraint, dignity and grace had much appeal.'<sup>111</sup> Pointing out that although cultured colonial women were expected to face rougher living conditions and to endure isolation from the art, theatre and social life of a much more congenial English environment, every effort

---

<sup>107</sup> Theobald, 'Women and Schools', p. 128.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 153, 161.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 29, 360.

<sup>111</sup> Kyle, *Her Natural Destiny*, p. 5.

was made to continue the refined and leisured schooling of their past. Kyle suggests that women used their energy to establish and maintain institutions which would counter the unsavoury elements of colonial society. As their status depended on the maintenance of a defined and refined, private domestic role, middle class girls were trained to admire gentility and fine manners.

Kyle argues that the state won the right to control elementary education, which was differentiated by class and gender, in 1848. New South Wales governments also supported denominational schools between 1848 and 1865, when their female enrolments exceeded twice those in private schools.<sup>112</sup> However, when this support ended in 1866, Kyle suggests that minimal regulation, governments which supported *laissez faire* and the promise of great commercial opportunity in an energetic economy, proved fertile ground for independent enterprise in education. Private ventures flourished in both rural and metropolitan areas, attracting enrolments of nearly 11 000 girls by 1880. The majority of these 'select' schools were at elementary level, but some achieved higher standards of rigour in diverse academic subjects, including mathematics, Latin, French and geography.<sup>113</sup>

These schools were characterised by the enterprise of the women who established and staffed them. Elaborating, Kyle suggests,

Extravagant claims by newly arrived women of wide travelling and teaching experience no doubt impressed local parents cut off from the often longed for traditions of England and Europe. The claims might have crumbled under close scrutiny, but with transport and communications at such a primitive level, little could be done to check their reliability. Thus, a few men and women were able to embellish their qualifications and talents to enhance their chances of attracting more fee-paying clients in the private venture school system.<sup>114</sup>

Pointing out the great range of teaching expertise from the unqualified to well educated professionals, Kyle concludes that, compared with smaller establishments, the leading established schools offered greater security, professional development and financial remuneration. They therefore attracted the better teachers and created a hierarchy of schools.

However, in the 1880s even the superior New South Wales private girls' establishments were challenged by competition, from government education in four girls' state secondary schools from 1883, and from new schools created and supported by the Church.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., pp. 19, 227.

<sup>113</sup> Four schools in particular are cited, Emily Baxter's Argyle School, Mary Ann Flower's Sydney Ladies' College, Florence Hooper's Cambridge School and Miss Rennie's Ladies' School. Ibid., pp. 35-37, 100-102.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>115</sup> Methodist Ladies' College, Burwood, opened in 1886, Presbyterian Ladies' College, Croydon, in 1888. St Catherine's, Sydney, 1856, and St Gabriel's, Waverley, 1893, opened as privately owned schools, but later developed under the auspices of the Church of England. Sydney Church of England Girls' Grammar School, Darlinghurst, was opened directly by the Church in 1903. Ibid., pp. 84, 88, 90-97. See also J.



Catholic Orders and Boards and Protestant denominations, Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican, developed schools which extended a 'sound and complete liberal education' to girls, offering a serious academic curriculum which prepared candidates for public examinations.<sup>116</sup> Following the acceptance of women by the University of Sydney from 1881, the development of significant Church schools for girls in New South Wales appears to parallel the thrust for an increasingly academic curriculum, determined by external examination. As in Victoria, male examination standards were adopted in addition to the maintenance of specific ladies' accomplishments and proprieties, which signalled the high moral and religious tone expected in these schools by their genteel, paying clientele.

The different historical and economic determinants of these colonies resulted in the creation of substantial Church schools earlier than in South Australia, where their origin dates from the last decade of the nineteenth century. Their later genesis may help to explain the significance in South Australia of the government Advanced School for Girls which offered direct competition to the privileged position previously enjoyed by private venture schools. This subject will be considered further in later chapters.

The development of ladies' schools in Queensland and Western Australia as in English-speaking Canada, followed similar paths of small, often transient, privately owned schools which offered, at best, the 'English curriculum' with varying accomplishments in a domestic setting, before the creation of larger, more secure foundations with Church or Company backing.<sup>117</sup> The structure and size of these later schools allowed the development of a more academic curriculum, which required graded classes and a sequential pattern of learning, systematic management and an increasingly professional school ambience. In short, similar shifts took place from amateurish schooling which emphasised dependence and domesticity to a more rigorous, professional, competitive education which gave preparation for a more public future for women.

Whether in Britain or Australia, these changing educational patterns helped to determine the steady alteration to a woman's status and consequently in the life choices which she might make. They were the foundation of her slow growth towards increased autonomy and independence.

---

Milburn, 'Girls' Secondary Education in New South Wales 1880-1930', M.A. Thesis, University of Sydney, 1965.

<sup>116</sup> Kyle makes the point that 'Anglican women retained a measure of control of their schools and were enterprising, enthusiastic workers for education.' *Ibid.*, p. 91. This direct control was altered by the management style of Church schools.

<sup>117</sup> J. Errington, 'Ladies and Schoolmistresses: Educating Women in early Nineteenth Century Upper Canada', *Historical Studies in Education*, Vol.6, No. 1, 1991, pp. 71-96.

## South Australian Education

The impetus of the 1970s Women's Movement generated an interest in the education of girls in nineteenth century South Australia. The field received scholarly attention in 1985 in Helen Jones' seminal work, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, which explores the educational possibilities of women and girls from 1875, describing four girls' private schools, including Hardwicke College, Unley Park School and Dryburgh House. The independent selection of these schools for this thesis suggests their importance in the educational picture and reiterates the difficulty of obtaining information to assemble a comprehensive account of girls' education in South Australia during the period.<sup>118</sup> Jones makes a number of important points, including that 'each carried the stamp of its headmistress, indicating the influential capacity of the women who held these positions,' evidence which suggests that it was clearly considered appropriate for women to be in charge of girls' education.<sup>119</sup> She concludes that 'this indicates something of the educated women's standing in the society', a factor which will be further considered in this thesis. Jones also asserts that an intrinsic weakness of the private school was that the survival of each establishment depended on the health and strength of its principal. Confirming that these schools offered a wide liberal education, Jones discusses the importance of University examinations, the place and influence of music and the growing awareness of new possibilities in the 1890s. This careful exposition has proved a valuable starting point, which this thesis, with the benefit of augmented research, will build on and extend in scope. Jones' later work *In Her Own Name* also considers opportunities for women in education from the perspective of the teaching profession. Discussing its disabilities in pay and subordinate conditions for women, Jones critiques the establishment of the Council of Education in 1875 which she maintains officially endorsed the male bias, perpetuating the inferior place of women throughout the teaching service. Similar male superiority also influenced the initial curriculum for University examinations, a debate which is examined later in this thesis.

Alison Mackinnon's study, *One Foot on the Ladder*, relates the story of the first government high school for girls in South Australia, the influential Advanced School for Girls. Founded in 1879, it held scholastic achievement paramount, offering 'a serious academic education with the possibility of university education and entry into the professions', manifesting aims not dissimilar to those of the North London Collegiate

---

<sup>118</sup> Jones chose to research The Unley Park School, Miss Martin's, Dryburgh House and Hardwicke. She also discusses the later Tormore and Methodist Ladies' College. Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, pp. 68-86.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70. Jones cites the examples of Professor C.H. Pearson at Presbyterian Ladies' College in Melbourne and Miss Cook at the Advanced School. However, these were Church or government schools, therefore not strictly comparable to the privately owned schools of this study.

School on which it was probably modelled.<sup>121</sup> In examining its pupil clientele, Mackinnon recalls that sceptical politicians feared that the school would be patronised by rich men hoping to gain education for their daughters “on the cheap”, so required it to be financially self supporting. With annual fees of twelve guineas, charges comparable to private establishments, the main proportion of parents came from the merchant and agent class, whose middle class status was further confirmed by home location.<sup>122</sup> There were few working class girls though a veneer of availability was apparent in the offer of six competitive bursaries for the academically able.<sup>123</sup> Although Mackinnon asserts that the majority of girls came from state primary schools, many came from private schools, (47% of the 1896 population), signalling that the Advanced School was a competitor with this group in the education market.<sup>124</sup> Staff from private schools also chose to work at the Advanced School and at least two proprietors, Mrs Kelsey and Miss Ellen Thornber, gained valuable experience there before concentrating on their own schools. Private schools were popular teaching arenas for Advanced School Old Scholars who had achieved higher qualifications, further proof of the relationship which Mackinnon styles ‘somewhat reciprocal and intertwined’. However, in contrast to private enterprises, government backing assured the school’s continuity, and it appears to have been shielded from the ravages of the poor economic situation and drought conditions of the 1890s which influenced its private competitors. The Advanced School’s greater size, an average of 117 girls of secondary status from 1896-1906, gave it the critical mass which helped to assure its superiority in publicly accountable examinations, in which it was pre-eminent from the early 1880s.<sup>125</sup> However, Mackinnon suggests that the challenge it posed caused private schools to strengthen the academic content of their curricula.<sup>126</sup> This present study tests that hypothesis with respect to the four schools investigated. If the presence of the Advanced School acted as an academic spur to private schools, the gentility and ladylike ambience of the latter offered a measure of comparison to Advanced School parents, which encouraged corresponding standards of propriety in order to appeal to similar clientele. The Advanced School aligned itself to the more prominent private schools in a variety of ways, including sharing such activities as the Home Reading Union, Mr Leschen’s gymnastics displays and the League of Empire.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, Mackinnon suggests that the Advanced School had ‘quasi private status’, which was further confirmed by the presence of the third Headmistress, Miss George, 1886-1908. She was a prominent member of the Collegiate Schools’ Association,

---

121 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

122 *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 120.

123 *Ibid.*, Table 4.11, p. 188.

124 These included pupils who transferred from the schools of this study. Between 1894 and 1906, nine transferred from Hardwicke, six from the Unley Park School, seventeen from Dryburgh and six from Yoothamurra. *Advanced School Register, 1894-1906.*

125 *Ibid.*, Table 3.1, p. 183, Table 4.12, p. 189.

126 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

127 R. Petersen ‘Varieties of P.E. at Way College’, 1995 A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings, p. 332.

reading papers and holding meetings at her school.<sup>128</sup>

The history of private venture girls' education appears to have been of only minor interest to scholars studying the effects of education on the political and economic direction of society.<sup>129</sup> In his thesis 'Secondary and Church Schools in South Australia in the 19th century' R. J. Nicholas considers mainly the provision for boys, but includes three chapters about girls, which briefly outlined the development of the more prominent ladies' educational establishments, including Hardwicke, The Unley Park School and Dryburgh House.<sup>130</sup> Representative of the ideas of socialist feminists, Pavla Miller's work contrasts the effects of public initiative and private enterprise on the direction of society.<sup>131</sup> Bernard Hyams' source collection, *Learning and Other Things: Sources for a Social History of Education in South Australia*, displays important primary documents, including many representations from the domain of private girls' schools.<sup>132</sup> Bronwyn Halliday made a comparative study of four private girls' schools - Wilderness, Walford, Tormore and Methodist Ladies' College - comparing their preparation of girls for full citizenship and for the developing opportunities at the University of Adelaide from 1885 to 1925.<sup>133</sup> Halliday's work offers valuable insight into the differences of management and outcomes of the private venture enterprises and the organisational model of the Church-owned schools of the twentieth century.

The work of Penelope Baker, Chris Beasley, Janet Ramsey and Yvonne Routledge considers the social determinants on South Australian life. Their particular interest lies in discussion of the effect of domestic living patterns and family influence on girls and the universal influence of the cultural interests of music, art and literature, in addition to the social/economic restraints on women's lives.<sup>134</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Mackinnon, *One Step on the Ladder*, p. 139. Miss George, 'Teaching Botany', Collegiate Schools' Association Minutes, June, 1891, V1224, Mortlock Library of South Australia, hereafter M.L.S.A.

<sup>129</sup> C. Nance, 'The South Australian Social Experiment,' M.A. Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1977. Chapter V 'Females' mentions little on girls' education; D. J. Ashenden, 'South Australian Education 1836-1851', Hons. B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1963; Vick, 'The central Board of Education' discuss aspects of privately resourced education with only few specific references to girls' education.

<sup>130</sup> R. J. Nicholas, 'Secondary and Church Schools in South Australia in the 19th century', M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1953, Chapters 8-10.

<sup>131</sup> P. Miller, 'Schooling and Capitalism; Education and Change in South Australia, 1836-1925', Ph D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1980.

<sup>132</sup> Mackinnon, *The New Women*, discusses the position of the early women graduates of the University of Adelaide. Her Ph.D. Thesis, 'Awakening Women', reviews the entry of women into Higher Education and its effects on society. B. Hyams et al., *Learning and Other Things: Sources for a Social History of Education in South Australia*, (Adelaide: Government Printing Department, 1988), is a compendium of academic accessories.

<sup>133</sup> B. Halliday, 'Such Great Opportunities', M.Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1985.

<sup>134</sup> P. Baker, 'The Position of Women in South Australia 1836-1876', Hons. B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1983; C. Beasley, 'Educating Rita's Grandmother, The Social Relations of the Sexes and South Australian Curriculum Reform, 1875-1915', M.Ed. Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1984; J. K. Ramsey, 'Culture and Society in South Australia 1857-1866', Honours B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1963; Y. Routledge, 'Middle Class Children and their Family Lives in 19th Century South

Enduring Adelaide private venture schools published histories, as did two now extinct private girls' schools and the prominent Adelaide boys' foundations.<sup>135</sup> A study of these histories gives valuable insight into the workings of the schools and their communities. However, a noticeable feature of older publications is their factual, somewhat narrow and inward-looking approach, which gives little analysis or recognition of community values or indeed, of educational questions debated across the South Australian spectrum.

The history of girls' education in the Catholic tradition is the subject of writers Stephanie Burley, Marie Foale and Ronald Fogarty, among others.<sup>136</sup> However, Catholic education was either under the direct auspices of the Church via the Bishop or conducted by specific Catholic Orders and therefore not under the private venture rubric.

### **The Theoretical Background**

The complexity of the female experience suggests that a multiple array of theoretical tools is needed to clarify its relevance and analyse its importance. In the attempt to understand the social and educational development of girls at this period of South Australia's life the use of elements from various branches of history will be required. These include a consideration of social history and women's history and conceptual frameworks of feminist historians, including those of subjectivity.

A broad definition of the disciplined body of knowledge called History is in constant mutation. A nineteenth century view encapsulated the traditional historical centrality of the

---

Australia', M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1990.

<sup>135</sup> M. Scales, *Wilderness, One Hundred Years of History and Legend 1884-1984*, (Adelaide: Wilderness School Limited, 1984); H. Jones and N. Morrison, *Walford, A History of the School*, (Adelaide: Walford Council of Governors, 1968); *Walford: A Centenary History*, (Adelaide: Walford Council Of Governors, 1994); Dorothy Angove, *Tormore, A Tribute to Caroline Jacob*, (Adelaide, The Tormore Old Scholars' Association, 1962); Ira Nesdale, *The Third Bridge, Tsong Gyiam, McLaren Vale*, (Adelaide, Ira Nesdale, 1980); E. Frost, ed., *History of St. Peter's Girls School*, (Adelaide: Speciality Printers, 1971); J. Phillips, *Not Saints, but Girls*, (Adelaide: St Peter's Collegiate Girls' School Inc., 1994); D. E. and I. V. Hanson, *With Wings: A Centenary History of Immanuel College*, (Adelaide, Immanuel College, 1995); P. M. Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom: The First Seventy-five Years of the Methodist Ladies' College, Adelaide*, (Adelaide: Adelaide Methodist Ladies' College Council, 1977); M. S. Hood, *St Peter's College*, (Adelaide: St Peter's College, 1983); A. G. Price, *The Collegiate School of St Peter, 1847-1947*, (Adelaide: The School, 1947); J. F. Ward, *Prince Alfred College, The Story of the First Eighty Years, 1867-1948*, (Adelaide: Prince Alfred College, 1951); R. M. Gibbs, *A History of Prince Alfred College*, (Adelaide: Prince Alfred College 1984); W. R. Ray, *Pulteney Grammar School 1847-1972*, (Adelaide, Council of Pulteney Grammar School, 1973).

<sup>136</sup> S. Burley, 'None More Anonymous? Catholic teaching Nuns, their Secondary Schools and Students in South Australia 1880-1925', M.Ed Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1992; M. J. Foale, *The Josephite Story The Sisters of St Joseph: their Foundation and early History 1866-1893*, (Sydney: St Joseph's Generalate, 1989); R. Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia*, Vols. 1 and 11, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959). These works give a broad picture of the range of education opportunities open to Catholic girls in South Australia from the 1860s.

male adult. Reflecting the patriarchal society, Thomas Carlyle wrote 'No great man lives in vain. The history of the world is but the biography of great men.'<sup>137</sup> A interpretation of History which has circulated since 1911 reads 'the aggregate of past events and the study of important or public events, especially human affairs.'<sup>138</sup> In 1991 Keith Jenkins attempted a 'methodologically informed sceptical/ironic' definition, determining history as

a shifting, problematic discourse, ostensibly about the past, that is produced by a group of present minded workers whose products correspond to a range of power bases which structure and distribute the meanings of histories along a dominant-marginal spectrum.<sup>139</sup>

He argues that although historical facts cannot be disputed in the light of primary evidence, the interpretation of historical trends is dependant upon who is the analyst and the power base from which the interpretation is made. This leads on to the question whether history written by women differs from that of men. At the very least, there is a variation in subject matter, as the following commentary helps to demonstrate.

Social history deals with all fields of human enquiry in which the personal, the private and the mundane are legitimate areas. Under this rubric, the study of activities which do not fall within the definition of 'important public events' is given new prominence, including community experiences, domesticity, family affairs and the minutiae of everyday life. Details of these are critical in building up a picture of 'all human activities and their reciprocal relationships'.<sup>140</sup> In a patriarchal society, women's activities were rarely under public scrutiny as they took place in the private sphere, the home. Social history is therefore of special importance to women as the exploration of the position and contribution of their lives is given greater significance, helping to restore them to the historical record. But also under examination is the extent to which wider political and social forces set boundaries to the private experience, and, conversely, how the public behaviour of men and women is rooted in cultural notions of gender which were learned in and sustained by the private sphere.<sup>141</sup>

Deprecating the idea of history as a 'universal human story exemplified by the lives of men', Joan Scott asserts that the subject of women has been either grafted on to other traditions or studied in isolation from them.<sup>142</sup> It is notable that two of the most scholarly and widely read historians of South Australia, Douglas Pike and John Hirst, in the male political/social historical tradition as conceived in the 1950s and 1960s, make only occasional

---

<sup>137</sup> T. Carlyle, quoted in *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, p. 55, 13.

<sup>138</sup> *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 509

<sup>139</sup> K. Jenkins: *Rethinking History*, (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 5, 26.

<sup>140</sup> After the French *Annales* school quoted by Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', p. 4.

<sup>141</sup> This thesis is well explored in Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.

<sup>142</sup> J. Scott, 'Toward a Feminist History' in *Gender and the Politics of History*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 16.

remarks about women. For instance, Hirst dismisses women in the city with 'Adelaide was kinder to women than the country. It offered employment in domestic service and in the textile and clothing industries.'<sup>143</sup> Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans assert "'women" [were] vaguely conceived and dismissed from analysis as a biological constant'.<sup>144</sup>

The Women's Movement of the 1970s provided a strong impetus for women to uncover their past, prompting a flowering of a sub-set of social history, women's history, which has developed significantly during the last twenty years.<sup>145</sup> Historians including Patricia Grimshaw, Joan Scott, Joan Kelly-Gadol and Dale Spender justified their reasons for centring their research on the concerns of women. They argued that in a patriarchal society women were subordinate and suffered again by being subordinate in the patriarchal process of history writing. Grimshaw sums this up,

In Australia, as in other Western countries, women have recorded their own and other women's lives to celebrate their own women-centred version of the past, yet such writing had no impact on mainstream, male-defined historiography in which accepted myths of the past rigidly excluded women's experience.<sup>146</sup>

Women's history had been marginalised partly because many questions asked of the past by men had been irrelevant to women. Further, as the majority of women had little political influence and wielded no power, stories they told did not appear to be of value to a dominant male audience. Accordingly, one of the principal goals of women's history was to redefine the canons of traditional history so that events and processes central to women's experience assumed historical centrality. Women had to be recognised not as victims of circumstance but as active agents of social change. Clearly defending this position, this remains a major aim, as the recent feminist history of Australia, *Creating a Nation*, confirms with its opening assertion,

The creation of nations has traditionally been seen as men's business. In the formenting of revolutions, the forging of new political orders and the fashioning of national identities, men have positioned themselves as the main players. We wish to challenge this view of history, by asserting the agency and creativity of women in the process of national regeneration.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*; J. Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country 1870-1917*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973), p. 7.

<sup>144</sup> K. Saunders and R. Evans, eds., *Gender Relations in Australia*, (Marrickville, New South Wales: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Group (Australia) Pty. Ltd, 1992), p. xvii.

<sup>145</sup> A. Mackinnon, 'Women's Education: Linking History and Theory', *History of Education Review*, Vol.13, No.2 1984, p. 6.

<sup>146</sup> P. Grimshaw 'Women in History: Reconstructing the Past' in *Women, Social Science and Public Policy*, J. Goodnow and C. Pateman, eds., (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985), p. 33; This argument is also developed in J. Scott, 'Towards a feminist History', p. 16; Also in J. Kelly-Gadol, 'The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History', *Signs* Vol.1, No.4, Summer, 1976, p. 816; and in Spender ed., *Feminist Theorists*, p. 4.

<sup>147</sup> P. Grimshaw, M. Lake, A. McGrath and M. Quartly, *Creating A Nation*, (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books Ltd., 1994), p. 1.

Carol Smith-Rosenburg set a second goal of women's history - 'to explore the complexity of the female experience.'<sup>148</sup> Patricia Grimshaw and June Purvis argue that the purpose of women's history was not to create a pantheon of ideologically correct heroines in the manner of Carlyle, but to analyse the evolution of women's roles, in the context of the effect of economic change upon the society's economic resources and power, institutional developments, and ideological conceptualisations.<sup>149</sup>

The gradual attainment of these two goals is recognisable by an increase in the volume of scholarship in a specific branch of women's history, the history of girls' education. A rich historiography traces the events and examines the background of women in Victorian Britain during a period of great social and educational change.<sup>150</sup> Such work confirms women at the centre of development and dispute in the adoption of a set of values which differed from those dominant within the period where aspects of the legal and social position of women were unjust, inequitable and in need of reform.<sup>151</sup> They portray women and girls as both active agents and as victims shaped by forces outside their control. Later works in Australia by Helen Jones, Alison Mackinnon, Marjorie Theobald, Noeline Kyle and Carol Chambers plot similar territory.<sup>152</sup> These studies in girls' education moved from the stage of 'documenting the events' to one of greater complexity by an examination of the context in which both social and educational change took place.<sup>153</sup> Important conceptual ideas were applied - the notion of 'separate spheres', changes in the division of labour, patterns of socialisation and the school's role in the construction of femininity. The expansion of these concepts will be used in this thesis as a guide to the exploration of the development and significance of educational opportunity for girls.

In the analysis of links between these conceptual notions a further progression was found in the quest to interpret the dynamic interplay which constructs relationships between people. The links were seen as important understandings to be explored as the focus of feminist scholarship which is centrally concerned with the issue of women's status, examining her place and power including the roles and positions held by her in society in comparison with those of men. In the feminist analysis of the social order, gender is a category as fundamental as other classifications, such as class and race. These three categories,

---

<sup>148</sup> C. Smith-Rosenburg, in *Women, Social Science and Public Policy*, Goodnow and Pateman, eds., (London: George, Allen and Unwin, 1985), p. 53.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., p. 53. These assertions are also developed in J. Purvis, 'Hard Lessons, The Lives and Education of Working Class Women in Nineteenth Century England', *History of Education*, Vol.18, No.2 June, 1989.

<sup>150</sup> R. Deem, *Women and Schooling*, (London: Rourledge and Paul, 1978); Bryant, *Unexpected Revolution*; Burstyn, *Victorian Education*; Delamont and Duffin eds., *Nineteenth Century Women*; Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*; Purvis, *History of Women's Education*.

<sup>151</sup> Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 4.

<sup>152</sup> See Notes 3, 106.

<sup>153</sup> A. Mackinnon, 'Women's Education: Linking History and Theory', *History of Education Review* Vol.13 No.2, 1984, p. 6.



including the particularly important relation between the sexes, are considered to be socially rather than naturally constituted. The relation between the sexes has its own development, varying with changes in social organisation. Embedded in and shaped by the social order, this relationship is integral to any study of the social order. The manifestations of domination and victimisation are vital areas of inquiry. As Natalie Zemon Davis summarises in 1976,

Our goal is to understand the significance of the sexes, of gender groups in the historical past. Our goal is to understand the range in sex roles and in sexual symbolism, to find out what meaning they had and how they functioned to maintain the social order or to promote its change.<sup>154</sup>

Ten years later, Judith Gerson and Kathy Peiss see gender as,

....defined by socially constructed relationships between women and men, among women, and among men in social groups. Gender is not a rigid or reified analytic category imposed upon human experience, but a fluid one whose meaning emerges in specific social contexts as it is created and recreated throughout human actions.<sup>155</sup>

They contend that gender relations is a study of both domination and negotiation and that women 'struggle effectively to enhance their social position and demonstrate the permeability of the borderline between the separate public and private spheres'. The writers counter the fallacy that men are 'one dimensional, omnipotent oppressors' and argue that 'male behaviour and consciousness emerge from a complex interaction with women as they at times initiate and control, while at other times cooperate [with] or resist the actions of women'. They suggest that men and women negotiate for social privileges on unequal terrain and with unequal opportunities and resources, pointing out that women are not utterly powerless beings, any more than men are totally empowered. Both struggle, resulting in social and historical change. This conceptual framework is a useful starting point for the examination of the pattern of societal relations which was being forged in colonial South Australia, whose changing nature from pioneering days to times of greater economic security will be integral to an understanding of the dynamics of society. In this thesis, the concepts of domination and negotiation are well exemplified in the lives of the teachers and their pupils.

Historically, a belief in the need to ameliorate the oppression of women in domestic life and the forging of equal rights between men and women gave rise to the 'women's question' and the 'woman movement', with the later styling of their concerns as 'feminism'. Historian Nancy Cott cites three fundamental core beliefs to feminism - an opposition to sex hierarchy,

---

<sup>154</sup> N. Zemon Davis, address to the Second Berkshire Conference, October, 1975, quoted Joan Kelly-Gadol, 'The Social Relation of the Sexes', p. 817.

<sup>155</sup> J. M. Gerson and K. Peiss 'Boundaries, Negotiation, Consciousness: Reconceptualising Gender Relations', *Social Problems*, Vol.32, No.4, 1985, p. 317.

a belief that women's condition is socially constructed and not ordained either by God or nature, and a perception by women that they constitute a biological sex and social grouping.<sup>156</sup> The English Victorian pioneers of a new order, Emily Davies, Frances Power Cobbe, Josephine Butler and Millicent Fawcett subscribed to these beliefs, as did many of their contemporaries.<sup>157</sup> The question of whether the South Australian Headmistresses in this thesis were deliberately feminist in their approach will be considered.

During the 1980s the inferiority which women felt in public life and their subordination to the home were themes which were of interest to feminist historians. Concepts like 'gender order' to distinguish the differences, but not the nature of the distinction, between men and women, were developed by Jill Matthews and Chris Beasley<sup>158</sup> The concept that women are gendered differently from men, but not necessarily in an inferior mode, is a compelling line of argument which will be useful in teasing out the position and influence of the proprietors of the four schools in this thesis.

In the important 1993 issue of *Melbourne Studies in Education*, devoted to Feminism and Education, editor Lyn Yates considers the definite change which she perceives in the concerns and modes of analysis adopted by feminist researchers in education since the middle 1980s. The publication confirms that contemporary feminist theory has a fast developing interest in subjectivity, 'in girls and women as desiring, multiply-constructed, culture located, non-unified beings.'<sup>159</sup> Yates argues,

Analysis of the feelings, aspirations and inner thoughts of young learners are thought to be critical in the exploration of deeper understanding of their development. In historical terms, the sensitive comprehension of feelings and aspirations when added to the totality of factual information may help to reorientate the validity of the proposition and give a more valid interpretation of the true position. Subjective discourse also gives insight not only into contemporary events as they were conceived but also into the possibilities for change which may or may not have been apparent at the time. Recognition of subjectivity may help to construct a richer and better understood history, one in which the concerns and interests of women are highlighted and appreciated in an appropriate fashion.<sup>160</sup>

The current Australian debate on subjectivity is lively.<sup>161</sup> It is applied to the contemporary education scene in efforts to understand popular culture and its meanings

---

<sup>156</sup> N. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 3.

<sup>157</sup> Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>158</sup> J. J. Matthews, 'Feminist History', *Labour History*, 50, May, 1986, p. 148. Beasley, 'Educating Rita's Grandmother', pp. 57 -59.

<sup>159</sup> L. Yates, 'Feminism and Education: Writing in the 90s', Editorial, *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1993, p. 3.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5. Yates translates the argument into contemporary terms by confirming that one of the aims of the contemporary feminist education project is to develop in schoolgirls a self-regulating feminist subjectivity.

<sup>161</sup> Two articles in the *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1995 confirm this. S. Puddle 'Writing Against the Clock: theorising current feminist histories', pp. 1- 11 and D. L. Dwyer, 'Good and Mad Women (teachers): the case of Grace Neven', pp. 12 - 29.

relative to rational and instrumental messages which schools purvey. Employing post-modernist terms, it is also used as a powerful tool in the reading of historical records and the exploration of 'culture as discourse', offering new ways of seeing the constructed subject as an individual.

By examining the diaries and writing of early University students, Alison Mackinnon has explored an understanding of their consciousness in addition to the material structures which shaped the lives of women in the past. She poses the question as to whether it was a change in their way of viewing themselves in the social world which ultimately led to an explanation of social change, or the notion of increased choice between the various positions available.<sup>162</sup> In her article, 'Writing the lives of women teachers', Marjorie Theobald explores the instability of women's position by examining their fluctuating identities.<sup>163</sup> In her carefully told story of the demise of two Victorian women teachers, Theobald discusses the notion that their destruction was caused by the 'very possibility that they could be both women and teachers in the particular circumstances of their times.' She argues that these teachers were examples of women 'caught in the quicksands of conflicting subjectivities - wife, daughter, sister and servant of the state'. They exemplify the instability of the category of 'woman'. Theobald has written their history and the story of fellow teachers by reconstructing their lives from the official record.<sup>164</sup> In her contemporary discussion about the writing of women's history, Theobald explores the project of 'telling women's lives' and the part played by narrative, pointing out that there appears to be a choice between using narrative and a theoretical approach. However, Theobald argues that both may inform each other, asserting that 'the dialectic between theory and narrative may be enhanced by post-modernist insights into the act of 'knowing', the status of text, and of subjectivity.'<sup>165</sup>

By reviewing their diaries and contemporary personal writing, a sensitive analysis of feelings, aspirations and inner thoughts may add to understanding and reveal a better comprehension of what South Australian girls thought of themselves. Personal writing may illuminate an individual's comprehension of her position in the order of things, indicating whether she recognised the society as patriarchal, how she considered the mother's role and if she envied brothers. Subjective discourse gives not only insight into contemporary events as they were conceived but also the possibilities for change which may or may not have been apparent at the time. However, one result of the marginality of women from the main body of historical knowledge is that information is difficult to retrieve as women's written work

---

<sup>162</sup> A. Mackinnon, 'Nowhere to plant the sole of the foot?' *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1995, p. 29.

<sup>163</sup> M. Theobald, 'Writing the lives of women teachers', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1993, pp.39-50.

<sup>164</sup> M. Theobald, 'The Administration of Gender in the Case of Victoria's 'Lady Teachers', 1850-1900', Presidential address, A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings 1994, supplementary volume, pp. 1-34.

<sup>165</sup> Theobald, 'Lives of Women Teachers', p. 40.

was ill appreciated and evidence of it was often destroyed, if indeed it was ever encouraged to be written. Nevertheless, in this study during scrutiny of the writing of women and girls in diaries, memoirs and novels, the concept of subjectivity will be under review in order to help an understanding of their appreciation of their position and priorities, either chosen or imposed, in their contemporary society.

Overall, the study of women's history in private venture schools poses many methodological problems. With little public accountability required, the private nature of these establishments did not encourage written records, unlike the more public nature of debate which could develop concerning the management of government or proprietary schools.<sup>166</sup> Information about private girls' schools is scant indeed. Details have been evoked from newspaper advertisements and from Speech Day reports. However, much of the latter material is over enthusiastic and laudatory, with little or no adverse comment and required careful moderation to achieve a balanced interpretation. A range of strategies has been employed to try to reconstruct an accurate picture of the period. Remaining diaries and memoirs have been scrutinised to furnish biographical data, newspapers and journals scanned to glean supporting evidence and talks have been delivered to appropriate groups in the expectation of uncovering previously hidden material and to encourage the retrieval of memorabilia.<sup>167</sup> Personal interviews were conducted with the few remaining Old Scholars, and information was sought by letter or telephone, often from interstate or abroad, from descendants of former pupils. A radio 'Talk Back' programme stimulated both specific interest and also increased public awareness.<sup>168</sup> In order to try to appreciate their particular ambience, school sites have been visited. In these diverse ways, information and narrative concerning the schools has been assembled to give scope for analysis and comparison.

The 'ladies' schools' are important in our understanding of the history of the educational landscape of South Australia as private venture schools were the sole providers of 'advanced studies' until 1875, when the expanded government system provided a limited opportunity by expanding their Model schools to encompass a few interested girls. The opening of the Advanced School for Girls in 1879 and some 'superior schooling' provided by the Catholic Orders from 1881 increased girls' possibilities.<sup>169</sup> The relevance of the 'ladies' schools' was particularly demonstrated in 1876, the year of the opening of the University of Adelaide, which, in advance of the two other Australian Universities and all but London University in

---

<sup>166</sup> For instance, the 'acrimonious public debate' in 1875 and 1899 at the Brisbane Girls' Grammar School. M. Theobald, *Knowing Women*, (Melbourne; Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 100, 103.

<sup>167</sup> These included the Adelaide Lyceum Club, March, 1994; the Stirling Probus Group, November, 1994; Independent Schools' Board Deputies' Group, October, 1995.

<sup>168</sup> Philip Satchell's Talk Back Radio programme, Adelaide 5 AN, 24th September, 1993.

<sup>169</sup> These include Sisters of Mercy from 1881, Irish Dominicans from 1882 and English Dominicans from 1886. Burley, 'None More Anonymous?', pp. 162-164.

Britain, accepted both men and women from its inception.<sup>170</sup> In itself this was a highly notable development, but of even greater significance was the fact that of the fifty two non-matriculated students who enrolled in the first classes, thirty one were women, many of whom must have been educated either by governesses at home or in private girls' schools.<sup>171</sup>

This thesis will examine the changes in educational provision for girls which was stimulated by the opportunity for their educational advance which resulted from women's acceptance to study at University. By examining the four named schools, more queries will be raised. Among these will be the important question: Did these schools make a significant difference to the lives of the women who were directly influenced by them - the Headmistresses, the teachers, the girls, the mothers and their parental role? Indeed, how far was the societal fabric and culture of South Australia changed by the influence of these schools? In particular did these schools help to promote the gradual change from dependency to independence which was transforming the life expectations of South Australian women during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

---

<sup>170</sup> Sydney University, founded 1852, only accepted girls in 1881. The University of Melbourne, whose 1855 foundation was heralded with great acclaim, accepted girls from 1880 amid great controversy. R. J. W. Selleck, 'The Founding of The University of Melbourne', Presidential Address, 1993 A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference, Melbourne.

<sup>171</sup> List of Non-Matriculated students, 1876 Session, *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1877, p. 10.

## Chapter 2

### The South Australian Middle Class

All is flux, nothing is stationary.

Heraclitus, 513 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The blueprint for the Province of South Australia, as conceived in the Wakefield Plan, was to create an orderly, self-sufficient and prosperous society. Built on British institutions, the society was to guarantee freedom of speech, religious toleration and minimum interference in the lives of the citizens. From the first, a classless society was not envisaged, rather a reproduction of British society but with class distinctions set along a continuum. According to Wakefield, social status was not to be dependent on birth or inherited fortune and immigrants could better their place according to their talents and efforts.<sup>2</sup> All grades of people were to be welcomed and social improvement was encouraged with the resulting amelioration of the stratified rank system. Initiative, hard work and industry were seen as necessary qualities vital to the development of the society, where social advance was available to all.

Basic to the realisation of the plan was the concept of regulating emigration. Men of moderate means could purchase land, bringing a flow of capital which, with initiative and industry, could be used to improve their position.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the younger sons of landed families, members of the lesser gentry and the middle classes were attracted by the lure of enhanced status, fortune and security. These 'uneasy classes', free settlers, were welcomed as leaders who could affect standards, morals and manners and uphold respectability.<sup>4</sup> In South Australia there was no free land to be seized by the first fortune hunters. All property was to be sold at a 'sufficient price' and the money used to attract the necessary population.<sup>5</sup> Poorer emigrants were to be offered cheap transport and given a start, which ensured a supply of labour with the promise of steady economic advancement under a capitalist enterprise system.. They were carefully selected for their required skills and for their basic

---

<sup>1</sup> Alluded to by Aristotle, *de Caelo*, 3.1.18 (ed Weise) and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> E. G Wakefield, 'Letter from Sydney' in M. F. Lloyd Prichard ed. *Collected Works of E. G. Wakefield*, (Glasgow: Collins, 1968), pp. 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> "The ultimate object is that there should exist those circumstances which are best calculated to attract capital and labour, but especially capital from the old country.' Parliamentary Papers 1836 512, Evid Qs. 747:752, quoted in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> A term for these classes coined by Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, pp. 5-7.

<sup>5</sup> This was high enough to ensure sufficient yield, but low enough not to act as a deterrent. It was usually £1 an acre.

education and good character.<sup>6</sup> Upward social mobility was the essence of the plan and the emigration of family units was encouraged to ensure future generations. The theory was compelling, as Morphett wrote in 1837,

This is the country for a small capitalist, with sober and industrious habits. His family, which in England is often times an encumbrance, will be a fortune here; and he will attain a rank in society which in England is rarely attainable.

From the start, self-help was assumed with little interference from governments whose *laissez faire* attitude promoted individualism and independence. The individual rose or fell according to talent and industry. In all areas of life, hard work and respectability were the keystones of success, as summed up by a flourishing settler, 'The happy country where care and anxiety are not the companions of man is yet to be discovered; and in South Australia plenty and ease are not to be attained but by moderate exertion and prudent conduct.'<sup>7</sup> These conditions resulted in a society which enabled the establishment of a vibrant and ascendant class which assumed a measure of authority.

Of particular importance to the plan was the centrality of women. In order to ensure the necessary high birth rate and the civilising influence of family life, young healthy married couples were encouraged. In Wakefield's view, immorality resulted if there were too few respectable women, as exemplified in the convict colonies. Considering early New South Wales, Anne Summers' work argues the co-existence of two distinct female stereotypes, defined on the exaggerated characteristics of the basic notion that women are either good or evil.<sup>8</sup> The judgement of individual women depended upon whether or not they conformed to the wife/mother roles prescribed by the bourgeois family which led to the conception of women's role in society as either whores or police. Summers maintains that the early lack of family structure encouraged the labelling of all women as objects of sexual gratification, and only with increasingly firmly based societal structures did the police stereotype gained ascendancy which resulted in a gradual improvement of familial relations.

In his plan for a colony free of convicts, Wakefield believed that it was essential that equal numbers of men and women were maintained and single women were less welcome and only admitted for specific purposes.<sup>9</sup> It can be argued that from the birth of South Australia women were given a particular status and clear-cut behavioural expectations and that all women were envisaged as having an improving effect on the society as the agents of moral

---

<sup>6</sup> 'Only skilled and industrious labourers are needed. Men of imagination and energy make progress.' *George Fife Angas*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891), Chapter 5.

<sup>7</sup> T. Scott, *A Description of South Australia*, (Glasgow: D. Campbell, 1839), p. 21, quoted in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 153.

<sup>8</sup> A. Summers, *Dammed Whores and God's Police*, (Ringwood, Victoria, Penguin, 1975), pp. 291-314.

<sup>9</sup> Domestic servants were an exception. Single working class Irish girls were allowed as immigrants, partly for their utilitarian use and help 'to remove the spinster surplus.' Wakefield, 'Letter from Sydney', p. 165.

and mannerly behaviour, culture and religion.<sup>10</sup> Women were expected to be fellow pioneers with their men, to be capable and useful and to exhibit sound common sense. In addition to the bearing and rearing of children, theirs was the responsibility of house, cooking, garden, hens and various livestock. However, a woman had no special rights or privileges. As in Britain, she was the legal property of a man, her father, brother or husband. Not expected to take part in political, professional or business life, her chances of economic independence were scant as her range of opportunities for employment in the main was restricted to menial work requiring neither managerial nor entrepreneurial skills.<sup>11</sup> Her importance was defined as the domestic helpmeet of her husband and bearer of future generations. As such, she was an essential lynch-pin in the plans for the new Utopia.

Thus, two of the significant planks of the Wakefield Plan, the centrality of women and the ideal of attracting honest, sober God fearing emigrants with the aim of self improvement are important background theories in the development of future attitudes and behaviour in South Australian life.<sup>12</sup>

### **Pioneering Days**

Joan Burstyn asserts that the concepts of the Ideal Woman remained for a long time to inspire Victorian England.<sup>13</sup> British middle class emigrants to Australia transported the Ideal. However, during the hardships of early pioneering days it was difficult to reconcile the labour necessary for survival with former ideals of ladylike leisure. Mrs Annie Watts wrote of the abandonment of the genteel life of an educated woman and the 'call of duty' - the adjustment to the crudities of arduous colonial life.

Versed in all the uses of the needle, well educated and accomplished, her hands were assuredly more accustomed to piano and pencil than to hard drill, thick cloth, wax ends and tailor's goose.<sup>14</sup>

Samuel Davenport gave his wife, the well born daughter of a barrister from Calcutta, a sheep for a birthday present 'in order to interest her in her calling as a farmer's wife.'<sup>15</sup> The

---

<sup>10</sup> Nance, 'South Australian Social Experiment', Chapter V.

<sup>11</sup> Jones, *In her Own Name*, pp. ix-xvi.

<sup>12</sup> Governor Grey later reflected on the superior class of men he found in South Australia, 'In no colony was there such a number of clever men, of really proficient men in proportion to the population. In no part of the world have I seen a finer and more able set of men and women for founding a settlement. They were of the right stamp - determined, self-reliant, hopeful.' *Register*, 15th April, 1891, quoted in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 244.

<sup>13</sup> Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> Mrs Annie Watts, *Family Life In South Australia*, (Adelaide: W. K. Thomas and Co. 1890), facsimile edition no. 205, (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1978), p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> J. Brown, *Town Life in Pioneer South Australia*, (Adelaide, Rigby, 1980), p. 123.



Victorian stereotype was modified. As Helen Jones writes, 'the "perfect ladies" idealised by some Victorian writers were not among South Australia's first settlers.'<sup>16</sup>

Under hard physical circumstances, the pattern of family life was modified, with the labour of wives and children frequently used to ensure successful establishment in the colony.<sup>17</sup> For instance, the Sanders offspring, children of a formerly well established Lincolnshire manufacturer of sails, milked cows, plaited straw bonnets and made boots and shoes.<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Davidson, of 'an old family from Durham', in 1840 contended with unpacking, washing and sweeping dust on the arrival of her worldly goods by dray at her new home in Mount Barker in addition to nursing two children with dysentery.<sup>19</sup> Later, when a party of officials unexpectedly stayed the night, somewhat ruefully Elizabeth wrote, 'Colonial breeding is very different to English good breeding.' However, these difficult conditions honed a tradition of the usefulness and service of South Australian women as by fulfilling a useful purpose, women were assured of a significant role in which they gained the respect of men.

There is ample evidence to confirm the invaluable addition made by women in the development of the colony. In newspaper articles written at a distance of forty years, Catherine Helen Spence confirms the 'well directed industry of the settlers who owed much to the helpfulness and good management of the wives, sisters, and daughters of each household.'<sup>20</sup> Further, she recalled the gold discoveries of Victoria which in the early 1850s drew away at least three-fourths of the male population, leaving behind a body of capable women, 'whose independent character and various acquirements made them equal to keeping things surprisingly well attended to under trying conditions.' Spence's novels show the usefulness of women's contribution.<sup>21</sup> For instance, she argues in her second novel that in marriage hard work and tenderness were both important and that a successful woman blended cultural sense with practical ability.<sup>22</sup> The contemporary *Register*

---

<sup>16</sup> Jones, *In her Own Name*, p. 50.

<sup>17</sup> Routledge, 'Middle Class Children', p. 65.

<sup>18</sup> J. Sanders, *Settlement of George Sanders and his family, 1839*, (Adelaide: Pioneers Association of South Australia, 1955), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Davidson papers, 1842-1847, A 768, M.S.L.A.

<sup>20</sup> C. H. Spence, *Some Social Aspects of South Australian Life*, (Adelaide: *South Australian Register*, 1878), p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> C. H. Spence, *Clara Morison*, (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1854), facsimile to the first edition, p. vii; Nance, p. 200.

<sup>22</sup> C. H. Spence, *Tender and True*, (London: Smith and Elder, 1856). Spence wrote in her diary, 'The capacity for business of my Aunt Margaret who successfully conducted a farm in East Lothian, the wit and charm of my brilliant Aunt Mary and the sound judgement and accurate memory of my dear mother showed me early that woman was fit to share in the work in the world and that to make the world pleasant for men was not their only mission.' Spence Papers, P.R.G. 88/Series 8, p. 11, M.L.S.A. Spence's intellectual grasp of the values which were of long term value to the society were hewn out of this practical common sense.

supported this. An editorial criticised women for imitating the English habit of conducting morning calls and receptions to the neglect of domestic duties and a Gumeracha farmer objected to 'the contemporary English trend of teaching girls things of a frivolous nature.'<sup>23</sup> Clearly, usefulness, rather than showy ornamentation was valued in early colonial South Australia.

The religious underpinning of the new society coincided with the prominence of religion in developing capitalist societies. Many English emigrants were dissatisfied Dissenters who objected to the disabilities under which they laboured - compulsory parish tithing, indignities attached to the registration of births, burial, marriage and baptism for non-Anglicans with the superior assumptions of 'Church over chapel', grievances which were intolerable to persons of independence and lovers of liberty.<sup>24</sup> Thus emigration was a search for justice in other lands, primarily a religious venture, bringing ideas of liberation and independence in combination with optimistic hopes of a better life in a colony which guaranteed freedom of religion. Emigrants transported principles of voluntarism and a wary fear of the reinstatement of established Anglicanism. For many, their faith was paramount, the driving force in their lives.

The life of emigrant William Finlayson is an example of a colonist whose living faith was foremost in the activities associated with overcoming the challenges of establishing a livelihood and bringing up a family in the new land.<sup>25</sup> As a young man in London, the Scottish Baptist decided to seek service abroad as, 'I would be free to give my services to my beloved Saviour without pay.' Landing in raw physical conditions, Finlayson and his wife struggled from a tent at the port, built a rough house in Adelaide and thence to subsistence farming in Mitcham. His faith was strengthened by joining with other co-religionists, both men and women, in the founding of the first Baptist Church.<sup>26</sup> The trials and difficulties encountered in establishing a livelihood were predicated with 'God's Word and engaging in prayer, ever finding the Lord our helper'. He constantly confirmed his optimistic faith even while recovering after a bad fall which left him with a permanently weak back.<sup>27</sup> Finlayson's powerful personality encouraged the 'erecting of a house to be used as a schoolhouse during the week and as a place of worship on the Lord's day' and in starting a Sunday school 'whose spiritual results became manifest after many years'.<sup>28</sup> His

---

<sup>23</sup> *Register*, 20th May, 1850, p. 5; *Register*, 18th March, 1852, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 28.

<sup>25</sup> The Finlayson Book Committee, *Finlayson*: (Adelaide: The Finlayson Book Committee, 1987), includes extracts from the diary of William Finlayson, 1836-1897.

<sup>26</sup> Some the thirteen original members of the Church which met in a chapel in Hindley Street were Messrs. Randell, Scott, McLaren, Russell, and Cox and Mesdames Russell, Finlayson, Randell and Miss Ragless. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

sway over adults under his religious care and on young people, including own family of ten children, was far reaching.<sup>29</sup> His powerful influence encouraged the continuance of the Christian life and furthered a distinctive family heritage.<sup>30</sup> The binding nexus between religion and education and the continuing desire of immigrants to have the freedom to express them were exemplified in events of his life. At least one of Finlayson's daughters attended Mrs Thornber's embryo school, followed later by two grand-daughters. They became medical missionaries on the Indian Mission field and serve as excellent examples both of the importance and endurance of faith in the lives of believers and also of the advance of education of women over a generation.

Finlayson's story exemplifies a reliance on religion which to many emigrants was the overriding force, giving them the strength to try to make a pattern of the perplexing trials of their new environment. Religious conviction could give confidence as to how to behave, how to know what was right and what was wrong. It gave believers personal comfort and security and above all, certainty. Yvonne Routledge's thesis on the nineteenth century South Australian family, 'Middle Class Children and their Family Lives', suggests that consensus in religious belief was an important strength in family life as it could give meaning and provide a justification to families, especially in time of death or illness.<sup>31</sup> This certainty was further accepted by members of a religious organisation who could expect succour and care from their circle in time of financial or family trouble.

Contemporary South Australian novels also confirm the centrality of religion in everyday life. Religion is a major subject of discussion in Catherine Helen Spence's novels and in the works of Maud Jeanne Franc, including her best selling novel, *Marian*, where she explains, 'We have sought to place before you that which is most lovely, most pure, most undefiled. We have been actuated by a sincere desire to exhibit the beauty of pure religion as exemplified in the daily walk of life.'<sup>32</sup> This accords with the concept of Davidoff and Hall in *Family Fortunes*, who argue that religious belief and practice, 'the one thing needful,' offered individuals an identity and a community to which they could attach themselves.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> He left a legacy of sturdy believers who exemplified Godly living. W. A. Norman, *History of Mitcham*, (Adelaide, City of Mitcham, 1953), p. 76.

<sup>30</sup> By 1884 he had twenty four grandchildren and by 1987 there were over five hundred direct progeny of Helen and William Finlayson. *Finlayson*, pp. 53 - 115. One grandchild, Ethel Ambrose, a scholar of the Unley Park School, one of the first women doctors in South Australia, spent years on the mission field in India. See Chapter 5.

<sup>31</sup> Routledge, 'Middle Class Children', p. 108; An example was Elizabeth Brunskill who lost both children on the voyage to Australia. Brunskill Diaries, 1841, D. 5203(L), M.L.S.A.; Many churches had a specific ladies' organisation to help those in need, Dorcas Societies, Ladies' Guilds or Mothers' Unions. E. Scholefield, 'The Ladies Kindly visited: Philanthropy in Kensington and Norwood in the Nineteenth Century', B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981, pp. 13-20.

<sup>32</sup> Introduction to *Marian*, quoted in Barbara Wall, *Our Own Matilda*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1994), p. 34.

<sup>33</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 76.

In her work 'Culture and Society in South Australia 1857-1866', Janet Ramsey pointed out that from the start of settlement in the new land colonists had to establish a social structure, had to arrange and balance relationships with each other and to develop a political system under which to organise their lives.<sup>34</sup> An individual needed to find a way of earning a living and of securing a place in the social structure in order to create a pattern of life and adopt attitudes with which to live and think. The often arid and harsh environment, the primary survival needs of shelter, food and clothing had to be met at once. Pioneers worked hard to overcome difficulties. In a capitalist framework, their first aim after establishing themselves was either to build some capital or increase their resources by propitious investment. The practice of dealing in land was laid down early and continued to be a determining feature in the formation of the economy in colonial life.<sup>35</sup>

So that men could do the paid exterior work, women had to undertake the responsibilities of the household, in addition to bearing and nurturing children, family nursing and responsibility for wider kin. The *Register* regarded women as 'predestined by Providence to fulfil the domestic role', one which included the making and maintenance of clothes, food management in challenging climatic conditions and multifarious household duties.<sup>36</sup> Frequent reference is made in diaries of a living-in servant, a symbol of the status of middle class families, usually an ill-educated immigrant Irish girl who assisted hard pressed mothers with ubiquitous household chores.<sup>37</sup> Coral Chambers reports 'The colonial woman often had physical and mental tasks that tested all her bodily and emotional reserves. Improvisation and endurance were features of their lives, not Idealism'.<sup>38</sup>

Deprecating the traditional land-owning aristocracy of Britain, the majority of independent migrants of the 'middling classes' came to the colony in order to 'give themselves elbow room'.<sup>39</sup> Expectation was there. In 1841, Joseph Keynes wrote 'we are sure of moving

---

<sup>34</sup> Ramsey, 'Culture and Society in South Australia', p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> J. B. Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1917*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973), p. 202.

<sup>36</sup> *Register*, 20th May, 1850, p. 3; Jones, *In her Own Name*, p. 58.

<sup>37</sup> Brunskill papers; Diary of Mary Thomas, Thomas papers, V 1052, M.L.S.A.; Davidson papers, A. 768, M.L.S.A.; J. Sanders, *Settlement of George Sanders*; Diaries of Violet de Mole P.R.G. 39, M.L.S.A.; Duncan papers, P.R.G. 532/6, p. 94. M.L.S.A.; Dorothy Gilbert's Diary, Gilbert papers, P.R.G. 266/34, M.L.S.A. In 1861 30% of married women employed one servant and very few more than two. Baker, 'Position of Women in South Australia', p. 122.

<sup>38</sup> Chambers, *Lessons for Ladies*, pp. 164 - 5.

<sup>39</sup> Watts, *Family Life In South Australia*, p. 1. An expression also used in 1848 by G. W. Cotton, brother of Mrs Shuttleworth. *Observer*, 12th June, 1886, p. 7, quoted in J. Hirst, 'G. W. Cotton, and the Working Men's Blocks', M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1950, p. 82. In 1843, unschooled Sarah Davenport wrote, 'We was coming to better ourselves.' L. Frost, *No Place for a Nervous Lady*, (Fitzroy, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1984), p. 238.

into a better rank of society than we could at home.'<sup>40</sup> With only modest capital, men of thrust and initiative sought to increase their assets and improve their position. The evidence of the success of Robert Barr Smith, Alexander Hay, Walter Hughes and Alan Macfarlane, among others, all of whom were humbly born, was primarily due to their prudent investment in land and the nurture of commercial and pastoral interests.<sup>41</sup>

The creation of wealth occupied the energy of country people and city dwellers alike. However, there were many areas of personal conflict. On the one hand, the family had to survive in competitive and often austere conditions, but Church teaching and altruism suggested mutual help and a sharing of resources. Fuelled by the political policy of *laissez faire*, self-interest was strong. In 1867 a correspondent from Robe Town bemoaned the fact that 'everyone looks after number one, and appears solely bent on making as much as possible one out of the other.'<sup>42</sup> But many serious-minded men determined to have Evangelical, utilitarian and liberal principles predominating in their new home. In the absence of established privilege, ascendant men of enterprise embodied a sense of duty and assumed leadership qualities to guide society along the right paths of development. The better educated emigrants of the British middling classes transferred the European tradition and standards of culture in art, music and curiosity of ideas which they deemed important in constructing an exalted moral climate in the new society.<sup>43</sup>

### **The Developing Society**

Economic progress and individual prosperity in the colony were attained under the capitalistic determinants of private enterprise and the profit motive. Wealth, the result of enterprise, hard work and thrift, helped to shape a framework of social relations. Initially, there was no pattern of social dominance via the inheritance of privilege. The colony had not been planned to be classless and a stratified society developed, though one whose composition was not rigidly determined, but was fluid and allowed movement throughout the continuum. Therefore, status and strata, rather than two or three distinct 'classes' best represent its structure. Those determined to better themselves nurtured the consistent hope of improvement in their position within the social structure which ensured that the stratification of society was in perpetual flux. Fiercely proud, the majority of South Australians tried hard to maintain independence from those either above or below them.

---

<sup>40</sup> R. Linn, 'Letters of Joseph Keynes', *Journal of Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 10, 1982, p. 54.

<sup>41</sup> D. Van Dissel, 'The Adelaide Gentry' in Richards ed., *Flinders History of South Australia*, Table 13:1, pp. 342-347; R. Harrison, *Colonial Sketches*, (Facsimile Austaprint, 1978), pp. 53-54.

<sup>42</sup> Letter from W. H. Nield of Robe Town, 1867, D. 4145, M.L.S.A., quoted in Ramsey, 'Culture and Society in South Australia', p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-17.

Not only was the lure of climbing up the social ladder ever present, but the fear of slipping in position was continually in the minds of families and individuals. Catherine Helen Spence captures this in *Clara Morison*, when the genteel orphan Clara is unable to find a suitable position in order to make a livelihood and has to accept a menial post as a living-in servant. 'Go to service?' exclaimed her friends, 'You will quite spoil your chances of getting married.'<sup>44</sup>

Even though misfortune or even unexpected death could impede them, most colonists worked hard to assure the likelihood of upward mobility. For instance, Mr Brunskill wrote in 1839 'The fostering of the Building Society which I originated will ultimately benefit me materially as well as give me status which is difficult for a man without the money or impudence of the devil to acquire in a place like this.'<sup>45</sup> Having acquired a measure of wealth, successful colonists sought to enjoy the fruits of their labours, establishing substantial houses and a style of living which demonstrated their industry and foresight. Michael Page suggests that a shrewd, tough and pragmatic society was soon forged which believed that 'the highest destiny of a woman was at last to fold her work-calloused hands in lace mittens and sit in the parlour of the new home as a living symbol of success.'<sup>46</sup>

Although a pattern of social structure evolved, exact divisions of society were blurred. In undisputed supremacy as head of administration and leader of South Australian society were the Governor and his lady, followed by pastoralists, judges, army officers, higher clergy and 'gentlemen professionals', prominent merchants and successful businessmen and their families.<sup>47</sup> An important demarcation was the recognition of those who were 'gentlemen or ladies,' which presupposed certain behaviours - honesty, dignity, courtesy, consideration and social ease, qualities which were developed by education and recognised religious affiliations. In the 'middling group' were farmers, small shopkeepers, artisans and clerks, many of whom were constantly attempting, by hard work and the demonstration of respectability, to join higher ranks.<sup>48</sup> At the lesser end of the continuum was a motley collection of labourers, domestics and unskilled workers, referred to as the 'working classes'.<sup>49</sup> However, in a manner similar to the establishment of the middle class in the

---

<sup>44</sup> Spence, *Clara Morison*, p. 86.

<sup>45</sup> Brunskill Papers.

<sup>46</sup> M. Page, *Colonial South Australia*, (Boronia, Victoria: J. M. Dent Pty. Ltd., 1985), p. 64.

<sup>47</sup> From 1857, although members of the first independent House of Assembly were elected by popular male franchise, this group of men who possessed modest property qualifications of a £25 rental, elected the powerful Legislative Council. Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, p. 48.

<sup>48</sup> Rank was publicly acknowledged, even in Church. 'In the McLaren Vale church...ordinary folk sat on slabs of stone propped up with wood.' R. Gibbs, *A History of South Australia*, (Adelaide: Balara Books, 1969), p.172.

<sup>49</sup> In 1866 15% were farmers, 2% pastoralists, 23% agricultural labourers, (making 40% employed in agriculture), 15% were labourers, 24% artisans (including builders, miners, blacksmiths, tailors, tanners, etc. whose skills were developed via some form of apprenticeship), 5% were shopkeepers, 7%, professionals,

United States, there was blurring of differences and a continual shifting and sorting, which was predominantly dependent on an individual's economic success and creation of wealth, rather than on inherited privilege.<sup>50</sup>

In her exposition of the 'genteel performance' of the 'gentry' in the opulent social scene in neighbouring Victoria, Penny Russell argues that social qualifications were determined by genteel behaviour and family connections, not solely by wealth.<sup>51</sup> Modified resemblances were found in less affluent South Australia, where this band was smaller with fluctuating adherents. For them, an invitation to Government House sealed social acceptance. As early as 1837, J.W. Bull described a ball there which brought 'such a display of elegantly dressed ladies.'<sup>52</sup> References to similar social occasions are found in the diaries of Mary Thomas in 1846, of Annie Duncan in the 1880s and of Lavinia Scammell in the 1890s.<sup>53</sup> In 1849, a ball was described as 'a brilliant assembly that fully justified the aspirations of those who had left the mother country to maintain and improve their social standing.'<sup>54</sup>

This social interaction gave the scope for marriage opportunities within each stratum, which furthered business dealings and helped to establish distinct classes and to reinforce boundaries. Connected with social acceptance were genteel manners and the refinements of deportment and correct speech. Families who wanted to demonstrate gentility were keen to educate their daughters in appropriate social skills to enhance their marriage prospects. This was especially notable if they had risen rapidly into a higher rank by sudden acquisition of wealth as happened in the discovery of copper and gold in South Australia in the 1840s and 1850s, the 1850s search for gold in Victoria and the years of plenty during the 1870s. To be seen, and furthermore to be seen to be acting correctly, confirmed social acceptability. Correct behaviour was therefore an important element of training in schools which appealed to a socially climbing clientele.

Members of the ruling and middling classes exhibited identifiable standards, based on respectability. They were the inheritors of the ideals of Evangelical Christianity, a tradition of humanitarianism, utilitarianism and high standards of personal morality. Ramsey argues that they believed in progress and cautious liberalism and clung to family, Church and

---

4.5%, clerks and assistant shopkeepers 4%, merchants, 0.5% and persons of independent means 0.5%. The most frequent occupation was on the land. Ramsey, 'Culture and Society In South Australia', p. 15.

<sup>50</sup> The growth of the American middle class is well documented in Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*. Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, traces the British position.

<sup>51</sup> P. Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), pp. 58-91.

<sup>52</sup> J. S. Bull, *Early Experiences of Colonial Life in South Australia*, (Adelaide: Advertiser, 1878), p. 545.

<sup>53</sup> The diary describes the detail of the dress. 'It cost £ 6 - £ 8, a white glacé silk dress with silver Chinese necklace from Pekin. The dress had a long train. On the inside was a sweeper, to protect the inside of the skirt and to keep it in shape, made of muslin and full. The silk wore for over ten years.' Duncan Memoirs, Book 1, p. 107. Thomas Papers. Diary of Lavinia Scammell, 1859-1912, D 527/1, M.L.S.A.

<sup>54</sup> *Mining Journal*, 29th December, 1849, quoted in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 500.

representative institutions, reconstructing the middle class lives with which they were familiar.<sup>55</sup> Rather than attributes of undue show and ostentation, the admired qualities of colonists were a capacity for hard work, honesty, thrift, concern for the community, virtues of utilitarian nature. These solid attributes are constantly reiterated in *Epitome of Success: Cyclopaedia of South Australia*, which was published in 1907 to celebrate the deeds of colonisation.<sup>56</sup>

The Polish sociologist Znaniecki conceived the world in fluid terms of continual social reconstruction, as 'one of becoming, not a world already being.'<sup>57</sup> He argued that the culture of a group is highly influenced by the ideological system, the dominant influence which shapes an individual's identity. The group's ideological values have certain fundamental beliefs, core values, which are crucial to the coherence of the group. The importance of group values is paramount as inclusion in a group is dependent upon their acceptance. Behaviour outside the accepted norms may lead to non acceptance and exclusion by the group. Important norms are defined as overarching values. Vick suggests that middle class life was dominated by the pursuit and consciousness of the core value of 'its own and others' respectability'.<sup>58</sup> However, Pike asserts 'a man was judged respectable not by the destination he had arrived at but according to the road he had travelled. The five roads were early arrival, thrift, temperance, piety and the ownership of land.'<sup>59</sup>

A particular core value which was impressed on all ranks was thrift, a consequence of voluntarism coupled with a lack of paternal care by the state. Over indulgence in alcohol was seen as sinful temptation and as wasteful spending. Its effects were often detrimental to both wives and families.<sup>60</sup> Temperance was the aim, with extremists advocating complete abstinence.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Ramsey, 'Culture and Society In South Australia', p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> H. T. Burgess, *Epitome of Success: Cyclopaedia of South Australia*, Vol. 1 and 11, (Adelaide: Cyclopaedia Company, (Alfred G. Selway), 1907).

<sup>57</sup> Florian Znaniecki and William Thomas, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 2 Vols., (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), Vol. 2, p. 1130. This theory is used in the contemporary Australian work of J. J. Smolitz, *Culture, Education and Society*, (Canberra: Academy of Social Sciences, 1992), pp. 50-62.

<sup>58</sup> Vick argues that members found (this) in the Temperance Society, Philosophical Society, the local Institute and the Wesleyan Church', organisations originally open exclusively to men. Vick, 'Central Board of Education', p. 36

<sup>59</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 510.

<sup>60</sup> For instance, Mr Thornber's death from *delirium tremens* in 1854 caused a crisis in the family livelihood and forced the setting up of the school. See Chapter 5.

<sup>61</sup> The Complete Abstinence Society had one hundred and fifty members in its first year of 1839 and was strongly supported by (male) Methodists, reaching over one thousand by 1850. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 512.



Personal piety, a requirement for respectability, gave dignity to Evangelical colonists who were more concerned with behaviour than dogma. It was especially practised at home by the patriarchal father who led the family in worship, grace before meals and evening prayer.<sup>62</sup> However, Pike reaffirms that the surest road to respectability was in the ownership of land, 'Whether 'great or small it was the supreme measure of success. It strengthened the cause of civil liberty and gave social opportunity. Land hunger always drove them on.'<sup>63</sup> English novelist, Anthony Trollope, while visiting Australia in 1871-72, wrote pertinently, 'The farmers in South Australia are generally called 'cockatoos'. A man will tell you himself that he is a cockatoo and when doing well will probably feel some little justifiable pride in the freehold possession of his acres.'<sup>64</sup> Hirst submits that land was especially appealing to those to whom it was previously denied who had pretensions of 'recreating the life of an English Country gentleman'.<sup>65</sup> However, even ownership of vast acreage of South Australia did not assure wealth, as much was unproductive until stocked and nurtured. Bad seasons and drought could play havoc with carefully laid plans, obviating hard work and capital investment, so a class of hard working rather than leisured landowners evolved, as typified in the history of the Hawker dynasty.<sup>66</sup>

### **Religious Practice**

In families who wished to be known as reputable, all members were encouraged to demonstrate respectability. It was related to the cult of domesticity and the value placed on moral leadership of women in the home. High moral principles were expected to be adhered to by Church attenders and Church teaching in the values of honesty, industry, love of neighbour and tolerance confirmed these important ethical considerations. Adherence to specific denominations was demarcated partly by historical circumstance but was also determined by class. Even within denominations there were gradations to which those keen on advancement would give consideration. Particular churches, usually in the more affluent areas, drew adherents from the neighbouring district and developed shades of superiority which deflected attendance from more lowly families. For instance, membership of the Methodist Kent Town Church had a certain social cachet which drew together Wesleyans of assured means.<sup>67</sup> Members of the Churches would be required to exhibit the values preached and the lives of individuals would confirm the denomination's moral agenda.

---

<sup>62</sup> These customs were described in the Gilbert household in the 1880s. Gilbert Diaries, P.R.G. 266/34, M.L.S.A.

<sup>63</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 515.

<sup>64</sup> A. Trollope, *Australia*, P.D. Edwards and R.B. Joyce, eds., (St Lucia,: University of Queensland Press, 1967), p. 647.

<sup>65</sup> Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, p. 38.

<sup>66</sup> F. Hawker and R. Linn, *Bungaree*, (Adelaide: Turnbull Fox Phillips, 1992).

<sup>67</sup> Their group was instrumental in fostering the growth of Prince Alfred College and also Mrs Shuttleworth's educational enterprise. Bible Christians or Primitive Methodists were likely to be working

The nexus between religious practice and education continued. Malcolm Vick asserts that in South Australia church affiliation was structured by social class.<sup>68</sup> He confirms that working class congregations were found in Methodism, particularly in the Primitive Methodists and among Bible Christians, and in Roman Catholicism.<sup>69</sup> By contrast, the Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, and more especially the Anglican churches, were 'dominated by men of capital and social standing who also wielded political power'.<sup>70</sup>

The Anglican Church, with its links to Government House where the Governor was most frequently an Anglican, appointed an Oxford educated Bishop from 1847. His interest in education and his hope of preparing locally trained clerics led to the foundation of the Collegiate School of St Peter in 1847, which was to be a central focus for promoting Anglicanism and for producing gentlemanly leaders of society.<sup>71</sup> There was no similar Methodist foundation until 1869 when a group of prominent Wesleyan Methodists established a college to provide a scholastic and commercial education for boys.<sup>72</sup> Quoting Reverend E.K. Miller, the contemporary cleric, J. Nancarrow states that by the 1870s, 'Dissent was decidedly in the ascendant'.<sup>73</sup> Methodist numbers were strong, especially in agricultural districts and were increased by influxes of mining immigrants so that they became the majority church in the 1880s and wielded power in policy construction.<sup>74</sup>

Though only numbering between 8 000 and 11 000 during the period 1870-1890, Congregationalists had disproportionate political representation with eleven members of the

---

class. Arnold Hunt, 'Bible Christians in South Australia', *Journal of Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 10, 1982, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> Vick, 'Central Board of Education 1852-1875', p. 48.

<sup>69</sup> These denominations may have appealed to the less well educated. However, by 1870 the mainstream of Methodists, the Wesleyans, were successful businessmen and had increasing power. They numbered 50,000 in the 1891 census. Hunt, 'Bible Christians in South Australia', p. 15. By 1901, the Methodists made up 25% of the population, the greatest percentage of any state. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 493.

<sup>70</sup> Vick, 'Central Board of Education', p. 59.

<sup>71</sup> The aims were 'to provide a good, classical, mathematical and commercial education on Church of England principles with a conscience clause admitting boys of all denominations. Great Britain Board of Education, Special Report on the System of Education in South Australia, (1901), p. 492. Anglicans had wealth, respectability and organisation. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 492.

<sup>72</sup> Among the founders of Prince Alfred College was G. W. Cotton, brother of Mrs Shuttleworth, founder of Hardwicke College in 1872.

<sup>73</sup> E. K. Miller, *Reminiscences of Forty Seven Years' Clerical Life*, p. 224. quoted in J. Nancarrow, 'A Social History of South Australia', B.A. Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1963, p. 68. By 1874 two thirds of the population were provided with suitable accommodation for the observance of public worship. Nancarrow, p. 66.

<sup>74</sup> An example of a powerful policy maker was Methodist John Anderson Hartley, appointed to the State Board of Education in 1872, who reorganised state primary education, where his emphasis was on the typically Methodist attributes of discipline, obedience and efficiency.

Legislative Council and sixteen in the House of Assembly.<sup>75</sup> Staunchly independent, they were interested in progressive ideas, in social righteousness and reform and in education. Nevertheless, because of their individualistic Church structure, no specifically Congregational schools were founded.<sup>76</sup> Family responsibility for education was strong. In his 1897 Chairman's address McEwin stated, 'People are encouraged to have early marriages, to practise frugal economy, wear simple dress and shun immoral company.'<sup>77</sup> Congregationalists were expected to exhibit high principles and a child's spiritual and scholarly progress were carefully monitored.

The educational practice of Unitarians had roots in the libertarian ideas of neoplatonists with the amalgam of tradition, Scripture and reason. Girls had a respected place in the family and their education was especially important.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, in his article on English Unitarianism, Watts contends 'that women and girls belonging to the most prosperous Unitarian families were very probably the best educated women in the country.'<sup>79</sup> South Australian Unitarians who continued this tradition included the Martin and Clark families who ran an innovative academic school for girls in the City from 1888-1919, the five energetic Misses Kay whose reputed preparatory school in College Park serviced families for the many private schools in the area and the indefatigable Catherine Helen Spence.<sup>80</sup>

An increase in the numbers and influence of Presbyterians was held back by internal theological divisions in their parent Scottish church and by their insistence that only trained and qualified ministers should preach the word of God. Their traditional thirst for education was hampered by their reluctance to pay for it.<sup>81</sup>

The Christian tenets of neighbourly love and equality of men and women, as expressed in the Gospels, acted as basic guides to the behaviour of many South Australians. Jones argues

---

<sup>75</sup> With only 4% of the population, Congregationalists made up 33% the Legislative Council in 1857-1882 and 18% of the House of Assembly between 1857-1878. J. Cameron, *In Stow's Footsteps*, (Glynde, South Australia: South Australian Congregational History Project Committee, 1987), pp. 143-146.

<sup>76</sup> The first was a joint venture with the Baptists in the foundation of King's College for boys in 1923.

<sup>77</sup> W. W. Phillips, 'A Study of the Congregationalist Influence in Political and Social Reform in South Australia', Honours B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1957, p. 45.

<sup>78</sup> F. D. Young, *Maurice and Unitarianism*, (New York: Oxford University Press 1942), p. 28.

<sup>79</sup> R. E. Watts, 'The Unitarian Contribution to the Development of Women's Education 1790-1850', *History of Education Journal*, 9, No. 4, December, 1980, pp. 273-286. Also confirmed by Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 332.

<sup>80</sup> Later, all but Sarah Kay became Anglicans, staunch members of All Souls, St Peters. Spence, the first woman to sit on a Government Board of Advice under the newly established Education Department in 1878, was always interested in educational matters. C. H. Spence, *Autobiography*, Reprinted from the *Register*, (Adelaide: W.K. Thomas, 1910). Australian Facsimile Edition, (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1975), p. 57.

<sup>81</sup> As the Established Church in Scotland the Presbyterians had recourse to State monies for education and did not like having to pay for education. They preferred to let their children attend the local government school and concentrated on a well established system of Sunday School education. R. J. Scrimgeour, *Some Scots were Here*, (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987), pp. 187-190.

that the influence of the non-conformist churches had an important influence on the direction of society and especially in ensuring that the place of women was one of acceptance and equity.<sup>82</sup> However, the entreaties of St Paul, with his contemporary ideas on the subordinate place of women, were debated and may have overridden the views of more liberal Church goers.<sup>83</sup> Non-conformists, in particular, paid great attention to the teaching of the Epistles which may explain their reluctance to accept women to a more important place in the structure of the governing bodies of the churches. Evidence in the histories of the Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in South Australia confirms that women played an important, yet a seemingly subordinate, role in the local life of the church. Notwithstanding this, Arnold Hunt, the historian of Methodism, points out that 'the church in every age depended heavily on its women's organisations and on the devotion, skill and energy which these entailed.'<sup>84</sup> Reflecting their overall role in society, women's main sphere of Christian influence was in the home, or in allied philanthropic work which demonstrated their concern for the needy.<sup>85</sup>

The liberty which South Australia had promised to protect in both religion and civil affairs was guarded by strict adherence to the Voluntarist principle. With its roots in the Dissenters' suspicions of the Established Church, this principle of ultimate independence argued that each individual had the personal responsibility of providing what was needed, with no recourse to charity or financial help from the community. Emigrants were expected to pay for personal services which they required whether religious, medical, legal or educational. Thus from the start of the colony, in accord with voluntaryist principles and under the capitalist system, schooling became a commodity which could be purchased in the market place, subject to the pressures of supply and demand. An important part of the curricular offering of the private venture schools which emerged was an education in moral and religious ideas.

There was an opportunity for individuals to influence the direction of society and innovators were moved by self interest or altruism to achieve social ideals. The ensuing society was not a totally new one but strongly influenced by the 'mother country' in structure, attitudes, beliefs and values as, either consciously or unconsciously, forms of the familiar were recreated. Although travel and communication enabled the spread of ideas from the other colonies, there is evidence that the dominant influence of British ideas and the continuing ties with the mother country which markedly influenced South Australian culture

---

<sup>82</sup> Jones, *In her Own Name*, p. XII. The political spectrum, particularly in the 1870s, was dominated by Congregationalists and Methodist Churchmen.

<sup>83</sup> 'Wives be subject to your husbands', Ephesians 5, vv. 22-24; Colossians 3, v. 18.

<sup>84</sup> A. H. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven, A History of Methodism in South Australia*, (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986), p 155.

<sup>85</sup> This topic is comprehensively covered in Scholefield, 'The Ladies kindly Visited'.

may be attributed to the local members of the educated classes.<sup>86</sup> Determined to create an outpost of British civilisation in a harsh and threatening environment, they kept in regular touch by letter with friends and relations in 'the home country', some paying visits 'home' or resettling there.<sup>87</sup> In addition, they avidly read imported British books, newspapers and magazines. However, in the new land the ways of the old society could be improved as the individual could influence the fundamental structure and his relative position in it.

However, not all pioneers were of British origin. From 1838 staunch Lutherans fleeing from Prussian repression determined to develop a community in South Australia underpinned by religious freedom and unhampered by government interference. Led by Pastor Kavel they settled originally in Klemzig. Then they moved to the Barossa valley where they fostered their German language and traditions and strict Lutheran religion in hard working rural communities. Their numbers were further swelled by rustic Germans emigrating for economic advance. Deliberately staying apart from the rest of society, they distrusted the 'Hamburg free-thinkers', the broadly educated and liberal middle class German immigrants, who emigrated following the 1848 European revolutions and introduced a different yet distinctive German influence.<sup>88</sup> These city based emigrants assimilated into the middle class, assuming its language and social customs. They contributed to the intellectual life of Adelaide as did small numbers of later French and Italian emigrants who were prominent in promoting European culture, offering their skills in music and art.<sup>89</sup> By 1870, German emigrants reached nearly 10% of the total population.

### **The Patriarchal Society**

An adult male was the undisputed head of a middle class household, legally responsible for the women and children in the family, the breadwinner on whom they were dependent.<sup>90</sup> In theory, enshrined in law, hallowed in Church practice and confirmed by custom, women

---

<sup>86</sup> The rivalry between the colonies, including the assumed superiority of South Australia as a 'free' rather than a 'convict' colony, also encouraged the dissemination of ideas from Britain, then at the height of its Imperial splendour. The working class had less fluency and confidence in the written word and an insignificant tradition of letter writing.

<sup>87</sup> Diaries frequently were concerned with letters 'home' and to incoming English mail, which Caroline Clark notes was on a more regular basis after the advent of the clippers from 1854. Recollections of Caroline Emily Clark, P.R.G. 389/9, p. 121. M.L.S.A.; Mentions of English letters were found in the Brunskill Diaries; Davidson Papers.; Gilbert Papers; Martin Diaries, D 4869(L), M.L.S.A.; The J. Jacob Papers, mainly written in French, draw particular attention to English Mail, as these words are written in English. P.R.G. 558/2. M.L.S.A.; The *Register* had a daily column entitled 'English Mail' giving shipping details.

<sup>88</sup> D. and I. V. Hansen, *With Wings*, pp. 16-18, 24.

<sup>89</sup> For instance, Richard Schomburgk, (Developer of the Botanic Gardens), Carl Muecke, (High School Teacher), Herr Reimann, (music 'Professor', later Head of the Adelaide College of Music, from 1897, the Conservatorium). Music teachers advertising in the 1870s were predominantly of European origin - Herr Otto Strange, Mr Heuzenroeder, Professor Balk, Herr von Reyher, Signor Savrini, Madame Coulon.

<sup>90</sup> Jones, *In her Own Name*, p. XI.

were totally dependent on men, first their father, then their husband on marriage. However, this varied in practice. Evidence of single women owning and working land, opening bank accounts and running businesses has been revealed.<sup>91</sup> Nance argues that there were at least twenty women landowners by 1853 and that by 1870 the Savings Bank held four hundred and sixty accounts of women. Single and widowed women achieved the right to purchase and sell their own property from 1845, with rights extended to all women by the Married Women's Property Act of 1883. The avenues of employment open to women were few. However, many wives and daughters either contributed to the family economy by helping husbands or fathers in their occupation or maintained businesses when widowed, or they offered services allied to the domestic economy to others in a servant/mistress relationship. Nonetheless, a woman who earned wages was in danger of losing caste.<sup>92</sup>

Jones argues that women's strong moral status may have helped to impress on their men the inherited legal inequities they bore and may have assisted them in achieving the constitutional changes and policy which reflected the general attitudes in the community which particularly benefited their position and that of their children.<sup>93</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century legislation was passed to improve the position of women in South Australia.<sup>94</sup> These measures dealt with the private concerns of marriage and its breakdown, with property and the custodianship of children and with the more public domains of political representation, prostitution and employment structure. Ultimately, their implementation resulted in the gradual breakdown of women's dependence on men. Indeed, the first eighty years of South Australian settlement may be viewed as a gradual climb towards economic and political independence for women. Their cautious improvement in status and increased autonomy in time heralded their emergence into the arena of public decision making. The education of girls may only be appreciated by considering women's political and economic standing in the society which they were helping to form.

In this patriarchal society an important consideration for this study are the relationships which were forged between men and women. While the breadwinner, usually male, enjoyed increasing economic power, the plight of the middle class woman, with little legal

---

<sup>91</sup> Nance, 'South Australian Social Experiment', Chapter V.

<sup>92</sup> The most likely occupations were (in order of popularity) domestic service, dressmaking and millinery, teaching, clerking, shop work, farm labouring, innkeeping, farming, butchering, landlady, baking, horticulture, vigneron, importing, trading, printing, pastoralist, miscellaneous, (including independent means). Nance, 'South Australian Social Experiment', p. 308. Few of these guaranteed middle class respectability.

<sup>93</sup> Jones, *In her Own Name*, pp. 1-47.

<sup>94</sup> These included the Matrimonial Causes Acts, 1858, 1867; Deceased Wife's Sisters' Act, 1870; Custody of Infants' Act, Married Women's Property Act, 1883-84; Constitutional Amendment Act (Franchise), 1894; Factories Act, 1894; Married Women's Protection Act, 1896. Jones, *In her Own Name*, pp. 408, 409.

or civic authority, appears dependent and bleak.<sup>95</sup> But contemporary writers deny this. In 1878 Spence wrote, 'Perhaps, never in the history of any human society did circumstances realise the ideas of the community of labour and the equality of the sexes so fully as South Australia in the early days.'<sup>96</sup> But she continued 'the suddenness of our accumulation of wealth scarcely prepared our little community for some necessary modifications of our social arrangements.' Twopeny grasps this point by stating, 'Therein lies the whole source of what is best and worst in the present social life in Australia. Marriage, although still almost certainly an affair of love, has yet learned to take £ s d into consideration and would not be satisfied with [commonplace material standards].'<sup>97</sup> As the expectations of hard working South Australians rose, increased tensions were experienced in those families who could not aspire to higher material standards. Notwithstanding this, the institution of marriage was of prime importance, providing both the haven and anchor for the head of the house and security for the nurture of children. Marriage, described as 'the crown and summits of one's expectations, the guarantee of happiness for the rest of one's life', was the principal aim of girls as it promised economic protection and a distinct place in society.<sup>98</sup> In work describing the position of women in South Australia, Penelope Baker reports that in 1876 over 97% of marriageable women had entered the married state by the age of fifty, with the proportion of single females being highest in Adelaide.<sup>99</sup> She cites the mean age of marriage for women as 23.2 years in the country and 25.4 in the city. As providers, men had to wait until they could afford to support a dependent family and their mean age of marriage was 27.6 years. That marriage was an institution of the highest importance, a necessary economic arrangement blessed by Christian tradition and with legal and civil responsibilities, can be further confirmed by the high incidence of remarriage after the death of a spouse, especially when children had to be cared for.<sup>100</sup>

The power dynamics in the marriage relationship are difficult to assess. Nineteenth century emigrants transported the increasingly practised British ideal of companionate

---

<sup>95</sup> This New South Wales' position is the subject of the work of M. Dixon, *The Real Matilda*, (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1986).

<sup>96</sup> Spence, *Some Aspects of Colonial Life*, p. 2.

<sup>97</sup> R. Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, (London: Elliot Stock 1883), republished Penguin Colonial facsimiles, 1973, p. 104.

<sup>98</sup> Beverly Kingston, *My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary-Anne*, (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1975), p. 6.

<sup>99</sup> Baker, 'Position of Women in South Australia', pp. 43-47.

<sup>100</sup> For instance, the widowed John Sanders married his housekeeper as 'he wished to share the responsibility of taking a young and helpless family to a settler's life and desired for himself the companionship of a wife.' Sanders, *Settlement of George Sanders*, p. 2. Richard Hawkins, 'Founder of Aldgate', married three times. His third wife outlived him. C. L. Fischer, *Richard Dixon Hawkins, 1891 - 1877*, (Adelaide: The Pioneers' Association of South Australia, 1964), p. 4. In 1870 the Deceased Wife's Sister Act was passed which allowed men to marry their deceased wife's sister, often a practical solution to a difficulty when a widower was left with a family to nurture.

marriage.<sup>101</sup> Its continuation in the new society is confirmed by evidence in South Australian diaries, mostly written by educated women whose family situation appears happy, reflecting respect and love between family members.<sup>102</sup> Writing in the *Register* in 1878, Catherine Helen Spence confirmed an equilibrium between married partners,

'As a rule our marriages are made from pure affection and there is a halo round them which is very good to begin life with. We believe that a sympathy of tastes makes married people of both sexes forgive serious faults and cling to each other through evil report and good report.'<sup>103</sup>

By 1891 the *Observer*, a widely read weekly publication, claimed 'equality is a living reality and not a theory.'<sup>104</sup> Clearly, a high expectation of the marriage state appears to have been a feature of middle class life. Again, letters and diaries of articulate South Australians reflected a home atmosphere of respect and affection between men and women, an extension of the esteem which was forged in the harsher early pioneering days.<sup>105</sup>

Increasingly confirmed in urban life, while the middle class woman's life centred round home, family and Church, the male worked outside the home as sole provider. Prosperity in the market place was crucial because each member's advancement in society depended on this success. A salient stimulus to the capitalist business enterprise was implacable competition, not only from established enterprises, but also from the 'new chums' who arrived as migrants and were often furnished with up-to-date technical knowledge. They increased the population of Adelaide and the developing country areas. Table 1 shows the gradual rise in population which occurred from natural increase of families, immigration and movement from other Australian colonies. From the 1860s there was an absolute increase in the population aged 0-15 years, although their numbers by percentage declined as the society matured. As this work researches the education of girls mainly within the metropolitan area, the size of the capital in proportion to the total population is relevant as a determining factor in the pupil composition of the schools.

---

<sup>101</sup> Companionate marriage was also increasingly practised in the United States. J. Hirst, 'Women and History', a critique of *Creating a Nation*, P. Grimshaw, M. Lake, A. McGrath, M. Quartly, eds *Creating a Nation*, (Sydney: McPhee Gribble, 1994)] in *Quadrant*, March, 1995, p. 42.

<sup>102</sup> These include Mary Boothby, 'Memories of my Bush Life', *History Society of South Australia Journal*, 12, 1984, pp. 115-120; Davidson Diaries, D 2513, M.L.S.A.; de Mole Papers, P.R.G. 39, M.L.S.A.; Jaunay Family Papers, P.R.G. 32, M.L.S.A.; Gertrude Martin, unpublished diaries, January, 1880/1884, D 4868, M.L.S.A.; Reverend Richardson Reid, unpublished Letters, P.R.G. 205/4, M.L.S.A.; Tinline Papers, unpublished letters, 1838-1894, P.R.G. 21/1/1-21, M.L.S.A.; Jane Sanders, *Settlement of George Sanders*; Edith Caroline Thomkinson, *The Adelaide Establishment: The 1878 Diary of a Provincial Lady*, (Adelaide: Mary de Crespigny, 1987).

<sup>103</sup> Spence, *Some Aspects of Colonial Life*, pp. 14, 16.

<sup>104</sup> *Observer*, 31st October, 1891, p. 8.

<sup>105</sup> These include, Letter of 1st May, 1838, Tinline Papers.



**Table 1****S. A. Population at Census Dates, 1844-1921**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>Sex Ratio</b>
1844	9 686	7 680	17 366	126#
1846	12 670	9 720	22 390	130
1851	35 302	28 398	63 700	124
1861	43 720	42 101	85 821	104
1866	85 334	78 119	163 452	109
1871	95 236	90 189	185 425	106
1876	109 841	102 687	212 528	107
1881	145 113	130 231	275 344	111
1891	161 920	153 292	315 212	106
1901	180 485	177 485	358 346	102
1911	207 359	201 200	408 558	103
1921	248 267	246 893	495 160	101

Source: *The South Australian Year Book*, quoted in *The Flinders Social History*, (Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 1986), p. 172.

# Males per hundred females.

**Table II****Population of Metropolitan Adelaide, 1851-1921**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>% of S.A. population</b>
1851	32 810	51.5
1861	44 857	35.4
1866	54 251	33.2
1871	61 361	33.1
1876	71 794	33.8
1881	103 942	37.6
1891	133 252	42.2
1901	162 261	45.3
1911	189 646	46.4
1921	255 375	51.6

Source: Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 227.

From the 1860s there was an absolute increase in the population aged 0-15 years, although their numbers by percentage declined as the society matured. As this work

researches the education of girls mainly within the metropolitan area, the size of the capital in proportion to the total population is relevant as a determining factor in the pupil composition of the schools.

### **Early Education**

A principal aim of the majority of emigrants to South Australia was to better their position and that of their children. A crucial determinant of future success was education, as was adroitly confirmed in the history of Jack Heythorn, an illiterate ex-convict,

who worked hard to enable his son to be sent to a good school in Glenelg where he paid the full fees. The headmaster, knowing that the boy was of poor parents made a drudge of him. This so disgusted Jack that he took his son away and *ended the boy's hopes of social advancement*. He returned to the farm which, with hard work, the family was able to buy, build a comfortable house and plant a good garden and orchard.<sup>106</sup>

The boy's future was thus limited to the confines of his father's smallholding rather than broadening his scope to include a greater range of acceptable options as a means of gaining a livelihood.

Education was a penetrating dimension in the dynamic of creating and recreating the increasingly complex society. An examination of early schooling options available to middle class boys shows that their education was primarily utilitarian. After ensuring a degree of literacy and numeracy, its principal aim was to ensure advantage when employment became a consideration. Scrutiny of advertisements for boys' schools confirms that as well as 'the usual elements of a sound, polite and classical education', most offered a variety of practical subjects. For instance, in the 1850s, Riversdale Boarding School near Gumeracha offered 'Classical, English and Mathematical subjects, in addition to Book-Keeping, Land Measuring and Lectures with experiments on the Natural Sciences.'<sup>107</sup> In the 1860s many Adelaide boys' schools demonstrated a specific business-like direction via a curriculum which confirmed the development of rational logic. An extreme example was The Classical and Mathematical Academy, which developed 'Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation, Isometrical and other Drawing, and the various branches of the higher Calculus with their application to Dynamics, Optics and Hydrostatics etc.'<sup>108</sup> In the 1870s Mr Young's School, The Adelaide Educational Institution, taught Astronomy, Chemistry, Physics, Economics and Geology in addition to the headmaster's own

---

<sup>106</sup> Sanders, *Settlement of George Sanders*, p. 19.

<sup>107</sup> *Register*, 12th January, 1854, p. 2. The school was conducted by Reverend S. P. R. Allom, late Acting Head of St Peter's College.

<sup>108</sup> *Register*, 7th January, 1862, p. 1.

professional knowledge of Surveying.<sup>109</sup> Clearly, ambitious parents who could afford the not inconsiderable fees for their sons to receive this practical 'higher education' were giving them the initial advantage of specialised knowledge and practical method. These attributes could be put to use in a position of employment which had the potential to demand a higher salary return than might be expected during the frequent unreliable seasons on a small property. This education also gave the added social benefit of an introduction to boys from families of similar enterprise and ideals, an effective positive reinforcement of their aspirations of social and economic advance in the structure of society.

By contrast, a middle class girl's education was not directed towards useful knowledge which she might use to gain paid employment in the public domain. Her education was also described as concerned with 'the usual branches of a polite English education'. However, instead of practical subjects to be engaged in the building of the fabric of society, she was offered the 'accomplishments curriculum' with music, art, languages and possibly 'practical subjects'.<sup>110</sup> Rather than stressing logical reasoning, a girl's education enhanced her emotional, moral and instinctive nature. Accomplishments thus acquired were not easily translated into skills which could be exchanged for income in a paid work situation, except for their reproduction via teaching. Rather than use in productive industry, the nature of these accomplishments essentially allowed restatement in the home where they demonstrated the availability of time for leisure. Schooling devoted to the accomplishments was useful only in the domestic sphere, where their presentation ensured the transfer and reproduction of the society's cultural tradition of music and art, but gave little encouragement to the growth of original creativity. This decorative education was designed to show girls to advantage, to demonstrate their gentility and refinement to suitors to ensure an advantageous marriage, an important means of climbing up the social scale. In short, the education available to girls reinforced their dependence on the home environment, in particular on the male breadwinner, confining them to the domestic sphere.

Music was one means whereby an upwardly mobile family could display its relative position and social pretensions of rising up the competitive social ladder. An important status symbol in the home was a piano which daughters of the house, and occasionally sons, learned to play.<sup>111</sup> Diaries confirm the great lengths which families in the Bush went

---

<sup>109</sup> This school was situated in the City from 1856, moving to Parkside during 1861. Early recollections of Sir Joseph Verco, 1851-1883, P.R.G. 322/6, pp. 142-145. M.L.S.A.; Also Tinline Papers.

<sup>110</sup> These may have included splash work, plain and fancy needlework, drawing and leather work, which were charged for under 'special fees' beyond those required for regular instruction.

<sup>111</sup> Mrs Gawler, wife of the first governor, living in a tent in 1838, complained that 'the piano does not keep in tune for a day'. Letter to her sister in England, 7th December, 1838, Gawler Papers, P.R.G. 50/19. M.L.S.A. 'The colonial girl is bound to strum the piano.' Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, p. 84.

to transport a piano in order that a daughter might display the trappings of gentility.<sup>112</sup> Spence captures this phenomenon in her contemporary novel *Clara Morison*. She described the ill educated and social climbing prospective employer who demanded music teaching above the regular subjects and in her description of the ex-washerwoman who required piano lessons for her children on the sixty guinea Collard and Collard, given by her master, which had been 'scraped across with an iron hoop by her children, which ain't doing justice to the piany.'<sup>113</sup> Sensing the upward aspirations of those who had increased their wealth from the 1840s copper boom and the gold fields in the 1850s instructors of genteel accomplishments increased their advertisements hoping that some of the recent prosperity would be channelled to support their livelihood.<sup>114</sup> Girls also kept alive a basic artistic practice in drawing and painting, and their expertise in sewing was both utilitarian and decorative.<sup>115</sup> The literate middle class nurtured their accustomed culture which was considered both as an avenue for moral improvement and respectability in society and as a personal status symbol. Sharply observant Twopeny succinctly recorded, 'It is wonderful how much more easily a lady can be manufactured than a gentleman.'<sup>116</sup>

The decorative elements of this education for girls appeared to sit with difficulty in a evolving society which had to battle in uncertain terrain against heat, drought and doubtful seasons, flies and illness. But the perpetuation of refinement was a sympathetic reflection of the standards of the Victorian Ideal of womanhood, a suitable basis for the formation of the 'Angel in the House', and a measure of protection for them against the prevalent harshness and asperity.<sup>117</sup> While men and boys worked hard in challenging and competitive conditions, they wanted their women to remind them of life's gentler components and keep alive their traditional culture and customs. Early colonial social gatherings were often enriched by music and dancing which, with the century's increased wealth and resulting sophisticated urban life style, evolved into regular evening 'parlour soirées'.<sup>118</sup> The young

---

<sup>112</sup> Diaries confirm that this was one way of attracting a suitable husband and class maintenance. Frost, p. 236. Boothby, 'Memories of my Bush Life', p. 115.

<sup>113</sup> Spence, *Clara Morison*, pp. 64, 277.

<sup>114</sup> Mrs Polhill of Thebarton advertised a Drawing Class in the mornings, lessons in Music, Painting on glass and Leather work for frames. *Register*, 3rd January, 1854, p. 1. Mrs Thornley charged 6 guineas per quarter for the accomplishments and 5 guineas for Dancing, (Mr Watts, Professor). *Register*, 4th January, 1856, p. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Similar patterns were transferred in Victoria. M. Theobald states that 'small groups of young women gathered in the home of an aunt or family acquaintance to receive lessons from visiting masters of modern languages, painting and music.' M. Theobald, 'Mere Accomplishments'? Melbourne's Early Ladies' Schools Reconsidered', *History of Education Review*, Vol.13 No. 2 1984, p. 17. In 1868 Governess Miss Dearer wrote from Sydney, 'They have such a mania for music. In many cases it is libel to call it music; they are not very particular as long as it is music.' Patricia Clarke, *The Governesses; Letters from the Colonies, 1862-1882*, (Sydney: Hutchinson of Australia, 1985), p. 99.

<sup>116</sup> Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, p. 107.

<sup>117</sup> The term 'Angel in the House' from Coventry Patmore's apotheosis of married love. Quoted in J. F. C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain, 1875-1901*, (London: Fontana Press, 1990), p. 157.

<sup>118</sup> Spence describes the simple social pleasures of middle class evening gatherings of home music making and converzationes at the Mechanics' Institute in the 1850s. Spence, *Clara Morison*, pp. 105, 127- 130.

woman of the house was expected to entertain round the piano, although a captious commentator decried the standard, 'Sometimes you are bored in a drawing-room by bad music and poor singing, you are inclined to think that the colonial love of music is an intolerable nuisance.'<sup>119</sup>

Not all South Australians approved of the ladylike and ornamental aspects of a woman's contribution to society. A Labour Office Report argued that 'seventeen out of every twenty farmers work on their own lands and do the work for themselves and what can they do with fine ladies for wives and helpers?'<sup>120</sup> The *Register* railed,

We do not think that young ladies who have been accustomed to the utilitarian occupations of colonial life should admire the state of society where matrons and daughters, instead of following their relative domestic duties, seem to live for little else but to indulge in personal display.<sup>121</sup>

But Catherine Helen Spence wrote using a more conciliatory tone. 'Women have to come to terms with their new life. There is no time for pretentiousness or for imposing English conventions on the new colony and not trying to understand colonial standards and loyalties.'<sup>122</sup> Her second novel, *Tender and True*, argued that 'successful women blend cultural sense with practical ability.'<sup>123</sup> Looking back in 1878, Spence appreciated the balance between good management in the home and the acquirements and accomplishments of colonial girls,

which though they might have looked meagre at a Cambridge middle class examination had this advantage - that they were adapted for the daily exigencies of life. They were varied and useful, so that girls had a knowledge of things, a quickness of comprehension, a readiness and fearlessness of expression that made them acquit themselves well in society. They kept a degree of genuine refinement of manner.<sup>124</sup>

Thus Spence approved of the encouragement of an accomplishment for girls which 'put their talents to account,' but she strongly objected to a curriculum which exaggerated the emphasis on music and other accomplishments to the detriment of other more helpful subjects.<sup>125</sup>

Particularly marked in urban life, the separation of the work of men and women resulted in the evolution of discrete spheres of influence. As in England, a distinguishing feature of

---

<sup>119</sup> Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, p. 218.

<sup>120</sup> Enclosure 2, 1850 Labour Office report British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 14, p. 79, quoted in Nance, 'South Australian Social Experiment', p. 195.

<sup>121</sup> *Register*, 20th May, 1850, p. 3.

<sup>122</sup> *Register*, 26th April, 1845, p. 3.

<sup>123</sup> Spence, *Tender and True*, (London: Smith and Elder, 1856).

<sup>124</sup> Spence, *Some Aspects of Colonial Life*, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

the colonial family was the moral superiority of women. Away from the rigours and temptations of the public market place, their mission was to be the guardian of moral, spiritual and domestic values, the agents of the highest values in civilisation, the creators of stability and peace in their sphere, the home. There, women were the primary educators of children, the nurses, the purveyors of benevolence and reassurance. In this role they retained a measure of the power and authority which their contribution towards ensuring domestic economic survival had given them in the days of early settlement. As the primary shaping force of the personalities of children, mothers had the potential to guide the moral direction of society. In addition, their position of moral supremacy endowed women with unique power and authority to guide and oversee the behavioural choices of their men. The Social Purity Society, formed in 1882 'to shield the purity of both sexes and to raise the standard of morals', had among its leaders several compassionate and firm believers in women's equality who displayed strength of purpose and tenacity.<sup>126</sup> Thus, in a manner resembling the resolute women of the emergent American middle class who supported the 1819 religious revival via the Female Missionary Society and similar to the later English pioneers who opened 'higher education' and the entrance to the professions for women, South Australian women were central to the campaigns for combating social turpitude and raising the awareness of economic inequities in society.<sup>127</sup>

### **The Middle Class Family**

Many middle class South Australians had large families. For instance, the affluent Gilbert family had ten children and the three de Mole brothers fathered families of seven, ten and four.<sup>128</sup> However, Baker suggests that, in 1876 on average, city women aged 15-45 years had 3.1 children.<sup>129</sup> With only rudimentary medical help available, the health of the family was an important consideration. Childhood deaths were frequent, as nearly one in five babies died within their first year and child mortality from incorrect feeding, infectious diseases and accidents accounted for one in ten before the age of five.<sup>130</sup> Children were not immune from the local scourges of typhoid (1886), Spanish influenza (1890) and the ubiquitous tuberculosis. In order to attract nervous parents, schools advertised the healthy nature of their school sites, especially if they enjoyed the benefit of deep drainage or could

---

<sup>126</sup> Jones, *In her Own Name*, pp. 25, 26.

<sup>127</sup> Ryan, *The Cradle of the Middle Class*, pp. 60-104. Elizabeth Wordsworth, Maria Gray, Dorothea Beale, Frances Mary Buss, Florence Nightingale are among the middle Victorian Englishwomen pivotal in pioneering the entrance of women into new arenas of education.

<sup>128</sup> Gilbert Papers. de Mole Papers.

<sup>129</sup> Baker, 'Position of Women in South Australia', p. 52.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-68.

boast of sea air.<sup>131</sup> They paid great attention to maintaining their pupils' health, but Old Scholar lists reveal that girls who had just left school could have a discreet 'd.' beside their name.<sup>132</sup>

Hugh Stretton suggests that the development of the Australian capitals beyond city and parklands was determined by the growth of suburbs, specifically in order to meet the needs of women and the family.<sup>133</sup> Purposely insulating themselves from the industrial ugliness of factory and machine shop, the successful and prosperous developed urban areas delineated by class, which isolated their family members from the feared influence of working class behaviours.<sup>134</sup> In South Australia, initially their houses clustered in pleasant, homogenous areas close to the City whence families could still work and enjoy the amenities, the Botanic Gardens, the Institute, the major churches, the Town Hall and the National Gallery.<sup>135</sup> During the 1870s they settled in Kensington, Kent Town and St Peters, in the further small villages of Mitcham, Magill and Glen Osmond and in the seaside areas of Glenelg and Semaphore as illustrated in Appendix 1. The growth of these districts is confirmed in an examination of the surge of the numbers of privately owned schools whose clientele were provided by flourishing middle class families who lived nearby.<sup>136</sup> Proximity enabled their children to travel to school easily, but the opening of transport routes in the 1870s stimulated further areas of suburban development and permitted pupils to attend from outlying districts.<sup>137</sup> Prosperous families displayed their success by building and furnishing family houses or villas, the majority of which were built of stone, of around eight rooms.<sup>138</sup> The ambience of middle class suburbs was enhanced by sizeable gardens, which allowed the cultivation of food for home use. Many properties boasted a tennis or croquet court for home recreation. Often living close to friends for mutual support, young people of the middle class could enjoy a comfortable lifestyle and forge social ties,

---

<sup>131</sup> This was particularly true for the boarding establishments. Mrs Shuttleworth must have been concerned that the deaths of two of her teenage children from tuberculosis might have caused a downturn of parent confidence in 1880.

<sup>132</sup> The Unley Park school proudly advertised its connection with the newly forged Hope Valley Reservoir in 1897. *Register*, 15th December, 1897, p. 9. The Unley Park School Old Scholars' Association minutes, 1892-1902, show two deceased names out of about eighty. S.R.G. 41, M.L.S.A..

<sup>133</sup> H. Stretton, *Ideas for Australian Cities*, (Adelaide: Hugh Stretton, 1975), pp. 9-23.

<sup>134</sup> Also argued in K. Saunders and R Evans, ed., *Gender Relations in Australia*, p. 165.

<sup>135</sup> The Botanic Gardens were developed from the start of settlement, The Adelaide Institute was opened in 1857, the Town Hall in 1861, the Art Gallery in 1881. Derek Whitelock, *Adelaide, a Sense of Difference*, (Adelaide, Savas Publishing, 1985), p. 103, 112.

<sup>136</sup> See Appendix 1, collated from advertisements in the *Register*, 1850-1925.

<sup>137</sup> 'Most Australian girls could ride,' *Observer*, 31st October, 1891, p. 8. Children travelled by horse, buggy or trap, later by bicycle. Transport routes are demonstrated in Appendix V.

<sup>138</sup> By 1891, Kensington and Norwood had 549 houses of six rooms or more, an increase of 200 in the ten years since the increase in the tramway routes. G. Gooded, T. Moore, *Fifty Years' History of Kensington and Norwood*, (Adelaide: Town of Kensington and Norwood, 1903. Facsimile edition reprint; Austaprint, 1978), p. 226. The size of these houses suggests that children from larger families shared bedrooms.

encouraging networks of influence which would last until the next generation. By these methods the transference of the ideals and vigour of the middle class was assured.

One of a mother's prime duties was to nurture children. Expected to take total responsibility for schooling, in the pioneering days many parents looked on their children as little adults who fulfilled useful economic functions, which left little time or energy for education. The 1839-40 journal of Jane Sanders, daughter of a sail manufacturer from Yorkshire, illustrates this. Her family had settled land near Echunga, thirty miles south of Adelaide.

The great disadvantage of our life was the utter neglect of the younger members of the family. We had run wild. My brothers had attended the Ackworth school but the two younger ones were taken from school very young to come here, never to return to it. I fared worse as my schooling finished when I was nine years old.

However, her 'education' took on another, less formal structure, as she continues,

Fortunately I had learned to read and was very fond of books. These have been my chief enjoyment and solace throughout life. Books came from kind relations in England [also] *Chambers Journals*, magazines, annuals, histories, religious books, biographies. Also we had Father's conversation and anecdotes and listened to the intelligent conversation of visitors.<sup>139</sup>

The voice of Annie, motherless daughter of respected Dr Handyside Duncan recalls in her diary that at age nine she was no longer allowed 'to run wild' but was taught 'quieter, ordered feminine activities - playing the piano, singing, drawing and to make her own clothes.'<sup>140</sup> In most homes, sex-differentiated treatment from parents, in terms of physical contact, verbal communication, dress and toys, helped to produce firm gender identities. Sex-appropriate behaviour was further reinforced via books, by wider contact with other children and was tested by social interchange with adults.

The freedom of South Australian childhood is documented by Yvonne Routledge whose work cites the diaries of the affluent Gilbert family. Their children appreciated of the wide open spaces of their Pewsey Vale garden where they had few restrictions, 'loving the wild outdoor play which was spontaneous and noisy.'<sup>141</sup> Routledge argues that for many middle class boys and girls who were free from economic responsibilities, the good climate encouraged challenging and boisterous outdoor activities like swimming, horse riding, yabbing and possuming. Pastimes like these, often away from adult supervision, encouraged the development of a free and independent spirit.<sup>142</sup> However, she suggests

---

<sup>139</sup> Jane's memoir was observant and well written in lucid prose, evidence that she had benefited from her meagre education. Sanders, *Settlement of George Sanders*; p. 15.

<sup>140</sup> Duncan Diaries, Vol 1, p. 94.

<sup>141</sup> Routledge, 'Middle Class Children', p. 55; Gilbert Diaries, P.R.G. 266/34.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.



that towards the end of the nineteenth century adults gradually curtailed their children's freedom by encouraging more structured play. As the importance of parental influence in child rearing was acknowledged, parents invested in sophisticated and educative toys, decreasing children's independence and imposing higher standards of behaviour which middle class families strove to reach.

### **The Middle Class Girl**

In order to encourage the development of feminine characteristics of their girls, middle class families stressed elements of ladylike behaviour by instruction in deportment, dancing and graceful personal presentation.<sup>143</sup> Annie Duncan, who was educated at home by 'highly cultured, well educated, very artistic servants', wrote,

We led an orderly, quiet life. A great deal of attention was given to our deportment and manner of entering and leaving a room. Doors had to be closed quietly. We were expected to have a piece of fancywork for the evening - no dressmaking or plainwork for the drawing room. It was expected that we should do our part socially in trying to entertain one another with music, games such as chess, draughts, whist or backgammon.<sup>144</sup>

Feminine formation appears to have been primarily established in the home, then extended by the influence of the school. In order to minimise exposure to conflicting moral and social positions, families chose the school for their daughters with care, in accordance with their own parenting beliefs and ideals of morality and conduct. They paid particular attention to the school's ambience and the social influence of the pupils. The friends whom their daughters made were part of their social circle on leaving school, an important factor in cementing lasting ties within the boundaries of their class. Undoubtedly, the ladylike personality, expected influence and prestige of the Headmistress would also act as a drawing card.

Throughout the period, parents were prepared to pay considerable 'extras' fees for adherence to the proprieties in order to ensure that their daughters were groomed for a suitable marriage, as they guaranteed their financial security, respectable womanhood and their ultimate responsibility of reproducing the finest elements both of their class of the race.<sup>145</sup> Headmistresses in this study closely adhered to their clients' wishes and ran their schools accordingly, demanding high standards of ladylike behaviour and strict adherence to the proprieties to ensure the development of the high spirited schoolgirl to the socially

---

<sup>143</sup> Many schools employed visiting professors, for instance, Mr Wivell for dancing, Mr Reeves for elocution, Herr Leschen for deportment. 'For example, Mr Leschen taught the girls 'to lift a vase of flowers off the piano very gracefully, demonstrating the correct way "with her hand like that".' *Walford*, p. 23.

<sup>144</sup> Duncan Diaries, Vol 1, p. 171.

<sup>145</sup> Fees for music and art were often as expensive, if not more costly, than the fee for regular academic tuition.

accepted persona of the Victorian 'Ideal Woman'. Measures of feminine formation are analysed by examining the programme of the schools in the following chapters.

One enduring feature, the modulation of a girl's voice, was a continual source of concern. In an upwardly mobile society, enunciation and tone were considered particularly important in the definition of feminine refinement. The girls understood this. 'Mostly we were taught that we were ladies and to sit with our knees together and keep our voices low. No shrieking aloud because ladies don't do that. We had to be refined.'<sup>146</sup> The English Lady Tennyson, wife of the governor, wrote of 'the girls' dreadful voices, with more or less Australian twang.'<sup>147</sup> Schools advertised that 'deportment, enunciation and other details that contribute so largely to a girls' success in life' were supervised.'<sup>148</sup> They were helping to shape the futures of their charges, which included a successful climb, or at least continuation, in the middle class, and they realised the pragmatic nature of their task.<sup>149</sup>

Girls attending a school which offered 'higher education' would have demonstrated elements of the physical characteristics of approaching womanhood, but it is likely that only the pupils in the top classes would have been physically mature.<sup>150</sup> A historical study of human growth in working and middle class women in Oslo confirms a fall in the age of menarche (outset of puberty) from 15.5 years in 1860 to 14.6 years in 1920.<sup>151</sup> During this century, Calla suggests that the age of puberty for Australian girls has fallen by four months per decade. As the current mean age is 12.5 years, in 1900 it would have been 15.2 years, comparable to the previous statistic.<sup>152</sup> The ability to theorise and to use abstract reason is related to physical development.<sup>153</sup> Later studies of behavioural psychologists like G.S.

---

<sup>146</sup> Oral history interview with Mrs Ethel Scarfe, née Marcus, Hyams et al., *Learning and Other Things*, pp. 171-172.

<sup>147</sup> A. Tennyson in A. Hasluck, ed., *Audrey Tennyson's Vice-Regal Days: The Australian Letters of Audrey, Lady Tennyson, 1899-1903*, (Canberra, The National Library of Australia, 1978), p. 57. She is judged as 'sensible and sensitive' by editor Hasluck. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 10.

<sup>148</sup> *Methodist Weekly*, 22nd July, 1898, p. 3.

<sup>149</sup> This emphasis on the voice is still a limiting factor in social advancement. As a working class girl, writing in the 1970s of her experiences in an English Grammar School, Payne asserts that 'loudness of voice was discouraged and any form of ostentatious verbal behaviour (shouting, arguing, challenging) was considered inappropriate.' Further, she argues that class considerations insisted on proper (educated) speech and gender on polite speech. I. Payne, 'A Working Class girl in a Grammar School', in D. Spender and E. Sarah eds., *Learning to Lose*, (London: Women's Press, 1988), p. 14.

<sup>150</sup> Stages of physical development are of great importance in the teenage years. Associated with the hormonal changes of puberty are psychological and mental progressions. The development of abstract reasoning, for instance, follows the outset of puberty.

<sup>151</sup> J. M. Tanner, *A History of the Study of Human Growth*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 295.

<sup>152</sup> V. J. Calla, *Adolescence, an Australian Perspective*, (Marrickville, New South Wales: Harcourt Brace Jonovich Group, 1990), p. 152.

<sup>153</sup> Studies in 1958 by Jean Piaget defined the stage of adolescence as a period of 'formal reasoning', with the development of abstract reasoning and the growth of the ability to hypothesise and work from the abstract to the particular. Jean Piaget and Bärbel Inhelder, *The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence*, (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1958), pp. 49-56.

Hall in the United States in the late 1890s and J. Piaget demonstrated that the school's expectation of the girls' scholastic achievement, personal and public behaviour and emotional responses should have been related to this stage of maturity.<sup>154</sup>

One argument which was developed by protagonists to counteract the entry of women into Higher education in Britain was that 'the mental strain engendered by study would sap women's physical resources and thus limit her reproductive possibilities.'<sup>155</sup> The Headmistresses of the prominent girls' schools who sent candidates to the University endeavoured to ensure that their regimen of study did not cause physical stress to their pupils. Determined to prove this claim, in the early 1890s Miss Dove at St Leonards kept detailed information of each girl's height and weight at different ages from measurements taken three times each year. In her tables, schoolgirls aged from nine years to twenty range in height from 4'2" to 5'5" (127cm - 165cm) with weights from 4.1/4 to 10.1/2 stones (30 Kg - 67 Kg.). The mean height is 5'4" (162 cm) with corresponding weight of 8 1/2 stones (54 Kg).<sup>156</sup> Unfortunately, there is a lack of statistical information with this degree of precision in South Australian girls' schools and only scant evidence has been gleaned from personal diaries. The *Observer* asserted that 'Australian maidens are slight, not so tall as the English girl' and that 'the climate does not seem to admit to superfluous flesh in young or old.'<sup>157</sup> Recorded facts support this claim. At age 18, Mary Thomas, weighed 6st 7lb and Winnifred Lillian Bird started her diary in 1892 with the information that she was aged 16 and weighed 6.6 stone.<sup>158</sup>

Physical features reflected in South Australian school photographs show a diversity of physiques with the younger girls appearing small and dainty. They have a variety of ringlets and curls but the older girls wear their hair up, which lends dignity and ages their appearance. The change from child to young woman appears to come suddenly with little physical evidence of an intermediate stage of adolescence.<sup>159</sup> This concurs with recent work by Craig Campbell and others who have identified adolescence, the period of life between dependency on parents and the growth towards self autonomy, as a modern

---

<sup>154</sup> G. S. Hall, *Youth Its Regimen and Hygiene*, (New York: Appleton, 1906). Republished, (New York: Arno Press, 1972).

<sup>155</sup> Delamont and Duffin eds., *The Nineteenth Century Woman*, p. 92.

<sup>156</sup> These statistics are for Scottish girls whose outdoor school activities would be likely to encourage a stronger build than many similar aged English girls. Their correspondence with Australian girls who participated in active outdoor pursuits may be more significant. Dorothea Beale, Lucy Soulsby, Jane F. Dove, *Work and Play in Girls' Schools*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1898), p. 418.

<sup>157</sup> *Observer*, 31st October, 1891, p. 8, quoted in Routledge, 'Middle Class Children', p. 159.

<sup>158</sup> Thomas Papers. Diary of Winnifred Lillian Bird, P.R.G. 322/6, p. 1. M.L.S.A. Mrs Kelsey, the mother of four, was 4' 10." and her mother, Mrs Harcus, who gave birth to nine children, 4' 9.5". In general, women and girls were decidedly shorter in stature than contemporary girls.

<sup>159</sup> Hair worn up usually signified the readiness of a girl for entry into 'society', a polite way of alluding to her physical adulthood and therefore marriageable state, sometimes celebrated by her 'coming out' at a special ball or similar occasion. See note 53.

phenomenon, highly influenced by “prolonged institutionalised dependence” of the twentieth century secondary school.<sup>160</sup>

In the nineteenth century schoolgirls had no set uniforms but wore their own style of clothes, often made at home, usually a blouse and long skirt or a simply cut ankle length dress with practical covering pinafore.<sup>161</sup> To help mould the growing body into the desired feminine shape with wasp waist, a boned corset and bodice would be worn, a constant reminder of the enforced control which impeded a girl’s movement.<sup>162</sup> Dorothy Gilbert recalls ‘many light petticoats of calico or cambric, frilled, starched or wired requiring frequent laundering.’<sup>163</sup> In addition to impracticality when running hot water was a novelty in the majority of homes, this volume of clothing must have been a trial to young bodies, particularly in the intense heat. Although the required button-up boots helped to keep out winter wet, they were not ideally adapted to the heat of summer. Stockings were worn, either knitted woollen or cotton, which required copious darning. Middle class schoolgirls wore bonnets or hats, in order to preserve attractive complexions. However, Lady Tennyson observed, ‘It is very disappointing that with such pretty children how extremely little beauty there is in people, girls more especially look pretty at a distance and then when they come near you, they have invariably shocking complexions and bad teeth.’<sup>164</sup> Conventional girls’ hats had a specially designed badge to identify school allegiance.<sup>165</sup> Unlike the sartorial expectations of some of the wealthier antecedent English private schools, everyday Australian school clothes were not designed to allure; modesty was implicit, as befitted the ideology of the innocent Victorian miss who was purposely kept in unsophisticated naivety and unquestioning purity of heart.<sup>166</sup>

Although South Australian schoolgirls kept in ignorance of sexual matters, were brought up partly as innocent and naive children, they were expected to demonstrate some of the responsibilities of adulthood. The employment of a servant was one of the marks of social improvement and one South Australian family in three could afford to employ a servant, a

---

<sup>160</sup> C. Campbell, ‘Modern adolescence and secondary schooling’, 1994 A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings, pp. 83 - 108.

<sup>161</sup> Tormore introduced the first regular uniform of white blouse and navy skirt in 1911. Angove, *Tormore*, p. 10.

<sup>162</sup> J. and P. Phillips, ‘History from Below: Women’s Underwear and the Rise of Women’s Sport’, *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol.27, No.2 Fall, 1993, p. 132.

<sup>163</sup> Gilbert Diaries.

<sup>164</sup> Tennyson in Hasluck ed., *Audrey Tennyson’s Vice-Regal Days*, p. 57.

<sup>165</sup> Writing from the perspective of the 1980s, Irene Payne argues that school uniform was part of a process of destroying individual identity, of enforcing a particular set of bourgeois values, based on ideas of respectability, smartness and appearances. Payne, *Learning to Lose*, p. 14.

<sup>166</sup> Murray, *Strong Minded Women*, p. 200.

'slavey', who usually lived in.<sup>167</sup> However, large families, inefficient household procedures and ever rising expectations of household cleanliness and standards of neatness coupled with the difficulties of attaining and keeping suitable help, leads to the conclusion that in most homes, both the mistress and her daughters, but not the males, would also have to attend to tasks around the house, a position which is confirmed in contemporary diaries.<sup>168</sup> When Mrs Churchward, wife of the second master of Prince Alfred College and mother of six children, was widowed in 1890, she had to dispense with servants so her eldest daughter, Daisy, aged sixteen, helped with cooking and did most of the sewing for her brothers and sisters, even though she was going to school and sitting examinations.<sup>169</sup> Even in the wealthy Gilbert family who employed seven indoor servants, Dorothy recalled,

As Mother was invariably pregnant, the older girls had many duties with younger siblings, including unbuttoning pants (no elastic), lacing up boots, and overseeing the babies' first steps.<sup>170</sup>

In reality, the majority of middle class girls helped with daily household tasks in addition to music practice and school requirements.<sup>171</sup> However, in this way they received a training from their mothers in preparation for their most likely destiny - marriage.

When marriage failed or did not eventuate, women ran the risk of depending on others. An opportunity to earn was crucial for those women whose family circumstances did not cover the death or disgrace of the breadwinner, or who were left without support or marriage. For some, especially with children, suitable paid employment had to be sought, which was particularly hard for women who wished to maintain middle class status. An unattached woman could only hope to make a comfortable livelihood by hard work, using perseverance and determination. Her most likely path for economic survival was in education, as teaching was one of the few avenues in which could retain her social position. She could set up a private school unhampered by imperatives dictated by official regulation, but which ultimately was at the mercy of market forces. The nexus between education, status and work was tight. Successful proprietors needed a range of skills, the will to work

---

<sup>167</sup> Baker, 'Position of Women in South Australia', pp. 78-81. A similar conclusion was also reached by Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 388-396. The Australian position is argued in Kingston, *My Wife, my Daughter and Poor Mary-Anne*, pp. 32-40.

<sup>168</sup> Diary of Winnifred Lillian Bird, 'I made the beds etc', Sunday, 22nd May, 1892.' 'I had to cook the dinner alone and was rather tired.' Diary of Gertrude Martin, 24th June, 1880, Martin Papers. Diary of Lavinia Scammell, 1859-1912, describes endless household mending, a new girl being employed and the cook giving notice.

<sup>169</sup> Emily Churchward, *Emily Churchward, née Padman: In Paths Divided: Her Story, 1853-1933*, ed Mary Macdonald, (Adelaide, Stella Mary Macdonald, 1984), p. 103.

<sup>170</sup> They also employed three maids, (house, parlour, kitchen), cook, nurse, under nurse and laundry maid. Gilbert Papers. 266/34, pp. 2-5.

<sup>171</sup> Diary of Winnifred Lillian Bird, Monday, 23rd May, 1891.

hard and the endurance to survive, coupled with a measure of luck.<sup>172</sup> If her knowledge, management ability and premises met the acclaim of parents, an aspiring proprietor could be hopeful that her enterprise would reap the rewards of success in a highly competitive climate. However, the majority of women conducted short lived, amateurish establishments. By contrast the four schools in this study were firmly based, met a distinct need of their clientele and were conducted with sense and foresight. Their story will illuminate further many features of the shifting society which they served.

---

<sup>172</sup> Similar attributes were discussed in the Victorian context in M. Theobald, *Knowing Women*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 30-54.

## Chapter 3

### Ladies' Education - A Quiet Transformation

'Three little maids who, all unwary,  
Come from a ladies' seminary.'<sup>1</sup>

From the start of the colony the South Australian Company planned to establish and conduct Infant, British and Labour schools for the general welfare of the whole colony.<sup>2</sup> However, the prime needs of shelter, food and law and order became the critical determinants and education developed via private rather than public initiative. The voluntary nature of education accorded with the majority *laissez faire* view that this provision was a personal, family responsibility. Schools had to be self supporting, though support was often precarious, resulting in low academic standards.<sup>3</sup> Malcolm Vick argues that the first State entry into the field via the Education Ordinance of 1847, which subsidised existing private arrangements for educational provision, was specifically designed to intervene in the market place rather than directing by regulation.<sup>4</sup> The main object of this and the subsequent 1851 Act was to increase the provision of universal elementary education. The overall thrust was twofold - the provision of State aid to efficient, licensed teachers whose roll was at least twenty pupils and the encouragement of local initiatives, including especially designed school buildings. One basic premise was that the resultant benefits were specifically for those members of the working class whose incomes were insufficient to provide other than bare necessities. To ensure that schooling was universally available, children of poor parents could attend as free pupils.<sup>5</sup> Further, as subsidised schools (of which there were 115 at the end of 1851) catered for children of both sexes together they were seldom patronised by middle class parents, certainly rarely by their girls.<sup>6</sup> The more affluent families of the rising classes were expected to avoid being a drain on the public purse and to make their own arrangements to purchase educational opportunities for their children on the open market. In practice they supported the educational opportunities which gave their children the foundation to ensure that they would at least maintain family status, if not improve their standing, in the

---

<sup>1</sup> W. S Gilbert, *The Mikado*, quoted in *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas, 'Secondary and Church Schools', p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> G. E. Saunders, 'Public Education in South Australia in the 19th Century and some Factors affecting it', M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1964, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Vick, 'The Central Board of Education', p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup> Middle class parents shunned mixed education. Although in difficult times a boy might be sent to a local government school parents did not dare to risk a girl's future chances of achieving gentility there.

fluid structure of society. Thus, from the first, education was delineated by parental ability to provide and consequently by class affiliation.

### **Home Education - the Governess**

Middle class South Australian girls generally received their first education at home, either from parents or from an older sibling. For instance, in the 1850s the Unitarian May Clark quickly learned 'her mother's plan of teaching her words without any attempt to teach spelling.' Later, 'when younger siblings were ready, her two older sisters taught them lessons every morning, with needlework and drawing in the afternoons.'<sup>7</sup> This task gave interest and employment to older girls in the family and ensured that they remained at home under the guidance of their parents.<sup>8</sup> However, if a family was unable to support a large increase in their number, an older girl might leave to act as a governess in a similar home, thereby retaining her gentility and middle class status by remaining within a familiar domestic structure. This maintained a tradition of home education which had been carried forward from the Middle Ages by the British aristocratic and upper classes who chose to educate their children at home to protect them from the exposure to unacceptable values and outside influence.<sup>9</sup>

Though few Australian houses were able to offer satisfactory living accommodation, families of comfortable means, especially if they lived in an area isolated from the possibility of suitable education, might employ a governess and educate girls of close age together at home, sometimes with local friends. Advertisements confirm that governesses ranged from young girls, who were also expected to act as a 'mother's help' and undertake domestic duties, to 'finishing governesses' whose added qualifications in accomplishments and in the requirements of polite living could be a conspicuous demonstration of new won affluence for the *nouveau riche*.<sup>10</sup>

Whereas the former governess could be a local middle class young girl whose need to earn was often not crucial to the family economy, the latter was usually dependent on her income. She could expect a greater financial reward for her labours but her position was

---

<sup>7</sup> Clark Papers, P.R.G. 389/9, pp. 112-117, M.L.S.A.

<sup>8</sup> This early pattern endured. In 1880, Gertrude Martin taught the piano to her younger brothers and sisters and also to the children of neighbours. Diary of Gertrude Martin, July, 18th, 1st August, 1880. D 4869 (L), M.L.S.A.

<sup>9</sup> Kamm, *Hope Deferred*, pp. 133-135; The English position is well described in M. Jeanne Peterson, 'The Victorian Governess' in M. Vicinus, ed., *Suffer and be Still*, pp. 3-19. The work and importance of the role of the Australian governess is developed in Marion Aimes, 'Home Education and Colonial Ideals of Womanhood', Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1986, pp. 17- 48; Also the subject of Clarke, *The Governesses*.

<sup>10</sup> 'Wanted, a governess competent to teach one or two children and to assist in house duties.' *Register*, 11th January, 1873, p. 1; 'Finishing governess' advertisement, *Register*, 14th January, 1863, p. 1.



precarious as she could be undercut by the former if her host family struck difficult economic times. Hopeful governesses offered their services in carefully placed advertisements.

A young lady who has had considerable experience in the tuition of the young in the colony as well as in the mother country is desirous of engaging as visiting governess in the Town, the Bay, or Brighton. She is fully competent to instruct in English, French, Italian, Drawing and Music.<sup>11</sup>

A governess' annual salary could be as little as £20 but experience could command up to £60.<sup>12</sup> For a large family, the employment of a governess appeared to be a more attractive economic proposition than sending their daughters away to receive a boarding education, but this denied them the wider social education which could be found there. Some families compromised, sending their girls to school either when they could no longer learn from an inexperienced governess or to 'finish' as they neared maturity.

The role of governess was one of ruling, teaching, inspiring and protecting and, above all, of providing a continual example in all things.<sup>13</sup> While confirming the family's social status, a governess worked in the household under the parents' supervision, which enabled the children to be shielded from external influences contrary to their values.<sup>14</sup> Mothers would expect a proper attention to gentility for their girls and the fostering of feminine values and accomplishments. But a governess' position within the family was ambivalent. Sometimes even an older governess had only bare education.<sup>15</sup> In addition to teaching, she might be required to undertake strenuous domestic work and sewing and 'to eat the bitter bread in a rich man's family'.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, a governess could be highly educated as Annie Duncan, who grew up with her cousins in Macclesfield, recalls. 'Our education went on apace under the servants. They were highly cultured, well educated, very artistic, and had lived in an atmosphere of Art and Music before coming to Australia.'<sup>17</sup> In certain households, a governess' experience was varied and rewarding. Miss Molero, companion to Mrs Gilbert from 1871-1904, and early governess to the younger children, was made godmother to her protégé Dorothy, teaching her reading, writing, arithmetic and French

---

<sup>11</sup> *Register*, 6th January, 1853, p. 2; Also, in 1866, 'Wanted by a lady, a re-engagement as a resident governess in a family. Can teach English, French and Music.' *Register*, 3rd January, 1867, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Clarke, *The Governesses*, p. 86.

<sup>13</sup> Amies, 'Home Education', p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Hyams et al., *Learning and Other Things*, p. 174. Emily Churchward wrote, 'As a governess we had Miss Barrow, a gentle, simple hearted girl. How sheltered we were from evil!' Churchward, in Macdonald, ed., *In Paths Divided*, p. 21.

<sup>15</sup> In her unpublished recollections 'Greencreek', (by Greenock, twenty five Km. north of Adelaide), Caroline Emily Clark wrote of the governess Miss Blisset, a poorly schooled woman of about thirty, 'who knows only some grammar and the proprieties.' Clark, P.R.G. 389/15, p. 332.

<sup>16</sup> Expression used in the *Register*, 24th January, 1877, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Duncan Diaries, P.R.G. 532/6, p. 94.

before the arrival of her first 'real' governess, Miss Short, aged sixteen.<sup>18</sup> Mlle José Dussau, governess to the three Tennyson boys at Government House, Adelaide from 1899 until 1902, met the Duke of York there and was employed later as governess to his daughter, the Princess Mary.<sup>19</sup>

The discriminating Anglican Bishop Short brought two English governesses for his family of five children when he migrated in 1847.<sup>20</sup> In England the profession of governess was one of the few openings for respectable middle class girls of the 'spinster surplus'.<sup>21</sup> During the twenty years from 1862 under the auspices of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, via an ambitious scheme devised by Maria Rye in London, three hundred and two governesses, mostly widows or daughters of clergy, doctors and solicitors, travelled to Australia.<sup>22</sup> Only a few of the hopeful ladies gained satisfactory positions or security of livelihood. Many found the market overcrowded or were not flexible enough to adapt to the different climatic and social conditions. Some felt themselves over qualified, socially superior to the *nouveau riche* families who wished their daughters to absorb some of their gentility, and railed against menial household tasks which they were instructed to perform which they would never have undertaken in England. Finding an unexpected lack of opportunity several had to recourse to sewing or shopwork. Two governesses only came to South Australia under this scheme. In Mount Gambier in 1866 Mrs Margaret Allen gained a position with Mr Charles Doughty, widowed commission agent and resident magistrate, 'to have the care and education of two nice little children'.<sup>23</sup>

The experience of the second, Mlle Cécile Nagelle, gives an insight into the difficulties and uncertainties that governesses faced, which were especially critical for the emigrant who sought independence and autonomy.<sup>24</sup> In 1876, having taught German and piano for three years at Miss Senner's school in Adelaide before its closure and amalgamation with Madame Marval's establishment, Mlle Nagelle advertised her accomplishments in the open market.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Diary of Dorothy Gilbert, P.R.G. 266/34. A later governess, Miss Kohn 'lived and was loved as an accepted member of the family, sharing our recreations and friendships.' *South Australiana XII*, (2), September, 1973, p. 59.

<sup>19</sup> Tennyson, in Hasluck, ed., *Letters of Lady Tennyson*, p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Miss Marshall and Miss Seton, who lived with the Shorts at Kensington and Beaumont. Judith Brown, *Augustus Short, D.D.*, (Adelaide: Hodge, 1974), p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, *Town Life in Pioneer South Australia*, p. 113; Bryant, *Unexpected Revolution*, pp. 31-2, 34-5; Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, p. 35; Clarke, *The Governesses*, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> The Society's purpose was to lend money and give other assistance to educated women of good character, to enable them to pay their passages to places overseas where prospects of obtaining employment as governesses were believed to be favourable. Clarke, *The Governesses*, pp. 2, 19.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-81; pp. 134-138.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>25</sup> *Register*, 16th January, 1876, p. 7.

She then taught music to seven pupils in Gawler.<sup>26</sup> Mlle Nagelle considered herself the only professional in the town as she had played several times in public. She was critical of the local girls, 'who often had means but know comparatively nothing, who stood in the way of those who needed the profession as a means of support.' To avoid competition Mademoiselle moved to nearby Angaston whence she wrote 'in such pretty country I have come to the right place at last.'<sup>27</sup> There she lived with an old lady who kept a school in the Baptist Chapel, whose pupils she instructed in music, singing and languages. However, she was worried that the school would not 'keep up very long, as the old lady was not able to get a good English teacher for the small salary which was offered and the present teacher, the daughter of the resident doctor, was unable to assist much longer as she was needed at home.' Neither the indigent lady who needed the agency of support nor the local girl of more comfortable means could be assured that her employment was anything but of a temporary nature. Both were at the mercy of their circumstances and, as in other domestic occupations, could face a lack of security and exploitation from their employer. Lack of certainty was a constant concern of governesses.<sup>28</sup>

The experience gained while employed as a home governess could later be transferred to the ranks of the ladies' schools either as teacher or owner. Before her marriage, Mrs Marcus had been the governess to family friends in Wiltshire.<sup>29</sup> Over twenty years later, when left a widow in Adelaide with a daughter's family to consider, she opened a school, confident that she could use her previous expertise and her daughters' talents to educate the children of her Congregational circle.<sup>30</sup> But few less established governesses with little social or financial capital could risk opening a school. One who did so was Mrs Phillips, a sponsored Rye emigrant, who had a seven year old son to educate, who started her own school in Prahran, Victoria.<sup>31</sup>

Teaching was accepted as a natural extension of the nurturing and caring role of women who could continue to display their mothering role in the learning environment. Indeed, many early 'schools' in Australia as in similar developing countries of the Western tradition, were simple extensions of basic maternal education in the domestic setting which developed by accepting neighbouring children along with younger members of their wider family.

---

<sup>26</sup> Set near the Barossa Valley with its Germanic musical interests, Gawler had a flourishing tradition of music, especially choral singing. Carl F. Linger (1812-1862), a German immigrant, musician and composer, wrote the music for 'The Song of Australia' for the Institute Competition, winning the £10 10 prize on 12th December, 1859. *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5, p. 90.

<sup>27</sup> Clarke, *The Governesses*, p. 136.

<sup>28</sup> However, in 1880, aged 43, Cecile Nagelle married James Pollit, a clerk in Holy orders. Richards, in Richards ed., *Flinders History*, p. 162.

<sup>29</sup> Kelsey Papers, P.R.G. 304/1, M.L.S.A.

<sup>30</sup> In a similar manner Mrs Hillier and Madame Marval both became proprietors of ladies' schools.

<sup>31</sup> Clarke, *The Governesses*, p. 123.

These 'dame schools' were patronised by working women. In homes higher up the social scale, daughters of the house could add to the endeavour and enable the numbers to swell.<sup>32</sup> With no external regulation or public accountability, the enterprising capitalist could utilise academic capital and adopt the style 'schoolteacher,' a title which carried a certain dignity and status and a hint of middle class respectability.<sup>33</sup> This was a particularly attractive option for widows or for sisters from large families. However, the type of school and curriculum they could offer was limited to their breadth of knowledge and expertise. There was no official recourse to training except on the job as governesses in private enterprise schools, but after the 1851 Education Act a few girls over fourteen years, especially if their parents were already employed in education, were able to become pupil teachers in government schools. In these establishments they received teacher preparation by the extension of knowledge and skills in exchange for a small salary and the hope of advancement after training. Sari Bilken suggests that teaching in mid nineteenth century America rewarded girls with financial remuneration, intellectual stimulation, an occasion for service and the opportunity for gaining some independence. This bears close comparison with South Australia.<sup>34</sup> In both countries, superior teachers could assume a certain status, although the acquisition and revelation of knowledge could label a woman a 'blue', a derogatory, somewhat pitying term, which in many instances questioned femininity and female potential.<sup>35</sup>

### Early Schools

From the first, as there was no official provision for education, persons of initiative and economic need recognised market opportunities. In January, 1838 appeared the following, the precursor of many thousand similar advertisements:

MRS HILLIER begs to inform her Friends and the Public of Adelaide that she has opened a SCHOOL for a select and limited number of YOUNG LADIES, and from long experience in the arduous task of Education, MRS HILLIER flatters herself that her system of instruction and unremitting attention to her pupils cannot fail to be approved by the Parents of those young ladies entrusted to her care. Pavilion Cottage, near Gillies Arcade, Currie Street.<sup>36</sup>

Mrs Hillier had previously been governess in England to the four children of Robert Thomas, publisher of the first newspaper, *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial*

---

<sup>32</sup> An example of an embryo 'home school' is described by Emily Churchward who helped her sister in 1863 to teach some neighbouring children. Churchward, in Macdonald, ed., *In Paths Divided*, p. 29. Two schools near the Marcus household in early Norwood, Mrs Malpas' Ladies' school and Mrs Constable, Schoolmistress, may have been of this type.

<sup>33</sup> An added incentive was the reduction in council property rates for a school.

<sup>34</sup> S. K. Bilken, *School Work*, (New York: Columbia University, 1995), p. 74.

<sup>35</sup> Spence, *Clara Morison*, p. 91. Mary Somerville (1780-1872), renowned Scottish scientist, after whom Oxford's Somerville College was named, wrote of the scorn she would have received if she had publicly expressed her interest in science. Murray, *Strong-Minded Women*, p. 208.

<sup>36</sup> *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 20th January, 1838, p. 1.

*Register*.<sup>37</sup> Her carefully worded advertisement offers valuable insight into the already clearly demarcated expectations of the infant colony, and may be used to exemplify the aspirations of teachers, parents and pupils in the first few years. By indicating that she proposed to offer education for 'select young ladies', Mrs Hillier immediately set delineations of class and gender. The assumed requirement of fees, an unlikely possibility for struggling immigrants concentrating on establishment in the new colony, meant that she sought clientele with financial means. These were expected to be members of the 'middling classes', whose exclusivity was further confirmed by her promise of 'select'. The transported popular ideology of female purity underpinned the notion of a girl's innocence and need of protection. Mrs Hillier well understood that parents might be wary of moral deviance and would choose to educate their girls separately from boys. The nomenclature of 'ladies' presupposed notions of gentility, respectability and moral rectitude. The formative education in appropriate behaviours required that education would complement the home, so Mrs Hillier sought parental assurance that her experience and influence would confirm these beliefs and cement their trust. However, her previous experience might have alerted her to the possibility that this parents' approval had the potential to affect the direction of her enterprise and that her best chance of success was in skilfully matching their interests to her educational practices. That this information was aimed at 'friends' implies that Mrs Hillier was prepared to use previously built up social networks of influence and to employ these contacts as bargaining power. The image of 'cottage' gave a warm reassurance of domestic architecture and homely values. Her choice of site in the heart of the growing city indicated prudence in locating the enterprise close to likely clientele with minimum distance required for girls to travel. In proclaiming her school, Mrs Hillier demonstrated a shrewd sense of the social forces which shaped the circumstances and climate into which she wished to launch her enterprise. She thus exhibited many features which later schools followed.<sup>38</sup>

The distinction between a girls' elementary school, which taught reading, writing, some rudimentary history and geography, music and sewing and elementary arithmetic, and the more sophisticated 'ladies' schools', is blurred. Information from advertisements is scant and schools designated as 'ladies' academies' may in fact have been elementary schools which took older pupils by extending the curriculum. Indeed, still retaining their nomenclature and reputation, some may have been licensed under the Board of Education

---

<sup>37</sup> In the new environment Mrs Hillier was able to build on her English experience as the governess to the Thomas children. In attendance at the school was another Thomas daughter, who subsequently became Mrs Mantigani. Her niece, Mrs Birks, also attended the school at a later date when it was removed to Jetty Road, Brighton. *Register*, 3rd August, 1926, p. 16.

<sup>38</sup> The difficult conditions at the start of the colony delayed the actuality of many of the hopes of this advertisement which not eventuate until the more secure population from the 1850s. For instance, Mrs Hillier was forced to take small boys whose behaviour was not exemplary. See I. Brice, 'Reluctant Schoolmaster in a Voluntarist Colony', A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings, September, 1995, pp. 71-82.

and received government subsidy. For instance, between 1852 and 1860, Miss Matilda Congreve, a licensed teacher, ran an elementary Board school first in North Adelaide and then in rural Mount Barker until she moved into the township where she advertised a more specialised establishment for twenty 'young ladies', which also included the possibility of boarding.<sup>39</sup> In reality, she ran a subsidised school whose curriculum and tone was similar to private venture establishments in town. Proprietors with the required social and accomplished expertise who were prepared to take the economic risk of moving from an anticipated salary to the less predictable prospect of ownership could offer to meet the needs of middle class parents and extend their range of teaching to older pupils. They would increase their fees for more advanced girls which helped to assure the enterprise or to maintain a struggling business.

Proprietors advertised with confidence, mentioning the locality of the school which would indicate the type of social area from which pupils were likely to be drawn and hence the overall tone and social expectations of the clientele.<sup>40</sup> As the majority of proprietors had little accumulated financial capital, schools were often conducted in rented accommodation. This enabled them to be relocated, but it was also an area of concern as an unsympathetic landlord could ruin a carefully nurtured clientele. Frequent changes in location of a school usually indicated its relative success or failure by implying an increase or decrease of numbers supporting the livelihood of the proprietor.<sup>41</sup>

An analysis of the location and longevity of these early ladies' schools from advertisements in the most prominent daily paper, the *Register*, links the locality of these schools with the growth of middle class residency in the area.<sup>42</sup> The original sites of population were South Adelaide (the square mile of the City) and North Adelaide, with the establishment of family housing near the father's workplace. The nearby small villages of Mitcham, Magill and Burnside were rural service centres.<sup>43</sup> During the 1870s there was a gradual movement of successful families to the developing eastern suburbs of Hackney, Kent Town and St Peters where they established gardens, creating a more suitable

---

<sup>39</sup> Wall, *Our Own Matilda*, pp. 19-69.

<sup>40</sup> In 1856 The Misses Fickling advertised, (We) 'beg to acquaint parents and guardians that [we] are prepared to accept pupils at their establishment at Glenelg where in addition to sea bathing and a healthy location every attention will be given to their domestic comfort and instruction.' *Register*, 2nd January, 1856, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> For instance, Mrs Hillier's school had moved from Currie Street to Brighton by 1859 as she then advertised 'the houses are contiguous with the sea with commodious sleeping rooms, detached schoolroom and spacious playground'. *Register*, 4th January, 1859, p. 1. In 1861 the school was removed to Dorsetta Terrace, Flinders Street in the City. Notice of Removal, *Register*, 18th January, 1861, p. 1. In 1871 it relocated to Franklin Street, City. *Register*, 12th January, 1871, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix 1. Acknowledgment is given that only the schools which advertised regularly are included. For instance, Miss Cousin's Creveen, which was prominent in the first two decades of the twentieth century in North Adelaide, did not advertise.

<sup>43</sup> *Flinders Atlas of South Australia*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986), p. 37.

environment for family living. Many breadwinners then travelled to work in the city which stimulated the growth of public transport. This, in turn, increased in scope encouraging the gradual spreading of middle class suburbs to Norwood and Kensington, Unley and Mitcham and to the seaside suburbs of Glenelg and Brighton. Semaphore developed in the 1890s with the spread of train services. The opening of new schools, with the relative decrease in numbers of ladies' schools in the city, is found to parallel the development of specific areas and indeed may have encouraged their growth. Certainly, the development of boys' schools, The Collegiate School of St. Peter in Hackney from 1849, Mr Whinham's in North Adelaide from 1854 and Prince Alfred College from 1869 in Kent Town reflected the popularity of their district and helped to create it, also stimulating the opening of local girls' schools. The prudent proprietress of a girls' school chose her site with care in order to capitalise her chances in the highly competitive arena of girls' education.

Unlike the majority of boys' schools, establishments for young ladies were conducted in homes, not in especially designed buildings. The necessity of the proprietor and her family to use the school rooms after hours for daily living confirmed their domestic ambience, reflecting the private family ideal rather than the atmosphere of a public institution, ensuring that 'it was not so much a school as a home for young ladies.'<sup>44</sup> The domestic accommodation necessarily restricted the school to modest, manageable numbers. Statistics confirm this. By 1871, 2 700 pupils, both boys and girls, supported ninety five private schools in Adelaide and sixty two in the suburbs. 1150 pupils attended one of the thirty two licensed schools, fourteen of which were in the city and eighteen suburban.<sup>45</sup> These figures suggest that the 'average' size of a metropolitan licensed school was thirty six and that the 'typical' private school was seventeen pupils, which accords with the domestic location. As three well established schools each catered for well over two hundred, there must also have been some 'home schools' of merely single figures.<sup>46</sup> A significant overall result of the domestic nature of girls' education was the growth of numerous small ladies' schools which offered class groups of mixed ages. The privately educated girl was schooled in smaller, more personal social groupings than her counterpart in the elementary government school.

Until the 1870s there is scant detail of girls' schools apart from information gleaned from surviving diaries and advertisements. Not all schools advertised, as some would have been recommended by word of mouth between families of similar tastes. Advertisements could be

---

<sup>44</sup> Schools Inquiry Commission, Parliamentary Papers 1867-68, vol. XXVIII, chapter VIII, p. 560, quoted in Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 46. This is also described in Theobald, 'Women and Schools in Colonial Victoria', p. 136.

<sup>45</sup> South Australian Parliamentary Papers 1872, 9A, quoted in Saunders, 'Public Education in South Australia', p. 58.

<sup>46</sup> Pulteney Grammar School had 226 boys and girls in 1873. Ray, *Pulteney Grammar School*, p. 35. St Peter's College had 203 boys in 1868 and Mr Whinham's in North Adelaide had over 200 boys during the 1870s.

extravagant or merely informative.<sup>47</sup> In order to attract discerning clientele additional information concerning subjects taught, extra accomplishments offered, methods of instruction and the names of visiting 'professors' might be included.<sup>48</sup> In early days, names of referees, usually prominent families who had satisfaction under the care of the proprietor, were a feature.<sup>49</sup> A problematic area for the proprietor was the impression of exclusiveness which the school wished to convey. The advertisement had to attract enough clientele of suitable social standing, but too exclusive an impression ran the risk of curtailing the proprietor's profit.<sup>50</sup>

Descriptions drawn by hopeful proprietors of girls' schools were sometimes inordinate. For instance, Miss Forsyth described her school, Erskine House, Glenelg, as 'close to the beach with the number of boarders limited to twelve in increased accommodation and with six employed professors in attendance.' In 1874 she advertised that 'young ladies could attend any of the classes in the branches of English, Mathematics, or Ancient and Modern Languages.'<sup>51</sup> From this evidence, the school appeared to have offered a well constructed curriculum and to have been well run. However, pupil Lucy Spence later berated the school as 'the most absurd educational establishment where girls of the first families learned to read, write and do sums. The school books were Dr Brewer's Guides to Knowledge - questions and answers to be memorised.'<sup>52</sup> With no outside body to evaluate performance or draw comparisons, the schools could claim excellence which they did not merit. Their one mediator was the acclaim of parents which typically was based largely on social criteria.

In the free market, not all schools thrived. Competition was intense and schools faced opposition not only from newly established, more successful or socially acceptable

---

<sup>47</sup> Ladies' College, Grove House, Kent Town, conducted by Miss Thwaites, extravagantly stated 'the young ladies of this establishment receive a First Class Education on the most reasonable terms. The Education imparted is equally solid and polite, every attention being paid to the various studies pursued and the greatest assiduity employed to complete them as soon as possible.' *Register*, 12th January, 1869, p. 1; Others were informative only: 'Brook Cottage, Kensington. Mrs White's pupils are requested to reassemble on Monday, the 16th inst.'; *Register*, 10th January, 1865, p.1; None advertised, as in England, for 'Governess introducing a pupil preferred.' *The Times*, 2nd July, 1835, p. 1, quoted in Pedersen, 'Reform of Women's Education', p. 67.

<sup>48</sup> Miss Delany advertised that she had opened a school in Strangeways Terrace, North Adelaide, where her establishment gave a 'superior education'. She was 'furnished with a Diploma from the Academie Française and was desirous of giving lessons in French.' *Register*, 17th January, 1860, p. 1; Mrs and Miss Hill, advertised their South Terrace Alix House Academy, 'assisted by competent masters in every branch of education'. *Register*, 8th January, 1872, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> References for The Misses Deane's Carlton House were 'kindly permitted from Dr Woodforde, J. B. Neales Esq., and R. G. Bowen Esq.' *Register*, 7th January, 1859, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, Mrs Henry Davis's Boarding and Morning school specifically advertised for 'A select and limited number of Young Ladies for instruction in all branches of a superior English and French education.' *Register*, 11th January, 1859, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> *Register*, 9th January, 1859, p. 1; 12th January, 1870, p. 2; 19th January, 1874, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Diary of Lucy Spence Morice, later a Fabian Founder of the Women's League. n.d. A1051/A5, M.L.S.A.; Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 39.



establishments, but also from certain local public schools, especially in the 1870s with increased government provision of elementary education. Some were forced to close, presumably from lack of support. For instance, Mrs Hughes' School, Rundle Street (1857) and Mrs Mend's Seminary for Young Ladies, Rundle Street East (1863) were both advertised for one year only, as were Mr and Mrs Smellie's classes in the City in 1871. Further, the Misses Harfield advertised English, Music and Dancing for Boarders at Winchester House, Halifax Street, in 1873/4 but were not noted again.<sup>53</sup> The ephemeral nature of ladies' schools was a feature which distinguished them from the contemporary schools for boys whose regular appearance in advertisements suggests a greater security, size and influence than was perceived in contemporary girls' schools. This admits to the hypothesis that formal education was usually given greater prominence in a boy's life than could be expected by his sister.

Over one hundred 'educational establishments' have been traced via advertisements before 1870.<sup>54</sup> The majority of ladies' schools offered a basic curriculum and the 'accomplishments'. In addition to being within the capabilities of the majority of the proprietors, the familiar nomenclature of the 'English Curriculum' would be easily identifiable by more established colonists and by newly landed emigrants. Included in the basic subjects, many of which might have been of a very elementary level, were reading and writing, some basic arithmetical work, elements of history and geography, often allied to Scriptural studies and centred round the Holy Land, the use of globes and some basic notions of natural science. In addition, languages were included in 'those accomplishments which were usually considered necessary to young ladies.'<sup>55</sup> Some schools offered an introduction to French, German or Italian, sometimes boasting 'acquired on the Continent'.<sup>56</sup> But the main accomplishments were music and drawing, for which certain schools hired a specialist 'professor' and charged 'extra fees'. For instance, Mrs Thornley advertised the following fees for her Academy for Young Ladies in Flinders Street, charging an additional six guineas for accomplishments -

English Education	4 guineas per annum
Ditto with accomplishments	10 guineas per annum
Boarders under 14 years of age	50 guineas per annum
Boarders above 14 years of age	60 guineas per annum
Dancing (Mr Watts, Professor)	5 guineas per annum

<sup>53</sup> The fact that no advertisement could be found for these schools does not necessarily prove that they ceased to exist, but it is likely that they ceased to feature in the mainstream.

<sup>54</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>55</sup> *Register*, 3rd January, 1863, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> *Register*, 14th January, 1863, p. 1. The latter was an adjunct to singing, as Italian opera arias were a popular part of middle class culture.

As these figures were quoted in 1856 when the benefits from the gold fields started to effect the South Australian economy she may have been exaggerated them in order to attract the new wealth of aspiring families. In the same newspaper, advertisements confirmed that a butcher journeyman was sought for £3 a week with lodgings, a gentleman's coat cost 45/-, the price of a coach to Burra was £1 a head and St Peter's College boarding fees were £13.10 a quarter.<sup>57</sup>

Music, one of the important feminine trappings of middle class respectability, was a universal offering, charged as an 'extra' and taught by specialists. Advertisements tell us that Mrs Henry Davis' Boarding and Morning School for Young Ladies, Pulteney Street North, offered private lessons in singing, piano, French and Italian and that Miss Thwaites included music with English, wax flowers, leather work, and fancy needlework in her thirty guinea fee for boarders.<sup>58</sup> Also, the Misses Drummond taught music and drawing at their home, or at the pupil's own home, if preferred.<sup>59</sup>

However, while Miss Sinnett advertised that she held a morning class for young ladies, the Reverend D.J.H. Ibbotson, late Associate of the Institution of Engineers, announced that he prepared boys for entering the Universities or the Military and Naval Establishments of Great Britain.<sup>60</sup> Whereas the education of boys was designed to equip them for an interesting and challenging future in the public world, the impression of the schooling which was available to girls is one of gentility and refinement. The lessons they learned were the accomplishments of living which added personal polish and confidence. There is no evidence that these schools promoted those skills of life which would help girls face hardship or unexpected misfortune in a uncertain society.

The title 'young ladies' educational establishment' would necessarily assume 'moral and religious culture being judiciously promoted' and 'strict attention to the embellishment of a refined and superior education.'<sup>61</sup> Rigorous scholarship was not a requirement of girls' education. Rather, the encouragement to enhance the ability of young girls to attract a suitable husband in order to become leading ladies of society, and maintain the social prestige of the dominant class was considered paramount. Education which would help to make pupils agreeable and entertaining companions for future husbands was important. The proprieties and due attention to deportment, speech and manners were significant features in

---

<sup>57</sup> *Register*, 4th January, 1856, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Register*, 11th January, 1866 p. 1; *Register*, 15th January, 1872, p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> *Register*, 8th January, 1872, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> *Register*, 11th January, 1866, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Miss Thwaites' Ladies' College, Grove House. *Register*, 12th January, 1869, p. 1.

an educational establishment which depended on the patronage of an upwardly mobile clientele who were prepared to pay the not inconsiderable fees which this education could demand.<sup>62</sup>

### **Boarding Education**

One of the distinctive features of ladies' schools was the predominance of places offered to boarders. In 1854 Mrs Polhill advertised she 'has vacancies for Four Young Ladies at her Establishment, where health and improvement of the pupils are always studied.'<sup>63</sup> The persistence of similar advertisements confirms that the opportunities for a boarding education endured. It was an expensive proposition for parents. In 1856, The Adelaide Institution for the Education of Young Ladies, Tavistock Buildings, Rundle Street where Mrs Bell was the 'lady Superintendent', charged 50 guineas a year (including washing). In addition, a Church Seat was £1.<sup>64</sup> Parents appear to have been prepared to pay handsomely for the privilege or necessity of their girls living away from home in an environment where they would receive a genteel education.<sup>65</sup> The emphasis on mannerly behaviour may have been exaggerated in the colonies as it was perceived as all too easy to "go native" and for the race to degenerate. Notwithstanding, parents wanted their daughters to establish patterns of behaviour which would assure the maintenance of the highest code and would support the continuance of an English style of manners and refinement. Proprietors were quick to capitalise on this ready market. If accommodation within the home could be provided with little expense or inconvenience, they could extend their offering and reap the not inconsiderable profit and hence the justification of larger premises which could be enjoyed by their family throughout the year.

A question which requires analysis is why boarding for girls both achieved and maintained such popularity. It appears that schools hoped to attract boarding clientele from three distinct groups. Firstly, they planned to cater for girls from the country where sparse numbers made access to suitable education difficult, especially for older girls nearing

---

<sup>62</sup> The 12 guinea fee for basic 'English Education' when added to 'accomplishments' extras might mean that a more realistic fee was £20 per annum, which compares with a living-in servant's annual salary of £25 - £30.

<sup>63</sup> Ladies' Day and Boarding School, Thebarton. *Register*, 6th January, 1854, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup> *Register*, 2nd January, 1856, p. 1. This was more expensive than a governess' salary of £20-30 which suggests that the boarding option may have been used in families who lacked the organising ability and nurturing support of the mother.

<sup>65</sup> Proprietors were keen to confirm attractive living. Mrs George Francis advertised, 'All the comforts and supervision of a Home.' *Register*, 7th January, 1873, p. 1; Mrs Stanton advised, 'Every comfort for the reception of boarders.' *Register*, 17th January, 1874, p. 2.

marriageable age whose parents wanted to add the polish of 'finishing'.<sup>66</sup> Secondly, they wished to advertise the option of a boarding establishment as a practical solution for an unfortunate family left in a difficult situation on the death of a mother. This was exemplified in 1850 by the two young Mayo sisters who sent letters home from the Adelaide Institution for Young Ladies to their father, an Adelaide surgeon, without reference to their mother.<sup>67</sup> Thirdly, a genteel family atmosphere attracted many local girls who were sent to get optimal benefit of a 'polite education' which was often beyond the social capabilities of their parents. Amies argues that 'civilising children was of particular importance where the father had accumulated wealth and status in the colony as their education and behaviour had to match the girls' increased marriage prospects.'<sup>68</sup> Boarders could meet girls of similar, or 'better', tastes and expectations and extend their social circle, strengthening the codes of etiquette and propriety which would help to counteract the harshness of pioneering colonial life. This phenomenon of socially moulding the daughters of aspiring upwardly mobile families in a refined and mannerly environment was mirrored in other colonies.<sup>69</sup>

A controlling factor for the proprietors was the interest and wishes of their clientele, the parents who paid the fees which made the schools an economic proposition. The predominantly ascendant middle class families had firm ideas of the direction in which they wished their community to develop and the relative position of their children in its class structure. They understood that education was a vital determinant in their ultimate rank and placed value on its rewards, patronising the schools which they perceived would serve their social and educational needs. Hopeful parents chose the school for their girls with the utmost care. Although in hard times a boy could possibly be sent to a local government school, a girl's social future was too important for her to run the risk of sliding down the class scale. Her future capital was the mastery of social skills which could be used in the search for a suitable marriage, so the learning of manners, deportment, elocution and the proprieties was the province of ladies' schools. Parents were prepared to invest highly in them in order to give their daughters the best chance of success to insure that they would not remain unmarried as 'consumers of substance and cumberers of the domestic hearth.'<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> The high cost of fees would limit these numbers to larger land owners. The typical Wakefield smallholding of eighty acres would barely give a family livelihood without subvention from an allied small enterprise, usually run by the wife.

<sup>67</sup> They were only starting to write with capitals which suggests they were young. The girls' mother was Maria Gandy, William Light's mistress and nurse, who married Dr Mayo in 1840. She died in 1847 from tuberculosis. W. Light, *Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1984), pp. 28, 51. Dr Mayo did not remarry till 1852, which may explain their boarding school experience. Richardson Reid Papers, P.R.G. 205/4. M.L.S.A.

<sup>68</sup> Aimes, 'Home Education', p. 152.

<sup>69</sup> The domestic nature of girls' schools has been well researched by Theobald, 'Women and Schools in Colonial Victoria'. Also in New South Wales by Kyle, *Her Natural Destiny*, pp. 35-39. In sparsely populated Western Australia, a similar phenomenon was documented in Riordan, 'Private Venture Schools in Western Australia'.

<sup>70</sup> Fitzpatrick, *P.L.C., Melbourne*, p. 27.

There is no evidence that girls were prepared for independent lives and no consideration appears to have been given to offering learned cultural skills for financial reward as 'ladies did not earn'. As Caroline Clark, sister of prominent English Unitarian Roland Hill, expressed, 'A woman can do any work for herself, her father, brother or husband but I am afraid if she accepted service of any kind in which there was work to be done, she would not rise again.'<sup>71</sup> However, in dire economic circumstances, accomplishments might be turned to help earn a livelihood as the proprietors themselves demonstrated.

### **The Proprietors**

Women conducted the majority of ladies' schools, which were among the few enterprises open to them without the patronage of a man. In many cases a school appears to be conducted by a mother and daughter(s), which suggests a widow and family who opened up their home to ensure a livelihood. Although the exact circumstances of many of the married proprietors are unknown, we know that Mrs Thornber set up her school on the suicide of her husband in December, 1854 which left her with three children of school age to educate.<sup>72</sup>

A widow with family responsibilities often faced dire financial circumstances, as illustrated by further elaboration of the story of Matilda Jane Evans (née Congreve), 1827-1886. When she landed in 1852, Matilda Congreve asked, 'What else can an educated Woman do but teach?'<sup>73</sup> Compelled by family circumstances to 'make her way', Matilda started by opening a Government assisted school in her family home in educationally competitive North Adelaide where she fulfilled the vital necessity of educating her younger siblings, gaining experience but only limited success. On the death of her sick father in 1854, she opened a new licensed elementary school in the rural area by Mount Barker, then moved to the nearby town where she conducted another, more specialised, 'establishment for over twenty young ladies'. This included two boarders in 'A Happy Home offering a Careful Education'.<sup>74</sup> In 1860, on her marriage to widowed schoolmaster and Baptist pastor Ephriam Evans, she gave up this position and moved thirty miles to Nuriootpa where she looked after her husband's two children in addition to their own babies. The sudden death of her husband in 1863 left her with sole family responsibility and in critical financial circumstances. Once more she decided to secure her livelihood by running a private school, now in conjunction with her sister Emily. This was the Angaston Young Ladies' Establishment at which 'Mrs Evans receives nine Young Ladies to Board and Educate, and

---

<sup>71</sup> However, she added, 'Shame on us for such caste feeling. 'Women's Work', 27.11.67, Clark Letters, P.R.G. 389/1.

<sup>72</sup> *Register*, 1st January, 1855, p. 5; Mrs Thornber's school was initially supported by the families of friends and neighbours. *Advertiser*, 4th October, 1924, p. 10. See Chapter 5.

<sup>73</sup> Wall, *Our Own Matilda*, p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> *The South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 23 October, 1858, p. 1; Wall, *Our Own Matilda*, p. 32.

has a vacancy for three.<sup>75</sup> Building on her wider experience and increased reputation, in 1869 Matilda moved back to North Adelaide near suitable schools for her boys.<sup>76</sup> With Emily, she started Angaston House, an Institution for Young Ladies, run with the help of 'competent masters'.<sup>77</sup> Here she advertised 'attention to moral and intellectual improvement' and 'the Usual Branches of English with Music, French, German, Drawing etc'. Board and Education was £40 per annum, with £6 per annum charged for day pupils. The school flourished, as in 1873 it was moved to larger premises with an increase in fees to 10g per quarter. Matilda successfully ran this establishment for young ladies until 1883, providing a secure and stable home for her family and for her sister. Driven by economic necessity, Matilda's successful teaching career, in conjunction with her concurrent literary output, demonstrated a triumph over adversity, aided by fortitude, hard work and determination, elements which were typical of many successful proprietors.<sup>78</sup>

In a few cases a family opened a school, usually with the education of their daughters in mind. In 1873, Mr, Mrs and Miss Price offered singing, pianoforte, harmonium and dancing in addition to English, French, drawing and elocution.<sup>79</sup> At a later stage, the Reverend and Mrs Hopkins offered 'an education to girls, including Latin and Greek, which the best schools give to boys', first at the Ladies' College, Glenelg then on South Terrace where their daughter Louisa passed Matriculation in 1884.<sup>80</sup> But childless couples with valued expertise also ventured into the market. Monsieur and Madame Marval set up their establishment on fashionable North Terrace in 1874, had early academic success and moved to Brighton in 1881. Their establishment exuded an attractive and somewhat exotic air which appealed to certain families. In 1882 Madame also advertised in the Perth newspaper hoping to attract inter-colonial clients to 'her select boarding school in pleasant Sea Side Brighton'.<sup>81</sup>

The description by pupil Joseph Verco of the Misses Tilney's School in Morphett Street catches the domestic nature of many early educational enterprises.<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> *South Australian Temperance Herald*, April, 1867; Wall, *Our Own Matilda*, p. 69.

<sup>76</sup> Henry and Willie attended the North Adelaide Grammar School, later known as Whinham College, a leading Adelaide boys' school. They later became successful journalists, encouraged by their mother's literary tastes. Wall, *Our Own Matilda*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>77</sup> The first advertisement spoke highly of the site in one of the most pleasant and healthy parts of North Adelaide. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>78</sup> Matilda Jane Evans wrote fifteen novels under the pseudonym Maud Jeanne Franc.

<sup>79</sup> *Register*, 11th January, 1873, p. 1.

<sup>80</sup> *Register*, 17th January, 1882, p. 1; *Register*, 15th January, 1883, p. 1; University of Adelaide Calendar, 1885, p. cxcii; From 1888 until 1890 the school was conducted by Mrs and Miss Louisa Hopkins.

<sup>81</sup> *West Australian*, 13th January, 1882, p. 1. Madame also mentioned in the advertisement that 'she had been for five years the resident governess to the family of Sir James Fergusson, Governor of Bombay.' Sir James became Governor of South Australia in 1869, so it is likely that she came to Adelaide with the family and subsequently married.

<sup>82</sup> Early Recollections of Sir Joseph Verco, 1851-1883, P.R.G. 322/6, p. 9. M.L.S.A. The school had thirty seven girls and eleven boys in 1863.

...Set in a row of brick cottages, it had one schoolroom with an outlook over the street. Mrs Tilney sat alone in the window with a black suit, doing her netting. The three Misses Tilney had different responsibilities. While her sisters oversaw the education, Miss Anne Maria looked after the domestic arrangements. The children sat on forms on each side of a long wooden table going through their exercises. One of the sisters was at the head of the table, while the other walked between them to direct and help them. The boys and girls were encouraged by Miss Charlotte to bring things of interest for a cabinet of curios' - a locust from the fence, a curiously shaped pebble, a possible fossil from the quarry. Marks were given for merit and for attitude, including the absence of elbows from the table. The teaching was kindly and capable, encouraging young ideas to shoot.<sup>83</sup>

Older girls also attended the school. They accompanied their younger brothers over the footpaths, whose deep gutters did not stop them from becoming quagmires in the rains of winter. However, in this harshness, there were signs of gentility which were reflected in the winning of prizes for polite conduct. In addition, the girls made wool flowers to put in their parlours 'as an ornament and a mark of their ability and the taste of the young ladies of the house.'<sup>84</sup> The Tilney school educated two of the boys and one daughter of the Reverend J.S. Poole, M.A., Bessie Hawkes, daughter of the secretary of St Peter's College, the Heseltines and the Everetts, children of families who appreciated a measure of graciousness and refinement.<sup>85</sup>

The educational approach adopted by the Misses Tilney appeared to develop curiosity, observation and discipline, all of which were welcomed by Verco when he entered Mr Young's School and later at St Peter's College where he went to learn Latin. His affection for early days was confirmed when returned as a doctor to greet his appreciated mentors, two of whom had 'retired into private life' in 1878 when the school declined owing to competition from the improved government education. Joseph acknowledged that this early training 'contributed to success in my subsequent education of twenty years.'<sup>86</sup>

A letter written by prominent Unitarian Caroline Emily Clark recalls the setting up of a private venture school in 1860, which demonstrates the humble nature and domestic ambience which typified the genesis of many early girls' schools.<sup>87</sup> Her niece, Annie Montgomery Martin,

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-14.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>85</sup> The two Everett girls, daughters of a Congregationalist merchant importer, were later mentioned at the nearby West End Establishment in Franklin Street conducted by Mrs Smythe and competent assistants, where they were among thirteen prizewinners. This suggests that the Tilneys concentrated on younger pupils. *Register*, 16th January, 1869, p. 1. Reverend J. Poole, a leading Anglican, was later Dean of the Cathedral, the two Anglican Heseltines were daughters of an Adelaide agent. *Adelaide Directories*.

<sup>86</sup> Verco, 'Early Recollections', p. 16. He subsequently graduated from London University and was a co-founder of the Adelaide medical school in 1885. His shell collection is renowned, possibly stimulated by this early training. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 12, pp. 318-319.

<sup>87</sup> Caroline Clark was the niece of Rowland Hill of the prominent Birmingham Unitarian family and of Penny Post fame. Clark Papers, P.R.G. 389/1, p. 13.

had started teaching after [her father] dear Henry's death, first her youngest sister, a girl about fourteen years old. Shortly after she offered to teach French to two young friends, and after a while Annie was asked to have the elder of the two girls as her pupil. She agreed to have her two days a week. Other friends made similar requests and some too for her sisters who gave her some assistance, and the income thus well earned is worth having'. She then had ten or twelve other pupils, some older or younger than Frank [her nephew]. Annie is an excellent teacher, being very successful inducing her pupils to like their work and pursue it with vigour.<sup>88</sup>

This would have created a gender divide, as Frank and any other boys would have left to attend one of the boys' colleges.<sup>89</sup> Although it was considered appropriate for small boys to attend a school with sisters in the early formative stages, at about age seven they were able to go to a segregated college where they learned different subjects and were influenced by a masculine approach in an atmosphere which was considered to be to their advantage.<sup>90</sup> Under Miss Martin's leadership the enterprise continued to flourish and develop into a school for 'higher learning'. In time, her school grew to become one of the highly respected academic girls' schools in the 1890s.<sup>91</sup> It gave to the Martin girls, daughters of a comfortable but not rich family, a measure of personal autonomy and intellectual independence which their Unitarian Church admired.<sup>92</sup>

A similar striving for independence was illustrated in the lives of the Misses Aldersey. Their aunt, the first woman to serve on the China mission field, bequeathed her home to her two nieces who ran the modest Mill School in Noarlunga.<sup>93</sup> In 1869 they advertised that they were prepared to receive a limited number of young ladies as pupils at Tsong Gyaou, their new residence in McLaren Vale.<sup>94</sup> Situated in a pleasant area of vines and gardens thirty miles south of Adelaide, their school provided a comfortable and attractive environment for forty pupils attracting older girls from the city as well as local boarders. With flair and grace, the Misses Aldersey educated their girls for a wide appreciation of cultural activities. Tsong Gyaou flourished until 1903, adapting to new academic initiatives and sending girls to the University.<sup>95</sup> Proving an ample livelihood for the sisters, the school produced many satisfied families and a recently published history.

---

<sup>88</sup> 'Miss Annie Montgomery Martin's Pupils', a selection from letters of Caroline Emily Clark, 20th May, 1870. Clark Papers.

<sup>89</sup> Scrutiny of 1870s prize lists at St Peter's College, Mr Whinham's and Prince Alfred College offered no trace of Frank Howard Clark's name. In 1886 a half brother Arthur Howard Clark achieved a First Class in Senior from Prince Alfred College where Frank most likely went with other Unitarian boys like the Kays.

<sup>90</sup> The boys' curriculum was centred round the classical tradition or the more practical mathematical subjects.

<sup>91</sup> Annie Montgomery Martin's school was taken over in 1905 by Miss Martin's niece, Miss Caroline Clark, (B.A. 1899), who was educated at the school. It closed in 1918.

<sup>92</sup> Fellow Unitarians Catherine Helen Spence and the Kay sisters demonstrated that women's independence was approved and encouraged by the Unitarians before more general acceptance.

<sup>93</sup> Details of Tsong Gyaou from Nesdale, *The Third Bridge*.

<sup>94</sup> *Register*, 12th January, 1869, p. 1.

<sup>95</sup> *Register*, 26th January, 1903, p. 2.



In her article 'Headmistresses and Schoolmistresses', Joan Pedersen demonstrates that in Britain privately owned schools were typically small, self contained and inward looking.<sup>96</sup> The tone of the school was set by the proprietress, whose ladylike example and manner would influence the taste and demeanour of her pupils. In a small school, whose structure and relationships were modelled on those found in a family, Pedersen points out that pupils were prone to affective discipline which encouraged dependence and conformity rather than the development of autonomy or independence. In a small establishment there was a possibility of domination of the school by influential parents. Lacking credentials and with no reference to outside authority, the private schoolmistress was at the mercy of her clientele. Clearly, the parents as fee payers could easily wield control.

It is therefore of interest to consider a description of Miss Bridgman's of Morphet Street , a leading Adelaide girls' school of the 1860s, conducted 'with a number of better class maidens and occasionally a younger brother.' Miss Bridgman's was attended by Margaret Brown who recalled, 'In my earliest days I heard my eldest sister describe her teacher, who was listed as a "Holy Terror". I can't say whether "she feared not God nor respected man", but certainly she neither feared nor respected parents'.<sup>97</sup> Miss Bridgman was considered a Tartar by her pupils. However, though considering her 'an enemy,' they were 'really rather proud of her, a really clever woman.' Privately, her pupils' parents must have shared this opinion and withheld their censure.

Miss Bridgman read her pupils 'interesting worthwhile books, which helped them to get on'.<sup>98</sup> However, in general, her method of teaching depended on 'screeds and screeds of dry facts, learned not only by heart, but in order'.<sup>99</sup> Repetitious work and lack of enlightened teaching appears to have been a common experience. Grace Fowler, a pupil at Mrs Thornber's in the 1860s, 'was unimpressed by 'Mangnall's Questions', 'Child's Guide', 'Eve's Questions', and 'Dr Brewer's Guide to Science', learned by heart.<sup>100</sup> The knowledge contained in these books was not useless, rather it was fragmented and did not conduce to any discipline of learning. Used in conjunction with a coherent body of information, it could offer a volume of interesting and useful facts. However, untrained or

---

<sup>96</sup> Pedersen, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses', p. 135.

<sup>97</sup> Scales, *The Wilderness*, p. 5. Miss Bridgman was experienced, having taught at the Pulteney Street School in 1852 and passed inspection on 18th September of that year. 76/50/1, Vol 2. 2122 State records. In 1884 the Brown sisters started their own school, the Medindie Kindergarten, which opened with five pupils. It progressed to become the Wilderness School and remains a thriving girls' school, now with six hundred pupils.

<sup>98</sup> This was also appreciated in the 1830s by Catherine Helen Spence, who described Miss Phin's stimulating reading and teaching from her sofa. *Diary of Catherine Helen Spence*, reprinted from the *Register*, (Adelaide: W. K. Thomas, 1910), p. 10 [Australiana facsimile edition no. 199].

<sup>99</sup> Scales, *The Wilderness*, p. 5.

<sup>100</sup> Fowler Papers, P.R.G. 34/42, M.L.S.A.; Also quoted in Mackinnon, *The New Women*, p. 24.

inefficient schoolmistresses found consolation in the use of these texts, which demanded much industry from the learner, but required little understanding or further explanation from the teacher.<sup>101</sup> The books were also a useful expedient with the unstructured groups of pupils of varying ages and competence, the typical class settings of the ladies' schools. The teaching in ladies' schools appears to have encouraged the accumulation of unrelated facts rather than the understanding of ideas and the gradual development of concepts, limitations which also extended to the teaching of decorative accomplishments. The overall standard of pedagogy reflected the lack of training and mediocre academic preparation of proprietors and teachers. However, the majority of parents sent their daughters to ladies' schools for feminine formation within the domestic ideal.

Even though the fostering of traditional family values was enshrined in the educational principles of the ladies' schools, practical skills which would have fitted them for their future domestic role in a busy household were not taught. The proprietor would expect that her clientele had the help of a servant and that domestic training would be learned at home from mothers and from resulting practical experience. Ladies' schools taught sewing, utilitarian plain sewing at first, also 'fancy needlework'. With their domestic ambience, they emphasised the values of family living and the social preparation for a future life in a domestic setting. Their education helped to prepare girls for this life, initially by laying the groundwork to attract a suitable husband by emphasising decorative social, musical and artistic achievements.<sup>102</sup>

However, the teaching of established cultural values and tastes via music, dancing and art ensured that these skills were transferred to future generations. In her revisionist article, 'Mere Accomplishments? Melbourne's Early Ladies' Schools Reconsidered', Marjorie Theobald challenges previous orthodox views of their 'unflattering stereotype' which centred on inadequacies and pretentiousness.<sup>103</sup> Theobald applauds the teaching of cultural disciplines at ladies' schools and points out the complexity and sophistication of their study and their intrinsic value. She commends the rigour which competent teachers demanded, and confirms their moral mission, or intelligent pragmatism, in reproducing vital components of ruling class culture by educating in the 'ways of gentility'. Bob Peterson reminds contemporary admirers of High Culture that these traditions were inherited during centuries of patient accumulation. Further, he points out the debt which later generations owe to the steadfastness of generations of girls and their teachers 'in toiling to become accomplished [in

---

<sup>101</sup> They were designed to fulfil an important purpose in education - 'that of bringing into view the leading facts which are supposed to be gained through a long course of instruction.' W. Chambers, *Chambers Miscellaneous Questions*, (Edinburgh: W.W. and R. Chambers, 1890), Preface.

<sup>102</sup> A majority of middle class homes boasted a piano round which young people would gather for singing and social interaction.

<sup>103</sup> Theobald, 'Mere Accomplishments?', pp. 15-27.

order] to promote refined taste in a barbaric society.’<sup>104</sup> In her recent history of dance, Nell Challingsworth confirms that this creative form of human expression had, and continues to have, an integral part in the social life of all classes in Australia.<sup>105</sup>

### Schooling Diversity

Many girls received a disjointed and irregular education. The recollections of Emily Edith Padman give an insight into this and to the importance of the influence which a particular teacher could have on the conduct of a school.<sup>106</sup> Born in 1853 into a strongly Methodist family of eight of a successful City ironmonger, raised in comfortable but not lavish circumstances, Emily had a governess at home before attending Mrs Gilbert’s Seminary for Girls in the City.<sup>107</sup> This she styled a “bear garden” as Mrs Gilbert, an elderly widow, was unable to direct the energies or interest of her young charges. They sat on a long form, round a table which was really some wide planks resting on wooden cases. ‘Daddy Taylor’, a visiting ‘professor’, taught Arithmetic but, as in the other studies, ‘they learned nothing.’ After two quarters, Mrs Gilbert went home to Ireland and Miss McCoy, ‘a teacher of a very different stamp’ took over. She was efficient and a good disciplinarian. She had travelled as her prospectus revealed - ‘Miss McCoy, late Professor at the Imperial Institutes of Russia - the Catherine, the Patriotic, and the Elizabeth Institutes - and holding her Diploma from the University of St Petersburg.’<sup>108</sup> Emily admits ‘anyone would not have recognised us in the quiet, steady, attractive pupils who loved and admired her. She was wonderfully clever and possessed an active brain.’<sup>109</sup>

From the age of nine to sixteen, while her brothers rode off to St. Peter’s College each morning, Emily did not go to school but was ‘supposed to have lessons at home.’ The hours were not clearly defined, and often no study was done. She used to practise the piano and now and again did a little French or a few sums. For a while her older sister kept a little school and Emily used to help to teach the younger ones. Nearby, two elderly spinsters,

<sup>104</sup> R. C. Petersen, ‘Female Accomplishments Vindicated’, A.N.Z.H.E.S Conference paper, Adelaide, August, 1986, p. 8.

<sup>105</sup> N. Challingsworth, *Australia’s Dancing Heritage*, (Melbourne: Go Dancing, 1994).

<sup>106</sup> Churchward, in Macdonald, ed., *In Paths Divided*, pp. 27-42.

<sup>107</sup> Emily’s family lived in Wattle Grove, a commodious house of eleven rooms. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>108</sup> Her prospectus included, per quarter,

General Education including the French Language	£3 3 0
Music	£2 2 0
Drawing	£2 2 0
German	£2 2 0
Italian	£2 2 0
Fancy Work of every kind	£1 0

McCoy Papers, P.R.G. 609, p. 29. M.L.S.A.

<sup>109</sup> Miss McCoy visited Archangel in 1854 and kept diaries. In 1857 she was paid £215 for publishing them. Letter from publisher, *Ibid.*

Miss Small and Miss Lowe, kept a small select private school where once or twice a week her sister went to learn French while Emily continued with the piano.

When she was fifteen Emily learned music and singing from Mrs Griffiths, the wife of a Congregational minister. 'With a great desire for education', she attended Miss Mitchell's Ossery School, in Prospect. Emily slept in a nice three-bed room with 'dear Louie Barritt, who was her best friend for the rest of her life.' Miss Mitchell conducted her school with affective discipline as every night, following maternal practice, she kissed each girl on retiring, except those who had misbehaved. Even though her education had been so disjointed, Emily was Dux of the school and carried off prizes in English, French and conduct. However, when she later married George Churchward, the deputy headmaster of Prince Alfred College, she often felt at a disadvantage when she could not understand or discuss mathematics, Latin or history with him. In spite of the early death of their father which necessitated a very stringently run home, her own daughters were later educated at Hardwicke College, very differently and to higher levels of overall achievement. Educational opportunities for girls had improved immeasurably by the next generation.

An example of the limiting factors of the education offered in Adelaide 'ladies' schools' was found in the story of George Tinline. He arrived from Scotland in 1838 as the manager of the Bank of the South Australian Company to become a prosperous financier, who joined with his brother in successfully investing in sheep farming in New Zealand.<sup>110</sup> The Tinline family made frequent visits 'home' and bought a house in the fashionable West End of London, flagging the fact that they had not finally decided to remain in Australia. In 1856, Mr Tinline's name appears as a referee for the prominent city girls' school, The Adelaide Institution for the Education of Young Ladies, which suggests that his daughters received their early education there.<sup>111</sup> However, in the 1860s his two daughters were 'finished' at an expensive and exclusive school for 'a limited number of young ladies' in Brussels, patronised by other wealthy Scottish families.<sup>112</sup> The proprietor, Miss Ghemar, set out to 'combine a highly-finished education with attention to moral training, while the arrangements of her house included all the refinements of an English home.' The prospectus gives the impression of an exclusive environment where the well nurtured young ladies met only accomplished girls of their kind. By changing to Belgian schooling in the early 1860s it appears that the Tinline family looked for more than Adelaide could offer.<sup>113</sup> In addition to

---

<sup>110</sup> Tinline Papers, P.R.G. 21/1/8. M.L.S.A.

<sup>111</sup> *Register*, 14th January, 1856, p. 1.

<sup>112</sup> The school prospectus for Miss Ghemar's School cites several prosperous Scottish families as referees. *Ibid.*, P.R.G. 21/1/21.

<sup>113</sup> The school was a prominent one for girls with notable teachers, Mr Hill for drawing and painting and Mr Truer for languages (both also taught at St Peter's), Mr Rhyer and Mr Heberlet for piano, Mr Daniel for singing, Mr Davies and Mrs Bell and two governesses for English. *Register*, 19th January, 1856, p. 1. Presumably, even the best which Adelaide could offer was not what Mr Tinline required. A letter of 22nd

preparing their daughters for the appreciation of wealth, they wished to give them the confidence and social contacts to enable them to take their place as polished members of either European or Australian society. It appears that the limited social opportunities of the Adelaide environment, with modest private dwellings, an insignificant number of public buildings and few efficient roads, was insufficiently sophisticated for the daughters of the wealthy and successful who looked to a wider world of marital opportunity.

Not all emigrants were of British stock. By 1870 the proportion of German immigrants approached 10%. The majority were rural Lutherans who, independent of state aid, fiercely maintained their own elementary schools whose aim was to pass on their religious belief and practices and therefore the centrality of the German language. While maintaining an interest in religion, not necessarily Lutheran, the more educated and upwardly thrusting middle class sent their sons to the mainstream private schools where they perfected the mastery of English to guarantee their success in business or professional life.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, their daughters were sent to local ladies' schools in order to optimise their rise in both the academic and social scale.<sup>115</sup> One variation of this pattern was the English and German ladies' school set up in Angaston in the Barossa in 1858 by Mr Nesbit whose wife 'received a few ladies as boarders'.<sup>116</sup>

German schools for girls appeared to be only ephemeral. In 1864, Miss Wilberth, 'highly recommended by Professor Griffith', advertised classes in German and French and a 'young ladies' school' in Port Adelaide in 1868, but it ceased by 1872 when the Misses Henderson advertised the Port Adelaide Ladies' Seminary.<sup>117</sup> Miss Meter's ladies' school may have been for Germans, but its appearance was also short lived.<sup>118</sup> The lack of evidence of the foundation of an enduring German ladies' school confirms the contention that these emigrants saw their optimal opportunity to rise in South Australia via education in schools where their children could assimilate contemporary English social culture and mores. The

---

February, 1865 from Mde Ghemar to Mrs Tinline in London confirms that the youngest daughter was then in Brussels. Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Also supported by the number of pupils of German descent who attended both Hahndorf Academy and either St Peter's College or Prince Alfred College. R. Butler, *A College in the Wattles*, (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1989), p. 139. Early honour lists of University examinations display the names of Tileman, Braund, von Bertouch, Trudinger, Goodhart, Fischer, Rischbieth, Muecke from St Peter's College or Prince Alfred College. These successful scholars were given every opportunity to continue on an upward path in the new land. A similar trend is seen in the contemporary education scene with the influx of Greek and Chinese Australians to these socially prominent schools. The author is grateful to Dr I. Harmstorf for his knowledge of the German contribution.

<sup>115</sup> Examples include Augusta Balk who attended Mrs Shuttleworth's while her sister later went to The Advanced School. Charlotte Müller went to Hardwicke, Rhea Loessel attended the Unley Park School and Hedwig Hurtenzenroder, Mrs Kelsey's.

<sup>116</sup> *Register*, 5th January, 1858, p. 2. In 1864 Mr Nesbit took only boys which suggests that the girls' section was disbanded. Wall, *Our own Matilda*, p. 98.

<sup>117</sup> *Register*, 12th January, 1864, p. 1; *Register*, 14th January, 1868, p. 1

<sup>118</sup> It was only mentioned once. *Register*, 14th January, 1871, p. 1.

rolls of the Advanced School reveal several names of parents of German extraction who furthered their respected tradition of education by investing in academic opportunity for their girls.<sup>119</sup> In order to maintain their interest in European culture and ideas and their Lutheran affiliation, families retained the German language, but many sought enhanced social position, changing denomination to become Anglicans or Methodists. Two later Headmistresses with German names, Miss Schröder and Miss Holster, demonstrate this shift. They ran ladies' schools which catered mainly for young local Australian girls in addition to a few girls of German descent, but there is no evidence that they had a distinctively German linguistic or cultural influence.<sup>120</sup> Rather, they subsumed the contemporary South Australian culture and educational practice.

Some families were dissatisfied with snobbish attributes found in 'ladies' schools'. In England the 1867 Report of the Taunton Commission confirmed the limitations of many privately owned 'Ladies' Academies', noting their inward looking approach which bred arrogance and disdain. Reporting to the commissioners, Mrs Ella Armitage asserted,

The dominant idea about girls' education is that it should be as far as possible claustral, so that girls should be kept from any contamination with people who drop their H's or earn their salt. It is thought that careful seclusion is absolutely necessary for the development of that refinement which should characterise a lady.<sup>121</sup>

Similarities could be found in South Australian girls' schools. They echoed certain undesirable features which did not sit comfortably with the practical requirements of a growing community nor with the moral respectability of the colony. Thoughtful citizens led by Captain Bagot debated the arguments for the creation of a ladies' college. They analysed the example of the North London Collegiate School, a larger school for girls which was not conducted to provide a livelihood for its owner, but was governed by a Board who appointed a salaried Headmistress. The school's express purpose was to promote serious learning and hence prepare girls for a more responsible part in public life. In 1865, a leader in the *Register* discussed the creation of a proprietary college for girls in Adelaide which would compare with English and Scottish counterparts.<sup>122</sup> Although the writer did not doubt that there was enough support from discerning parents for a college for girls in Adelaide, the

---

<sup>119</sup> The Heyne family, Wilhemena Püttmann and Anna Bosch, among others of German descent, had distinguished careers at the Advanced School. Mackinnon, *The New Women*, pp. 36-43.

<sup>120</sup> Miss Schröder, of the Norwood family of distant German descent which included a composer and an architect who were not of recent German extraction, ran her school in Norwood from 1872, offered university examinations by 1892 and moved to Akaroa in the Hills from where she retired in 1913. Her school in the 1880s was predominantly of elementary standard and included the patronage of German names Buring, Sudbolz, Böcker, Sobels and Schmolzkopf. *Register*, 22nd December, 1885, p. 7. Miss Hoelscher, who may have been a descendent of the family who had arrived by 1840, ran Semaphore Collegiate School, a small school for ladies in a seaside setting from 1899 to 1902.

<sup>121</sup> Report of Schools Enquiry Commission, Parliamentary Papers 1867, Vol X, Ch. V111, p. 826, quoted in Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 51.

<sup>122</sup> *Register*, 8th September, 1865, p. 3.

availability of a suitable woman of character and intelligence to conduct such an venture was questioned. In addition, the surety of financing an enterprise for girls from the beneficence of interested parents was doubted.<sup>123</sup>

### **The Argument for Reform**

At the opening of Prince Alfred College in July, 1869, the newly arrived governor, Sir James Fergusson, praised the foresight of the development of the college for boys and hoped that a similar establishment would be developed for girls. This sparked a correspondence in the *Register*. George W. Cotton, one of the forces behind the creation of the new college, wrote to the Editor on 'Female Education' lamenting the lack of 'higher education' for women who, he submitted, 'are as capable of judging as man.' Further, he argued that 'justice (in education) was not done to women only because the barbarism of the middle ages has not yet passed away.' Cotton was quite sure

...that the time was not distant when, as in America, it will be universally admitted that the same kind of education that is good for the groundwork of man's future social and business position in life is also proper for women to rear her standard of excellence upon, that she may be "heir together" with her husband in affording to him her help and sympathy.<sup>124</sup>

Therefore, he hoped that women would 'educate themselves not for their own sakes merely but for the sake of others.' Cotton had specific ideas - 'There is but one sort of education which will teach young women to observe facts accurately, judge them fairly, describe them calmly and without adding or distorting and that is some training in natural science.' He ended his letter by quoting the rigorous four year syllabus at an American college for women, which comprised higher Mathematics, Natural Science, Latin, Philosophy and Navigation. As an afterthought he added, 'Of course, modern languages, music, singing, drawing, and other accessory accomplishments are duly thought of.' It appears that Mr Cotton wished to retain the sympathy of his readers who would have empathised with the latter sentiment.

The letter evoked a spate of responses, suggesting that Adelaidians were sensitive to the issues. 'Caudle Secundus' was not impressed with the argument that women might ever be thought of as secondary to men.<sup>125</sup> 'Can he point out a single family in which the mistress does not enforce her right to be consulted upon any matter in which she has any interest?' He (She?) defended the contemporary standards of education for girls and pointed out that

---

<sup>123</sup> The initial impetus for starting a propriety college for boys was helped by interested persons. The grant of £2000 from the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was supplemented by private interests in 1848 to found St Peter's College. Brown, *Augustus Short*, pp. 51-55.

<sup>124</sup> *Register*, 21st July, 1869, p. 3.

<sup>125</sup> *Register*, 22nd July, 1869, p. 3.



the time spent on higher algebra and rhetoric might be more profitably spent on 'learning to make a good wholesome pudding or in stitching a gusset.'

An 'Englishwoman' rose to the defence of better education for women:

I argue that a well-informed woman makes a better wife and a more judicious trainer of the young than the ordinarily educated women we meet with. Real knowledge generally makes men and women discover how much more they have to learn, and consequently they are less vain and showy, and more desirous to be useful. I hope to see women well taught, well read and able to enjoy the company of intellectual men as well as to make their puddings and sew their gussets.<sup>126</sup>

Cotton rounded off the debate by stating,

there is much practical effect in daily and hourly effect in South Australia in the peaceful walks of female life and I trust that an improved and constantly improving status of education will enable the womanhood of Australia "to employ their powers without waste, and without haste, in harmonious unity."<sup>127</sup>

Certainly, education of women was a widely discussed issue.

When Governor Fergusson arrived in Adelaide with daughters to educate he was disappointed that there was no 'suitable girls' school' as he had been led to believe.<sup>128</sup> Accordingly, in July, 1869, he set up a committee composed of eleven leading male citizens, including Captain Bagot, the Anglican Bishop and the Mayor of Adelaide to consider 'the best means of providing an institution for improving the education of Young Ladies of South Australia of the Upper and Middle classes.'<sup>129</sup> Echoing previously expressed sentiments, in his initial pamphlet the Governor stressed the 'refining influence of education, especially for the daughters of parents who have risen from a lower class anxious to have their children educated suitably to their altered position.'<sup>130</sup> The school planned to offer strictly secular academic classes and a number of well managed boarding establishments with religious instruction and worship run on denominational lines. Thus, a substantial enterprise for girls was envisaged, a distinct evolution from the orthodox small and cloistered establishment.

The proposed Governance of the college reveals an interesting insight both into contemporary power relations and into everyday gendered experience. A Council, composed of President and six gentlemen, was to be empowered to make the major decisions concerned with building, appointment of 'professors and teachers', to sanction the curriculum, to fix

---

<sup>126</sup> *Register*, 29th July, 1869, p. 3.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', p. 48.

<sup>129</sup> Private pamphlet, 'Sketch Scheme for a Ladies' public college for South Australia', sent to the initial committee. University of Adelaide Archives.

<sup>130</sup> The Governor may have heard of families like the Tinline's who felt compelled to send their daughters to an expensive European school for a suitable education.



fees and to control expenditure.<sup>131</sup> A ladies' committee was to have the power to appoint, or dismiss, a Lady Superintendent and other female staff members, including boarding house domestics. With a respect for the womanly proprieties, this ladies' committee was envisaged as making recommendations which directly affected the behaviour of the girls - 'hours of study, proper habits, manners, and dress of all the pupils.'

The 'Ladies' Educational Institute' was to be fully financed from public subscription with contributors donating £25 or more able to vote in important decisions concerning the direction of the enterprise. Large and comprehensive advertisements were placed in a prominent position in the *Register* on thirteen occasions between 14th August and 16th September, 1869. However, the idea appears to have been aborted. No further reference to the proposed school could be found, neither subscription lists, correspondence, nor follow up newspaper leaders. The assumption must be made that there were too few prosperous families interested in changing the contemporary arrangements for girls' education who were prepared to subscribe to this visionary scheme. Those who had made recent money may have felt that the contribution of their offspring, and by inference themselves, at the school would be too open to public scrutiny in the colony, and preferred the relative anonymity of a European alternative.

Alison Mackinnon argues that South Australia, a colony of only thirty five years' standing, lacked a secure infrastructure of moneyed supporters of proprietary or endowed schools, or of a dominant church establishment or city company to support a scheme of higher schooling for girls.<sup>132</sup> She further argues that the State was called to step into the breach, as in 1879 when it established the Advanced School for Girls, a self supporting academic secondary school run on the lines of the North London Collegiate School.

The passing of the 1875 Education Act demonstrated the State's growing sense of responsibility towards all children. R.J. Nicholas considers that by making school attendance compulsory for all South Australian children to the age of thirteen, the State confirmed the need to compel parents to send their offspring to school in order that they might be educated to exercise the duties and responsibilities of citizenship intelligently and efficiently.<sup>133</sup> At that time there were 11 000 pupils in 326 independent or denominational schools whose proprietors regarded the greater interest of the government in education with some with some foreboding. The newly established government Model schools, designed to educate a large number of elementary pupils, relied on strict discipline, classes graded by age

---

<sup>131</sup> *Register*, 14th August, 1869, p. 1. Similar divisions of gender power were recorded in early English higher education innovations for women. See Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>132</sup> Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 53.

<sup>133</sup> Nicholas, 'Secondary and Church schools', p. 35.

and competence and a structured approach to learning discrete subjects often by oral questioning. The training of teachers to undertake these disciplines was encouraged by the opening of a Teachers' Training College in Adelaide in 1876. Private school proprietors faced increased competition from the new efficient State schools and were obliged to raise their standards if they were to stay in operation. Individual teachers may have debated the advantages of joining the State system. Education was a contentious issue, which occupied the minds of educators as well as clientele.

Always sensitive to contemporary issues, particularly those with a controversial flavour, the *Register* ran a series of leaders on the subject of middle class girls' schools in 1877. These deprecated the limiting patronage found in the smaller girls' schools and the lack of thorough teaching.<sup>134</sup> They pointed out many failings, including the dearth of systematised teaching, the proper sub-division of pupils into structured classes and the lack of an external standard by which their work could be evaluated. By comparing the poor academic achievement of many private schools with the effective performance shown in the Model schools, the writer indicated that parents sent their daughters to these inferior establishments for purely social reasons. That they also paid heavily for the doubtful privilege was a further cause for disapproval.

Clearly, the subject of girls' education was a lively and continuing topic. It was stimulated further by the opening of the University of Adelaide in 1876. In middle class girls' schools, the time was ripe for change and reformation. The stage was set for a new era of development.

### **The Start of the University**

The evolving educational ideas considered during the 1870s in South Australia and in neighbouring colonies, paralleled developments in other parts of the English speaking world. In the rapidly changing years of late industrialisation women were seeking wider opportunities for expression of their abilities in the public arena. The limited educational opportunities open to girls in England were exposed in 1868 by the findings of the Taunton Commission. Ambitious and intelligent young women sought acceptance into higher education at the universities through competitive examination. Response to these dual educational pressures resulted in the gradual restructuring of schooling for middle class English girls from small, privately owned establishments to more publicly accountable Collegiate Schools with salaried Headmistresses responsible to Boards of Governors.

---

<sup>134</sup> *Register*, 24th January - 8th February, 1877, pp. 4-5.

Two exemplars were Cheltenham College, a public boarding school under the guidance of Miss Dorothea Beale and a day school, The North London Collegiate, directed by Miss Frances Buss.<sup>135</sup> Under their innovative leadership, the curriculum centred round scholarship and girls were expected to work hard at academic subjects. Notwithstanding, music and other accomplishments were still taught, as was considered appropriate for 'young ladies.'<sup>136</sup> During the 1870s, the academic goal of these schools was university entry, either at the London University or at the developing colleges for women at Cambridge and Oxford.<sup>137</sup> Aspiring scholars were required to pass public examinations whose academic standard determined a systematised mental regimen which required an intellectual rigour not previously demanded from girls.

Encouraged by the success of these progressive enterprises liberally minded Church families in Melbourne determined that the Presbyterian Assembly should initiate a similar Australian foundation. The resulting Presbyterian Ladies' College opened with sixty scholars in 1875 with the Reverend George Tait, M.A., as Principal and Professor Charles Pearson M.A., as Headmaster.<sup>138</sup> The new College was widely advertised in the press and its management and achievements would have been discussed by Adelaide families and those interested in education.<sup>139</sup> The College developed rapidly and within five years produced successful scholars who, among other young women, challenged the right of entry into the University of Melbourne.<sup>140</sup>

However, some Adelaide girls had earlier opportunities to continue their education to more advanced levels. In February 1872, the Union College, an institution for higher education, was created by a joint venture between the Baptist, Congregational and

---

<sup>135</sup> Cheltenham College was founded in 1852 for the daughters of gentlemen and The North London Collegiate developed from a small private school in Kentish Town in 1846. Both Headmistresses were career teachers trained at London's forward looking Queen's College. Walford in Walford, ed., *Private Schooling of Girls*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>136</sup> Their ideas became models for a growing number of day schools, leading to the formation of the Girls' Public Day Schools Company (later Trust) in 1872. Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>137</sup> The start of Girton College was made by Miss Emily Davies in 1869, and Newnham by Miss Annie Clough in 1871. Oxford Colleges for women came later. Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth opened Lady Margaret Hall in 1878 and Somerville College was founded in 1879.

<sup>138</sup> Reid, *The Ladies Came to Stay*, p. 1; Also, Fitzpatrick, *P.L.C., Melbourne*, p. 28. The appointment of Professor Pearson, lately Professor of History in King's College, London, ensured that the management principles of the Girls' Public Day School Trust schools would be the model of the new college.

<sup>139</sup> Pearson, a friend of Catherine Helen Spence, was well known in South Australia so his influence may have been a stimulus to the colony's educational ideas. Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 41. An undated, but early, advertisement of the Presbyterian Ladies' College was preserved in the cuttings book of Mrs Shuttleworth of Hardwicke House. The implication is that she used it as a model and reference for her embryo school.

<sup>140</sup> A. Zainu'ddin, 'The Admission of Women to the University of Melbourne, 1869-1903', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, S. Murray-Smith, ed., 1973, p. 82.

Presbyterian churches.<sup>141</sup> Initially, classes were primarily of a theological nature, though within months they were also offered in the secular subjects of classics, philosophy, English literature, mathematics and natural science.<sup>142</sup> Of particular significance was the acceptance of women as learners.<sup>143</sup> Miss Sarah Kay and Miss Snell attended a ladies' class on Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2 - 4 p.m.<sup>144</sup> In 1874 they undertook elementary Greek and Latin, to be joined by two other scholars in 1875 when they progressed to Horace and Euripides, with Miss Kay receiving a prize. It appears that the 1875 class called 'English and structure of language' attracted seven men and eighteen women. Of the ten who became examination candidates, Miss Crooks attained almost full marks followed closely by two other women. Unable to emulate their success, two men filled the next places and the bottom of the class.<sup>145</sup> Albeit that some classes were segregated, it appears that women were accepted without difficulty or rancour in the first stirrings of higher education in Adelaide, a very different experience from that which aspiring academic women faced in England, the United States or other Australian colonies.<sup>146</sup>

The transformation from Union College into University took four years of negotiation, pursuit of donations and general organisation. The aim of the University was to further liberal education. Like the earlier Universities of Sydney (1852) and Melbourne (1854), it was a strictly secular foundation.<sup>147</sup> The influential University Association, set up in 1873 for graduates from other Universities who were interested in the promotion of higher education in Adelaide, was totally composed of men. Although many were from the established colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, a not inconsiderable number were of non-Conformist background, graduates of the progressive University of London, the Scottish

---

<sup>141</sup> W. C. K. Duncan and R. A. Leonard, *The University of Adelaide, 1874-1974*, (Adelaide: Rigby Ltd., 1973), p. 2.

<sup>142</sup> Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', p. 52.

<sup>143</sup> Information concerning Union College has been gleaned from incomplete fragments of correspondence from Henry Read, M.A., Hughes Professor of Classics, to Dr Barlow, Registrar of the proposed University of Adelaide, 28th October, 1875. University of Adelaide Archives.

<sup>144</sup> Miss Kay was the daughter of the secretary of the Adelaide Institute, a strong Unitarian who became Director of the Art Gallery, Museum and Public Library. With three of her four sisters, she ran a school in College Park for twenty years from 1900. Warburton, *St Peters*, pp. 45-46. Miss Snell may have been a daughter of a Burra miner, jeweller and mail contractor whose two sons, Frederick and John, attended the University as non-matriculated students in 1879. *Boothby's Adelaide Directories, 1877-1879; University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1880, p. 31.

<sup>145</sup> There is no confirmation which Miss Crooks sister this is. The Misses Crooks advertised their school next to their family home in East Norwood from 1856 to 1874. In 1869 Miss Marianne helped her sister Emily to run it. She subsequently progressed to University studies from 1876. *Boothby's Adelaide Directories, 1868-72*.

<sup>146</sup> Duncan and Leonard, *The University of Adelaide*, p. 14. Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, later College, founded 1837, Vassar, 1865, Wellesley, 1870 (Post Secondary 1875, Degrees, 1897), and Smith College, 1871, (Post Secondary 1875, Degrees 1879) were set up as distinct girls' educational enterprises, later developing into higher education providers for women only.

<sup>147</sup> Letter dated 31st October, 1874, from University Association to person unnamed. Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', p. 53; Selleck, 'Classics in the Colonies', p. 118.

Universities or Theological Colleges.<sup>148</sup> Their education suggests that they were liberal minded and progressive men who sought to build a new society uncluttered by old ideas of privilege or limited in intellectual scope. Reflecting the ideas of Sara Delamont, Alison Mackinnon points out,

These men were part of that stratum of the middle class who saw knowledge, or symbolic property, as their new capital. They therefore had a strong interest in "cultural interruption", a process which created new roles for women.<sup>149</sup>

No specific direction was given towards the acceptance of women. Helen Jones believes there were only

the most amicable sentiments towards the plan of opening the University of Adelaide to women from its inception. In the debate preceding the passage of the University of Adelaide Act in 1874 no discussion occurred on women's education, and women were not specifically mentioned in the act. They were admitted from the first without comment.<sup>150</sup>

In Adelaide the precedent of accepting women into classes of higher education had already been established and women had shone in academic competition. This appears to have been accomplished without any reported mental or physical strain which was contrary to the dire consequences which doctors in England predicted would befall women scholars.<sup>151</sup> With no further ado thirty three non-matriculated women entered the women's class of the University of Adelaide in its year of commencement, 1876, before either Sydney or Melbourne accepted women.<sup>152</sup> Some of these students had also attended classes at the Union College which suggests that they had enjoyed the experience and were keen to carry their studies further.<sup>153</sup>

In his inaugural address at the official opening of the University in April, 1876, the Chancellor, Bishop Short, made a specific challenge to 'Young Australians to use the means which are now placed at your disposal and according to the measure of your earnestness will success crown your endeavours.'<sup>154</sup> The expected and more usual term of address would have been 'young men'. Can we detect a softening of a delineation by gender? Or was it

---

<sup>148</sup> A complete list is in the minutes of the Association, University of Adelaide Archives.

<sup>149</sup> Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', pp. 54-55.

<sup>150</sup> Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 86.

<sup>151</sup> Delamont and Duffin eds., *Nineteenth Century Woman*, pp. 26-56.

<sup>152</sup> Initial enrolment book, University of Adelaide Archives. There were also eight matriculated male students and sixteen non-matriculated men. As a result of the University Constitution Amendment Act, Melbourne University accepted women as degree candidates from 1881. Zainu'ddin, 'Admission of Women', p. 53; Fitzpatrick, *P.L.C., Melbourne*, p. 35. Sydney University admitted women to degree courses in 1883.

<sup>153</sup> The names of Union College students Miss Crooks, Miss A. Giles, Miss Stanes, Miss L. Giles, Miss Brown and Miss Kay also appear in the initial list at the University in 1876. As Miss Hill died in 1875, only Miss Snell and Miss Wyley fail to reappear. University of Adelaide Archives.

<sup>154</sup> Alexander Musgrave and A. Short, pamphlet, *Address at the Opening of the University of Adelaide, 28th April, 1876*, (Adelaide: Government printer, 1876), p. 34.

taken for granted that young women would also have the opportunity to benefit from the 'study and teaching of every branch of (scientific) knowledge.'<sup>155</sup> The influential Anglican cleric must have approved of the notion of furthering women's education because his granddaughter, Clara Glen, travelled from Millicent and stayed at Bishop's Court in order to study at the University. Young women from prominent families, including the daughters of the President of the Legislative Council, a Supreme Court judge, the editor of *The Advertiser* and two daughters of the Premier, were among her class fellows.<sup>156</sup> Clearly, women were an accepted addition to the matriculated and non-matriculated band of twenty three men who composed the first classes. Their entry had been achieved with little ado and no apparent dissent.

Reflecting the composition of the Association, membership of the initial University Council was dominated by Churchmen, politicians and members of the legal profession, but by 1878 it comprised -

Chancellor:           The Right Reverend Augustus Short, Lord Bishop of Adelaide.  
Vice Chancellor:    The Hon. Samuel James Way, Chief Justice of South Australia.  
Treasurer:           The Hon. Sir Henry Ayers, K.C.M.G., M.L.C.  
William Robinson Boothby Esq., B.A., J.P.  
William Alexander Erskine West-Erskine Esq., M.A.  
John Michael Gunson Esq., M.D.  
Allan Campbell Esq., M.R.C.P. Edin., J.P.  
John Anderson Hartley Esq., B.A., B.Sc.  
Richard Dalrymple Ross Esq., M.P.  
The Reverend James Lyall  
Charles Todd Esq., C.M.G.  
Horatio Thomas Whittell, Esq., M.D.  
John Warren Bakewell Esq., M.A.  
Arthur Hardy, Esq., M.P.  
William Gosse Esq., M.D.  
Adolph von Treuer Esq., L.L.B., J.P.  
Horace Lamb Esq., M.A.  
The Reverend George Henry Farr, M.A.  
John Davies Thomas Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S. England.<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>156</sup> Initial enrolment book, University of Adelaide Archives.

<sup>157</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1879, p. 9.

This distribution corresponded with the non-conformist and liberal minded mix of the contemporary South Australian society. Known religious affiliation included Anglicans Short, Ross, Whittell, Gosse and Farr and Methodists, Way and Hartley. Gunson was a Catholic, Lyall and Campbell, Presbyterians, Todd a Congregationalist and Hardy a Unitarian and Freemason.<sup>158</sup> Particular political interests defined these men. Boothby had taken part in pressing for the secret ballot in London in 1853. Ayers, a poorly spoken man, had worked his way up to political prominence by commercial ingenuity. Campbell, who married Way's sister, was an innovative medical reformer who later was particularly interested in the poor physical conditions suffered by women in 'sweat shops'.<sup>159</sup> Hartley, an instigator of the concept of the Union College and newly appointed Inspector General of Schools, was resolute about the advancement of women as was his fellow Methodist and later Chancellor, Way.<sup>160</sup> Hardy had met with Charles Fox, the Victorian radical and with John Stuart Mill, who became his brother-in-law.<sup>161</sup> Farr, Headmaster of St Peter's College, was acknowledged for his philanthropic outlook. As members of the body which shaped the future direction of the University, their broad interests helped to ensure that its academic scope included new and practical areas of intellectual endeavour, including sciences and technology.<sup>162</sup> Their tolerance and broad minded approach also coloured their opinions concerning the promotion of the higher education of women.

In addition to the Bishop's grand-daughter, early Council members Blyth, Lyall, Milne and Stow had daughters in the original class. The support of prominent politicians, influential opinion shapers, bankers and merchants made the decision to enrol daughters one of respectability and creditability. Unfortunately, it is not possible to assess whether these girls attended as a favour to their prominent fathers, who at least were not opposed to the higher education of women and may have been keen to make the University venture a success, or whether they pleaded with reluctant parents to attend. We do not know if they came from families who valued a sound education for its own sake, or whether their families' main motive was to elevate their position by appearing in the forefront of

---

<sup>158</sup> Way was Grand Master of the Lodge of South Australia, which suggests that there may have been significant Masonic input into this council. The author is grateful to Dr R. Petersen, Way College historian, for this suggestion.

<sup>159</sup> *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1851-90, 7, p. 542.

<sup>160</sup> *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 4, p. 356. He married the sister-in-law of Reverend Robert Crooke, Headmaster of Methodist College, Belfast, an enthusiastic supporter of the higher education for women. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 72. Mr Hartley was instrumental in the creation of the Advanced School for Girls in 1879 and the encouragement of the success of both teachers and pupils.

<sup>161</sup> After a profound attachment of over twenty years, J. S. Mill married Hardy's sister, Harriet Taylor, née Hardy, in 1851 in England. *Australian Dictionary of Biography 1851-90*, 4, p. 343; Murray, *Strong-Minded Women*, p. 31. Egalitarian W. J. Fox was editor of the Unitarian *Monthly Repository*. Rendall, *Origins of Modern Feminism*, p. 106.

<sup>162</sup> Short's address outlined the hope that classes in Astronomy, Geology, Meteorology, Botany, Chemistry, and Anthropology would be taught. Musgrave and Short, *Address at the Opening of the University of Adelaide*, pp. 11-27.

educational and social change. Certainly, girls travelled from Norwood, Enfield, Glenelg and Burnside in order to further their education. They did not apply simultaneously, but were accepted throughout the year, which suggests that the first classes for women were separated by gender and had a relatively inchoate nature.<sup>163</sup>

However, nine girls passed the first Ordinary Examination in English Literature, ten in Mental and Moral Philosophy and one in English Language.<sup>164</sup> Even though they passed the set examinations, ultimately these girls could not be awarded a degree as they had not entered with Matriculation status. Their numbers on lists in the following two years declined to twenty in 1877 and fifteen in 1878, though some students continued for three years.

Although there is no recorded evidence, it is important to consider different reasons for scholars to have discontinued their studies. As women had no culminating object of recognition by a degree, they had little positive incentive. Further, few of these girls had a pressing utilitarian motive to acquire knowledge and expertise which could be used as a basis for future employment. Some may have married.<sup>165</sup> Others may have found the required academic discipline too severe a contrast with the standards that had been expected from them during earlier schooling. The majority of these girls may have been ill prepared for the intellectual transition from unrelated information learned by heart to the more complex comprehension and application required by higher studies.

### **University Examinations**

The early Council elected a Professorial Board whose members devised examinations which were the prerequisite for acceptance into degree courses.<sup>166</sup> The first Matriculation examination, modelled on the precedent of Melbourne University, was set in September 1876. For 16 year olds of either sex, it comprised five compulsory subjects - Latin, Mathematics, English Language, History of England and Geography. Options for obtaining First Class were from Languages (Greek, French and German), Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Natural History.<sup>167</sup> Thus the male academics introduced the sciences while maintaining parts of the traditional Classical curriculum which had been favoured by generations of men destined for the Church and Government. At Adelaide boys' schools

---

<sup>163</sup> The enrolment book shows an irregular pattern of entry from March until October which did not parallel the three University terms. Their classes were held in late afternoon or evenings.

<sup>164</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1877, p. 26.

<sup>165</sup> A Miss Blyth married William Briggs Sells of Glenelg by 1888. Bill Lyne, ed., *Explore Glenelg*, (Adelaide: The National Trust of South Australia, 1989), p. 32.

<sup>166</sup> The earliest 1876 Board composed the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Dean, Professor Lamb, Mathematics, Professor Read, Classics, Professor Davidson, Hughes Professor of English Literature and Professor Tate, Elder Professor of Natural Science. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1877, p. 11.

<sup>167</sup> Susan Woodburn, 'The Founding of the University', unpublished booklet, p. 8.



Latin was a central subject in the curriculum, often taught from a young age. By contrast, it only featured very occasionally at a girls' school, taught by a 'visiting professor' and the sciences were only touched on.<sup>168</sup>

In 1878, the Board realised that few aspiring scholars were able to reach the Matriculation standard and instituted a series of graded examinations. Thereafter the University set and marked examinations at Higher, Senior and Junior levels. The Junior Examination was 'an examination in General Education designed somewhat on the model of the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations.'<sup>169</sup> It comprised six compulsory subjects -

- |  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. Reading, Writing, Spelling          | 4. Elements of Arithmetic      |
| 2. English Grammar                     | 5. Outlines of Geography       |
| 3. Writing a short English composition | 6. Outlines of British History |

Options for First Class were at least two of

- A. English
- B. Classics - Latin or Greek
- C. Modern Languages - French or German
- D. Mathematics - 1. Arithmetic 2. Algebra 3. Geometry
- E. Physical and Natural Science, one of - 1. Chemistry 2. Elementary Physics 3. Botany
- 4. Zoology 5. Physical Geography 6. Animal Physiology

The implementation of this easier standard ensured that successful candidates had the foundation necessary for the more difficult academic challenge of studies at Senior Level which could lead to Matriculation and a University course culminating, for men, in the award of a degree.

Although in theory the examination subjects were open to all candidates, boys or girls, in practice they were delineated by gender. The small size of girls' schools confined their range of staff ability which limited their academic offering. They were more likely to have the expertise to offer orthodox subjects of the 'accomplishments' curriculum', English and languages, than mathematics and sciences. Traditionally these had seldom been studied by women which created disabilities from the outset. Their inclusion in examinations was

---

<sup>168</sup> Ten men passed the first Matriculation examination in September, 1876, which qualified them to enter the B.A. course. *University of Adelaide Calendar* 1877, p. 25. Nine men matriculated in 1877. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1878, p. 47.

<sup>169</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar* 1878, p. 20. The nomenclature Senior and Junior may have derived from antecedent English Local Examinations, established by Oxford from 1857 and by Cambridge from 1858. Pedersen, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses', p. 148.

determined by at least two contemporary factors. Firstly, by the rapid growth of knowledge in both theoretical and applied science stimulated by the Industrial Revolution and its subsequent entry as an adjunct to a boy's education, especially in a colony whose economy depended on its technical benefits. Secondly, these academic requirements were set by liberal, yet essentially pragmatic and utilitarian, men. Few contemporary women had the education or insight to interpret the value or distribution of individual subjects. Certainly, no bargaining power was offered to women to debate these questions which set a pattern and precedence in particular areas of academic endeavour in subsequent years, ultimately affecting the direction of the curriculum overall. However, forward-looking women educators recognised the benefits of these innovative opportunities. They appreciated that girls were accepted with little rancour into the competitive academic arena of higher education, albeit on the prevailing terms and within the boundaries of a male agenda. In order that their girls would not appear inferior in public comparison, they strove to prepare them to meet the same academic challenges as their brothers.

The Junior examination imposed on all candidates a required standard of academic sophistication which relied upon a consequential and systematised accumulation of knowledge and method. It was no longer acceptable for schools to cram pupils with unrelated facts, tested by stimulus/response methods, with little attention to their relative importance in an overall scheme of learning. The University was an external body with academic respect. For the first time in South Australia, the achievements of schools were able to be compared on an objectively examined basis. Unsubstantiated claims of academic prowess were now inapplicable as the output of schools with serious academic intent was under scrutiny. The results of public examinations were published in the press and could be compared with other schools. The competitive age of academe for both boys and girls had dawned.

At the opening of the University the Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, firmly declared in his address, 'No University worthy to be so called, will forget that a chief part of its duty is to elevate the preparatory schools.'<sup>170</sup> The ladies' schools who advertised the crafts of wax flower creation, leatherwork and splash work, or who concentrated on poorly taught drawing, music and a smattering of unconnected languages, faced a challenge. Proprietors were forced to enter the educational debate and survey the competitive scene with due care. Their response to the evolving academic emphasis was crucial to the continuance and success of their schools. They had to take account of differing conditions and changing expectations from parents. If they adhered too rigidly to the 'accomplishments curriculum' they might lose the support of those who wished to embark on a more academically oriented path. On

---

<sup>170</sup> Musgrave and Short, p. 8.

the other hand, too rapid a change from elements of the traditional accomplishments might have deterred those who were yet uncertain of benefits which could accrue from more rigorous academic regimen. Wise Headmistresses maintained a controlled balance, managing change with care and intelligent foresight.

The first Junior examination in 1878 resulted in 3 girls placed in the First Class of 5, 5 in the Second Class of 10 and 3 in the Third Class of 18. Optional subjects were taken by the majority. Similar patterns were repeated in 1879 and 1880 as shown in Tables III and IV.<sup>171</sup>

**Table III**

**Primary Examination: Honours Results 1878-1880**

Year	1878		1879		1880	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
<b>First</b>	3	2	1	0	1	2
<b>Second</b>	5	5	1	6	4	11
<b>Third</b>	2	16	5	22	4	8

Source: *University of Adelaide Calendars*, 1879, 1880, 1881.

**Table IV**

**Primary Examination: Option Passes 1878-1880**

Year	1878		1879		1880	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
<b>English</b>	6	4	6	4	10	9
<b>Maths</b>	2	3	1	2	0	1
<b>French</b>	4	4	3	6	4	5
<b>German</b>	0	0	2	1	2	1
<b>Geography</b>	9	9	3	11	11	9
<b>Botany</b>	0	0	1	2	1	2

Source: *University of Adelaide Calendars*, 1879, 1880, 1881.

The four boys' colleges who sent candidates to these early examinations were St Peter's, Prince Alfred, North Adelaide Grammar and the Adelaide Institution. Each could boast a

<sup>171</sup> Results from *University Calendars*, 1879, p. lxxix; 1880, p. lxxix; 1881, p. xcvi.

highly qualified and experienced staff.<sup>172</sup> With an established tradition of learning, their larger establishments could prepare many candidates. However, proportionately, girls gained more top honours than boys, the majority of whom appeared have been content to achieve a Third Class pass. The explanation of this is not immediately obvious and, as evidence is scant, surmise must suffice. The girls' apparent superiority was the result of a range of factors. These included their relative physical, and therefore intellectual, maturity. Whereas boys had a strong vocational reason for their entry, girls had no similar pressure. Hence, only the very keen and well prepared girls may have entered. They may have been conscious of their role and responsibility as 'trail blazers' and worked hard to be better than the boys. Certainly, their success gave proof to the claim, consistently reiterated through the centuries by feminist luminaries including Mary Astell, Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill, that the intellectual potential of women was in no way inferior. The success and relative superiority of the girls in early examinations may have helped to spur others to greater intellectual ambition.

A survey of the girls who had early examination success shows that in 1878, two of the three most successful girls came from the Grote Street Model school. This was set up by the Government in 1874 and pupils were extended to the fifth class as a result of the 1875 Education Act. The other First Class girl was educated at Mrs Shuttleworth's school, Hardwicke House, as were two other honours candidates. Four other girls from the Grote Street school reached Honours standard, as did a girl from Mrs Martin's school in Hackney. In 1879 a girl from Mrs Bickford's school gained the sole First Class, with a school friend also achieving Second Class, though girls from Mrs Shuttleworth's, Miss McMinn's and Monsieur and Madame Marvel's achieved the Third class. The 1880 examination was marked by a further widening of the number of girls' schools whose candidates achieved a creditable result. A girl from each of two Glenelg schools, Mrs de Mole's and Miss Meek's, in addition to a candidate from Mrs Harcus' school and from Mrs Bickford's achieved honours, as did two country girls from the Kapunda Model School.

### **Resulting Changes in Girls' Education**

Realising an increasing demand for a sound education for girls which surpassed an elementary level, the Government set up the Advanced School for Girls in Adelaide in 1879.<sup>173</sup> This was a fee paying, self-supporting enterprise designed to give a serious

---

<sup>172</sup> From their inception, St Peter's and Prince Alfred had staff from Oxford and Cambridge. Mr Whinham at North Adelaide had taught at St Peter's and by 1870 educated 250-300 boys in his school, staffed by University men. Nagel, *North Adelaide*, p. 44. Mr Young's Adelaide Institution moved from Adelaide to Unley in 1872. He taught using the lecture method and specialised in Mathematics. Verco, 'Early Recollections', p. 142.

<sup>173</sup> The history of this remarkable school is well documented in Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*.

academic education. In order to ensure that girls attended from a wide variety of economic backgrounds bursaries were available, awarded by competitive examination. The year 1880 marked the first of many successes from the school. The Advanced School gathered in momentum and prestige during the next decade when its pupils surpassed candidates from all other girls' schools in winning academic acclaim.

Middle class girls' schools which sent the first candidates for public examination at Primary Level were typically small with an overall mission of producing socially adept girls. Previously, there had been little requirement for scholarship and their standard of teaching academic subjects was uneven and amateurish. There was little planning or sequential and structured teaching or learning. The specific needs and standards demanded by the examinations required the advent of a planned curriculum whose subjects could be developed by regular study over years. Not many proprietors had either the ability or the education to put this into practice. Therefore, to try to understand this challenge an analysis of these schools, both teachers and their candidates, is important.

Mrs Shuttleworth, educated sister of a founder of Prince Alfred College, G.W. Cotton, had a pupil in each of the Classes of the Primary Examination in 1878. All were daughters from prominent Methodist families. By 1879 her school had sixty three pupils, and boasted a 'prominent visiting professor', who coached the two girls in Mathematics as an optional subject.<sup>174</sup> Hardwicke House continued to encourage high examination achievement as Chapter 4 illuminates.

Mrs Martin was the sister of Reverend Francis Williams, Headmaster of St Peter's College 1882-1889, who may have encouraged her in educational matters and given her help in setting up a more academic approach. Her school started in South Terrace in 1872 and was moved to a fourteen roomed house in Palm Place, Hackney, in 1875 which suggests a growth of numbers.<sup>175</sup> Her pupil, Ella Wilson, daughter of the Registrar of the Supreme Court, who lived in Norwood, passed the Primary Third Class with a Credit in French.<sup>176</sup>

In 1879 the only winner of a First class came from Mrs Bickworth's school in North Adelaide. This school was started in a modest way by the wife of Reverend W.J. Woodcock, Anglican Archdeacon of Adelaide from 1852-1868. In 1861 Mrs Woodcock advertised for 'a limited number of young ladies to educate with her three young daughters at

---

<sup>174</sup> The 1879 Government return shows 29 pupils between 15 and 20 years. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>175</sup> Her advertisement mentions the opportunity of a car from South Terrace to the new site. *Register*, 15th January, 1875, p. 1.

<sup>176</sup> A pupil from Mrs Martin's also achieved a Second class in 1884. Mrs Martin's school was subsumed by nearby Mrs Marcus in 1886 when Mrs Martin returned to England.

the Parsonage, Christchurch.<sup>177</sup> The absence of further advertisement until 1872 suggests a small intimate establishment whose clientele, friends in her social circle and parishioners, would have expected an education as befitted the family of an educated cleric.<sup>178</sup> Caroline Jacob, later the eminent Headmistress of Tormore, was both a pupil and a governess at the school.<sup>179</sup> Having been widowed in 1868, Mrs Woodcock discreetly advertised vacancies for boarders. They were envied by Annie Duncan who joined them for dancing classes, confirming that Mrs Woodcock also attended to the social proprieties.<sup>180</sup> Her successor in 1879 was Mrs Alfred Bickford, the wife of a veterinary surgeon who had arrived in Adelaide by 1876.<sup>181</sup> She proudly advertised, 'In the December examination of 1879 of the ten young ladies who were candidates three were from this school and all passed successfully.'<sup>182</sup> Success in 1880 was communicated in a prominent proclamation, 'At the University Examination of 1879 and 1880 this school was the only school in the colony from which girls passed First Class.'<sup>183</sup> As proprietor, Mrs Bickworth had moved from the orthodox feminine image of discrete self-effacement to one demonstrating a more confident and competitive spirit. Her academic success continued with an outstanding record until 1885.<sup>184</sup>

North Adelaide was also the site of the Misses McMinn's school. According to Dorothy Angove, the Misses Elizabeth, Martha and Sally McMinn were three charming, talented ladies who arrived in 1850 from Newry, Ireland.<sup>185</sup> Elizabeth had been employed at nearby Mrs Woodcock's, where she acquired skills of teaching. The sisters opened their school in 1877 in Molesworth Street where they advertised boarding, which was also available to young boys.<sup>186</sup> The school's examination candidate in 1879, Annie Bellingham, daughter of a North Adelaide land agent, passed the optional subjects of English and Botany, which may have been a special interest of one of the sisters.<sup>187</sup> Their school continued to be in the forefront of girls' education taking day pupils and up to twenty boarders until 1895, when it was taken over as Tormore School by the Misses Jacob who continued and even enhanced its academic reputation assuring that it remained one of the premier academic girls' schools.

---

<sup>177</sup> *Register*, 17th January, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>178</sup> One of her friends there was Jeanne Harris, later mother of Sir A. Grenfell Price. Duncan Papers, P.R.G. 532/6, Book 1, p. 96.

<sup>179</sup> Angove, *Tormore*, p. 8.

<sup>180</sup> *Register*, 13th January, 1874, p.1; Duncan Diaries, Book 1, p. 94.

<sup>181</sup> *Register*, 15th January, 1879, p. 1.

<sup>182</sup> *Register*, 17th January, 1880, p. 1.

<sup>183</sup> *Register*, 15th January, 1881, p. 2.

<sup>184</sup> 1881: 2 Second Class; 1882: 2 Third Class; 1883: 2 Second Class; 1884: 1 First Class; 1885: 1 First Class.

<sup>185</sup> Angove, *Tormore*, p. 8.

<sup>186</sup> *Register*, 4th October, 1877, p. 2.

<sup>187</sup> Annie Bellingham was the daughter of Henry, a North Adelaide land agent. *Adelaide Directories*.

In 1860 Mrs Marcus arrived in Adelaide as wife of the intelligent Congregationalist minister, the Reverend William Marcus and mother of four.<sup>188</sup> Her talented eldest daughter Eliza returned unexpectedly from England with four young children to educate and, in 1876, her husband died suddenly. Undeterred, Mrs Marcus started a small school in her home in Palm Place, Hackney using her previous governess skills and the talents of her daughters. Capitalising on her social network of Congregational connections and advertising the attraction of a well ordered school for girls near the prestigious St Peter's, Mrs Marcus soon built up a first rate educational establishment whose prestige was a drawing card in the fast developing middle class neighbourhood. Her first successful examination candidate was Augusta Anna Balk, the daughter of Mr Balk, self-styled 'professor of languages' who probably helped his daughter to a Second Class with honours in English, French and German and Physical Geography.<sup>189</sup> Mrs Marcus repeated this success in 1882 and continued to run a school with an academic intent after amalgamating with nearby Mrs Martin's. The story of the development of Mrs Marcus' enterprise is further described in Chapter 6.

In 1869, included in the family entourage of Sir James Fergusson, the new governor, was the children's governess, holder of a diploma from the Ladies' University of Berlin, who had five years' experience of teaching.<sup>190</sup> She subsequently married Adolphe Marval, the trained but out-of-work engineer who taught French at Adelaide private schools.<sup>191</sup> While living in Norwood, the Marvals set up their school in fashionable North Terrace in the City in 1874.<sup>192</sup> They must have made a success of the enterprise because at the end of the year they acquired the goodwill and pupils from Miss Senner's school nearby.<sup>193</sup> With the help of Miss Bedford and the Reverend Green, the Marvals specialised in the study of modern languages. In 1879 one of their pupils achieved a credit in English.<sup>194</sup> In 1881 they recorded a credit in French though later results do not confirm a maintenance of this academic excellence. The Marvals moved their school nearer their home in Norwood for a year, before removing in 1882 to seaside Brighton. Later advertisements reveal that they also

---

<sup>188</sup> Reverend Marcus was a prominent Churchman. Kelsey Papers, P.R.G. 304/9. He became the editor of the *Register* in 1867 and of the important *South Australia, its History, Resources and Productions*, (London, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1876).

<sup>189</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1881, p. xcvi. Mr Balk advertised language classes for boys and girls in the *Register* during 1877 and 1878. He may also have taught languages at Mrs Marcus' school.

<sup>190</sup> *West Australian*, 13th January, 1882, p. 1.

<sup>191</sup> He taught at the Unley Park School in 1867. Fowler Papers, P.R.G. 34/42. He taught French at St Peter's College in 1871. *Register*, 12th January, 1871, p. 1.

<sup>192</sup> *Register*, 19th January, 1874, p. 2. They may have been encouraged by advertisements in Adelaide papers of the Vieusseux enterprise in Melbourne. *Register*, 12th January, 1878, p. 6.

<sup>193</sup> Fragment of notice from Miss Senner. Warburton Collection.

<sup>194</sup> Pupil, Annie Thomas, was probably the daughter of J.D. Thomas, Royal Adelaide Hospital surgeon and 1878 University Council member, who had houses in the City and Glenelg. *Adelaide Directories*.

taught dancing, deportment and singing which suggests that they decided to concentrate on cultural niceties rather than pursue their early academic promise.

Margaret Stevenson was the daughter of two eminent parents - George, Private Secretary to the Governor from 1836 and editor of the first newspaper, *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* and Margaret, an exceptionally brilliant woman whose educated background encouraged a love of literature and music.<sup>195</sup> In 1868 daughter Margaret Stevenson married Earnest de Mole the youngest of three successful brothers, a promising civil servant. The family had five living children when Margaret was widowed in 1876 at the age of thirty two. The Stevensons and the de Moles were typical of the ascendant middle class whose attributes were composed of intellectual capital and an advantageous social network rather than accumulated material possessions. Consequently, Mrs de Mole's widowhood forced her to earn a livelihood in order to support her growing family.<sup>196</sup> However, she had the intellectual capacity and the emotional support from members of her wider family to embark upon public life. Mrs de Mole opened her school in Glenelg in 1880 with Miss Augusta Hardy.<sup>197</sup> In the first year their pupil Edith Hanson, daughter of the deceased barrister and Premier of South Australia, gained honours in English, French, German and Geography, verifying that Mrs de Mole had speedily put her intellect to advantage. The school changed address each year, which suggests that it was held in rented domestic accommodation. Mrs de Mole and her family continued to be lively contributors to the intellectual and musical life of Adelaide until 1918.

Upon her arrival in Adelaide from England in 1875 Miss Meek, the daughter of an architect, advertised morning classes at the Glenelg Institute.<sup>198</sup> In 1880 Miss Meek's pupil, Mary Tomkinson, daughter of the manager of the city Australasian Bank received a Second Class with honours in English, French, German and Physical Geography.<sup>199</sup> Another candidate achieved a Second Class in 1886. The small, gentle, ladylike Miss Meek was intelligent and well educated. She was evidently well liked and easily kept good discipline without raising her voice.<sup>200</sup> During the years from 1875 to 1915 her intimate and personal day and boarding school flourished, relocating to North Adelaide in 1900. A devout Anglican, Miss Meek taught a variety of subjects including Scripture. Her school attracted

---

<sup>195</sup> Information from Papers of Violet de Mole, P.R.G. 39, M.L.S.A.

<sup>196</sup> Her circumstances were similar to many school proprietors, including Mrs Thornber in Chapter 5 and Mrs Kelsey in Chapter 6.

<sup>197</sup> *Register*, 13th January, 1880, p. 2.

<sup>198</sup> *Register*, 15th January, 1875, p. 1.

<sup>199</sup> Mary Tomkinson's sisters attended the first University class in 1876. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1881, p. xcvi.

<sup>200</sup> Recollections of Mrs M. Bowen who attended her later school, Halberstadt, in North Adelaide about 1915. Interview 16th May, 1994.



the daughters of successful country families who wished a friendly yet scholarly atmosphere and the guidance of a well educated and influential lady.

In summary, it appears that each Headmistress had benefited from the stimulus of early education either within an intellectual home environment, or were later educated abroad. Each was a well read and reflective woman who understood the changing academic educational requirements for girls and was able to translate these needs and adapt her school accordingly. The pupils whom they successfully taught for public examinations also came from professional middle class homes where education was valued. It is probable that their schooling would have been augmented by books, conversation and the incentive of thoughtful family circumstances.

It is important to reiterate that these schools continued to highlight ladylike proprieties and many of the familiar accomplishments. However, in parallel with the more formalised approach to academic subjects, the study of music and art was increasingly approached in a more structured and organised manner. This enabled girls to enter the newly devised examinations in both theory and practice of music which were set by the University from 1886.<sup>201</sup> A variety of examinations in art were controlled by the South Australian School of Design from 1888 and the work of more ambitious candidates could also be sent to its antecedent South Kensington School of Art in London for certification.

Many private girls' schools were set on a path of more definite organisation and developing professionalism, a movement which was supported by parents and educationalists alike. In addition to the thrust of the University, the ladies' schools faced increased competition particularly in lower age groups, caused by the extension from 1875 in the efficiency and scope of compulsory Government elementary education. The opening of Model Schools from 1872, the innovation of modern teachers trained in the Teachers' Training College from 1876, which included the opportunity of classes at the University, and the setting up of a rigid system of school inspection all ensured 'that a good general education was offered to South Australian children between the ages of seven and thirteen.'<sup>202</sup> In its leader, the *Register* bewailed the fact that 'minute, accurate instruction along with habits of order and prompt obedience which could be attained for 9d a week at the Grote Street school, was rarely available to middle class girls who were not sent to these

---

<sup>201</sup> All but two of the successful twenty seven music candidates were girls. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1888, p. cclviii. The first year of the University offering the Mus. Bac. degree was 1886 when Miss F. Tilly gained First Class Honours in 1886 in her first year of study. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1887, p. cciv.

<sup>202</sup> *Register*, 20th January, 1877, p. 5. The development of Government Education during this period is documented in G. E. Saunders, 'John Anderson Hartley and Education in South Australia', B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1958.

schools for social reasons.’ The writer even suggested that the ‘pupils would blush before their future servants now taught more thoroughly in the Model Schools.’ Clearly, the ladies’ schools faced serious competition from this comprehensive education whose superiority was a matter of public debate.

However, in 1880 many ladies’ schools had not responded to the challenge and continued to advertise the traditional ‘accomplishments curriculum,’ some with even greater eagerness. For instance, Mrs D. Jeffrey’s Establishment for Young Ladies at Avenue House, Parkside had ‘vacancies for six boarders and taught English, French, music, drawing etc. and also ‘finishing lessons’ at the residence after 3.30 p.m.<sup>203</sup> The Misses Crabbe’s School offered Painting, Velvet Poonah painting, Wax Flowers, etc.<sup>204</sup> However, during the next decade the advertisements assumed a more serious and professional tone. The Reverend and Mrs Hopkins advertised at their Ladies’ College ‘an education which the best schools give to boys’, which by 1887 included Latin and Greek.<sup>205</sup> Outstanding among the more ephemeral schools were five girls’ schools which were to have a longstanding history. These were Mrs Hübbe and Miss Cook’s, Kensington (1887-1921), Miss Niven’s, Parkside (1887-1916), Miss Martin’s, Norwood and later in the City (1888-1918), Miss Archer’s, North Adelaide (1888-1911) and the Misses Stenhouse, Semaphore (1888-1924). Each was distinguished by offering University examinations, both in academic subjects and in music and art. Overall, the less academically oriented schools enjoyed a shorter duration which suggests that many parents of girls were looking for schools which offered a scholarly approach to serious learning in addition to the newly examinable accomplishments. A few girls in each school were keen to tackle a more challenging and well defined academic curriculum. As successful and thriving academic establishments, these schools would attract the newly qualified professional teachers from either the Training School or from the University.<sup>206</sup> If no member of staff had the expertise, candidates could be specially coached for particular examinations by ‘visiting professors’.

In 1888 the University devised a precursor Preliminary examination whose influence was soon felt throughout the lower groups in the schools. Its requirements helped to determine the curriculum, strengthening a structured approach to academic learning. Gradually this standard became more universally accepted and, with better trained teachers, more schools could offer the required range of subjects without outside help.

---

<sup>203</sup> *Register*, 25th January, 1879, p. 2.

<sup>204</sup> *Register*, 17th January, 1880, p. 2.

<sup>205</sup> *Register*, 15th January, 1883, p. 1.

<sup>206</sup> Miss Elinor Allen, an Old Scholar of the Advanced School and University graduate, took over the leadership of Mrs Hübbe’s school when she was having her family in the 1890s. Transcript of oral testament of Mrs Harriet Caw, daughter of Mrs Hübbe, O.H. 3/1, p. 7. M.L.S.A.

Only a small handful of girls' schools was able to prepare candidates for the Matriculation examination. In 1877 Edith Agnes Cook, a pupil teacher from the Grote Street School, was the first girl pass at this level. She achieved second place in First Class, with Honours in French.<sup>207</sup> In 1880, Frances Williams also passed First Class, as did Sophia Sarah Adams from Hardwicke House in March, 1881 with French Honours.<sup>208</sup> In December, 1881 Edith Emily Dornwell, joined by another girl from the Advanced School, was second overall with Honours in French, German, Animal Physiology and Modern History.<sup>209</sup> These girls all achieved high honours. Each would have had extra tuition in their chosen subjects in order to reach the Matriculation standard.

Unlike the other Australian Universities and the older British foundations, the Council of the University had intended from the start that women should be admitted to degrees.<sup>210</sup> However, this very radical step was not given the required British Government approval and consequent royal assent until 1881 with the granting of Letters Patent from London. This allowed the shift of women's candidature from their previous choice of single subjects to enrolling for a specific degree. However, having neither the Latin nor Greek required to enter the discipline of Arts, Edith Dornwell subsequently entered the Science faculty at the University and was the first woman in the British Empire to graduate with a B.Sc. degree, which she did in 1885 with First Class honours in Physics and Physiology.<sup>211</sup>

During the decade from 1875 - 1885, the education offered in some girls' schools had been transformed from an amateurish pedagogical approach to a more structured and serious curriculum which could prepare girls for the opportunity of higher education at the University. It was a quiet transformation which still maintained the ethos and ladylike characteristics of Victorian womanhood. But the successful scholars from these years were the pioneers of generations of University educated women who helped to forge a more highly educated community from which further developments for women would emerge. The adaptation to new parental and societal expectations were soon to be copied by a wider

---

<sup>207</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1878, p. 105. The other names on the Matriculation lists appear to be those which are also featured in the established boys' colleges. As she may have been a first entry from the Pupil Teachers' School Edith may have had extra tutoring and 'cramming' from outside the school. She also passed the examinations at the Pupil Teachers' College with 'highest honours'. In 1881, Edith Cook became the second Headmistress of the Adelaide School for Girls. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 80. Edith Cook later married to become Mrs Hübbe whose school is mentioned above.

<sup>208</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1881, p. xcii. Frances Williams had joined classes at Mr Hackett's North Adelaide Grammar School and was the first girl to enrol as a degree student at the University, studying for two years without taking a degree. Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 89. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1882, p. civ.

<sup>209</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1882, p. cxlvii. The other successful candidate, Adela Knight, who matriculated First Class with three honours, also entered the University in 1883, but left after two years of distinguished scholarship to become the first Australian woman graduate from the University of London. Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', p. 89.

<sup>210</sup> Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 86; Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', p. 56.

<sup>211</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1885, p. 7.

range of schools and gradually became an accepted part of the academic programme for middle class girls.

Illustration I

**HARDWICKE COLLEGE**



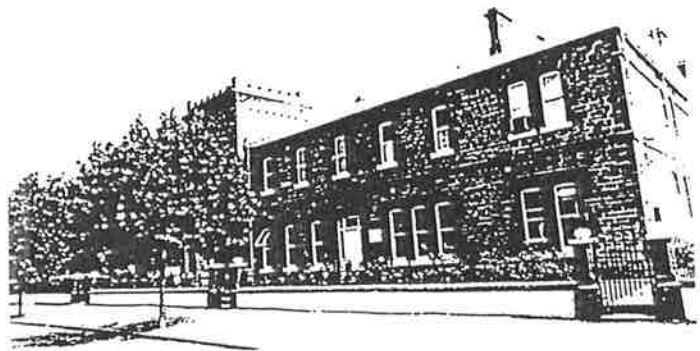
Jane Boorman Shuttleworth  
1825-1910



Miss Lucy Agnes Tilly  
Aged 19 years



Miss Florence Mary Tilly  
About 18 years of age



Hardwicke College, Third Avenue, St. Peters,  
as it existed around 1900.

## Chapter 4

### The Hardwicke Enterprise, 1873-1910.

*Non scholeae sed vitae discimus* - We learn not for school but for Life<sup>1</sup>

Mrs Shuttleworth had a clear idea of the type of school which she wished Hardwicke House to become. The initial page of her carefully kept cuttings book reveals a copy of the first advertisement for Presbyterian Ladies' College in Melbourne in 1874 and for the proposed Advanced School for Girls in 1878.<sup>2</sup> These two schools were set up with the distinct aim of educating girls to the highest academic standards to enable them to seek the opportunities in higher education which were opening up for women.<sup>3</sup> Evidently they served as models for her educational enterprise. Hardwicke House was an early example of a privately owned school for girls where a concentrated scholastic programme was followed to yield early academic successes in the public examinations set by the University of Adelaide. The Hardwicke story is an important link between the many ladies' schools whose programme centred round the 'accomplishments curriculum' and a more planned and professional approach to the education of girls.<sup>4</sup>

The English family background of Jane Borman Shuttleworth (née Cotton), 1824-1910, reveals a history of generations of modest landowners with a tradition of service to the community, factors which doubtless helped to shape her drive and resourcefulness.<sup>5</sup> The Cottons were a strong Methodist family who abhorred the educational and social constraints of English Anglicanism. To improve their position, Jane, her adventurer ex-medical student husband and child emigrated with her parents to South Australia in 1849 as free colonists.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Hardwicke motto.

<sup>2</sup> Kept by her son Claude, then in his thirties. It is now in the keeping of her descendants. Hereafter, Scrapbook. Cutting from *Register*, 21st October, 1878, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The University of Adelaide educated women from its opening in 1876 and Melbourne, founded 1856, accepted women from 1881.

<sup>4</sup> Many such schools were advertised in the daily press. See Chapter 3.

<sup>5</sup> The Cottons originated in the 16th century from Cotton Castle, Cheshire, moved to Botreaux Castle in the West of England and thence to Staplehurst, Kent. *Kent County Examiner*, 10th March, 1890. Scrapbook fragment.

<sup>6</sup> Claude Harold Shuttleworth, *Shuttleworth, the Family of Claude Shuttleworth of Adelaide*, (Adelaide: C.H. Shuttleworth, 1989), p. 11. They came from London on the *Athenian*. *Register*, 7th March, 1849, p. 5.

The Shuttleworths lived in the country at Saddleworth, one hundred Kilometers north and later at three addresses in Adelaide, including with the Cotton parents.<sup>7</sup> Jane was fully occupied with domestic duties as their family increased with the arrival of seven further children.<sup>8</sup> During the 1850s Mr Shuttleworth had a spell at the Ballarat goldfields and thereafter he tried a variety of occupations.<sup>9</sup> In 1872 he was listed as a clerk in Hackney, which suggests that financial responsibilities towards his growing family may have posed an increasing strain.

With her husband proving inadequate as a breadwinner and with her family to educate, the resourceful Mrs Shuttleworth, now in her mid-forties, decided to open a school in their home in Kent-Terrace, Kent Town.<sup>10</sup> The rented house of twelve rooms was an attractive building, well set back from the road, with wide verandas, lattice work and a pleasant enclosed garden with double frontage to Kent Terrace and Magill Road.<sup>11</sup> The valuation of £70 suggests that the property was on not less than half an acre.<sup>12</sup> It was well sited opposite the important Methodist Church and near Prince Alfred College for boys, opened 1869, where Mrs Shuttleworth's brother, George Cotton, was an enthusiastic founder.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, his interest in education may have been a stimulus to his sister.<sup>14</sup> The *Register* of 7th January, 1873, stated on its first page,

*Young Ladies' College, Kent Terrace, Kent Town*

Conducted by Mrs Shuttleworth. First session Tuesday, 14th January, 1873. Vacancies for a few boarders.

Mrs Shuttleworth was a novice in the scholastic arena. Inadvertently, she had called her school by a similar name to the nearby Ladies' College, Grove House, run since 1869 by Miss Thwaites and she was publicly berated by Mr Thwaites senior.<sup>15</sup> The altercation must

---

7 In 1852 they lived in Walkerville with Jane's parents, in 1864 in Kent Town. *Biographical Index of South Australia*, p. 1485.

8 Charles Edwin, b. 1851 died 1874 in South Australia; Alice Jane 1854-1939; Eleanor Lydia 1859-1859; William Cotton 1859-1933; Henry Howard 1861-1880; Kate Eleanor 1863-1880; Charlotte 1865-1924.

9 These included land agent, brewer, merchant, proprietor of a city Wine and Spirit Company in 1866, traveller and clerk. Shuttleworth, *Family of Shuttleworth*, p. 13 and *Boothby's Almanacs*.

10 According to Council records, the house on Fullarton Road between Magill Road and Chapel Street, owned by architect Soward, was rented to Isaac Solomon in 1872 and later that year to C. E. Shuttleworth, clerk and traveller. It appears that the Shuttleworths moved to Kent Town not long before the opening of the school, presumably with that venture in mind.

11 Recalled by Lady Glover whose mother Mrs C. D. Anderson, née Scott, attended Hardwicke in 1883. Fragment, Raduntz Collection, an extensive aggregation of information concerning Hardwicke College, gathered by Mrs H. Raduntz in 1987 as a historical project for the Hartley College of Advanced Education. The Raduntz Collection is now housed in the St Peters Municipal Library.

12 Undated letter from D. Manning, City of Norwood Council. Raduntz Collection.

13 The Cotton family was involved with the College from its inception and Jane's brother, George, was one of the first secretaries. *Register*, 16th January, 1869, p. 1

14 George Cotton entered the debate concerning the higher education of women in Adelaide in the 1870s. See Chapter 3.

15 *Register*, 5th January, 1869, p. 1; *Register*, 12th January, 1873, p. 1

have been a challenge for Mrs Shuttleworth and a salient reminder of the polite yet competitive commercial climate which she had entered.

There is no direct evidence that Mrs Shuttleworth had previous experience of teaching outside her own domestic sphere. She may well have taught her own children, possibly with the help of a governess. Certainly she would have had valuable experience organising her large family with only meagre means. Her time in Saddleworth would have alerted her to the need which country parents had for a reliable school for completing the education of their girls, prompting the idea of taking boarders at Kent Town. Her first boarder was the daughter of missionaries in India, Annie Parsons of Nairne, who arrived in May, 1873. Soon she had plenty of companionship with girls from other parts of the colony and also from Willcannia and Bogan River, New South Wales.<sup>16</sup> By 1875, in addition to the family and living-in staff, Hardwicke had about thirty boarders who were helped by governesses and by Jane's widowed mother.<sup>17</sup>

The new school was well placed for day pupils. Situated on a main road out of the City leading to the growing middle class suburbs of Kensington, St Peters and Norwood, it was conveniently served by horse tram. Family networks and connections of both the Shuttleworths and Cottons helped the school.<sup>18</sup> Its proximity to the socially important Kent Town Church, where the family worshipped, and to the boys' College attracted prominent Methodist families, the Davies, Kingsboroughs, Pitts, Hobbs, Binks and Lathleans. Two significant citizens, Dr Wylde and Chas. Bonney Esq., J.P., gave references.<sup>19</sup> Mrs Shuttleworth was remembered as possessing a sweet disposition and an attractive and winning personality which must have been an asset in attracting parents to enrol their daughters.<sup>20</sup> A later photograph of her portrait reflects a strong yet pleasant face and kindly expression. An ex-pupil recalled her as 'a respected and cultured lady, loved by all'.<sup>21</sup>

Her school grew quickly. By 1879, there were sixty three pupils, all but two over ten years old. Mrs Shuttleworth concentrated on attracting pupils for more advanced studies, possibly as this suited her family requirements but also as she perceived a need to parallel the opportunity of Methodist education for boys at the newly established and nearby Prince

---

<sup>16</sup> Undated clipping, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>17</sup> Some boarders may have slept on verandahs. J. A. Tillett of Kensington claimed that his mother was employed as a housemaid by Mrs Shuttleworth and had made forty beds in 1875. Unidentified newspaper article, (dated c. 1946), Raduntz Collection.

<sup>18</sup> Samuel Cotton died in 1862 with the reputation of a highly honourable citizen and his son, G. W. Cotton, a well respected Methodist, became a prominent politician.

<sup>19</sup> 1879 prospectus, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>20</sup> Shuttleworth, *Shuttleworth Family*, p. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Recollection of Annie Parsons, the first boarder. Raduntz Collection.



Alfred College. The twenty nine pupils over fifteen may have been swelled by boarders sent to the city to 'finish'.

There were five general female teachers, who included Mrs Shuttleworth herself, the two Misses Rackstrow and governesses.<sup>22</sup> Governessing, with 'living in' responsibilities with boarders and learning to teach 'on the job', was an acceptable and economical method of training to join the staff.<sup>23</sup> Mrs Shuttleworth's daughter Alice and her niece, Emma Morcom, may have spent time thus before marriage.<sup>24</sup> Five visiting 'professors' Mr W.B. Chinner, music, Mr T.W. Lyons, class and solo singing, Monsieur Bircher, languages and art, and Mr E.J. Wivell, dancing and hygienic calisthenics and an unnamed professor of mathematics were 'in attendance'.<sup>25</sup>

Mrs Shuttleworth had set up the school in order to supplement the family income. Fee and separate book accounts, hand-written by her son Claude were sent out quarterly and receipted under the proprietor's hand. The 1879 prospectus gives details of Hardwicke fees.

Boarders	£38 per annum
Weekly boarders	£32
Day boarders	£22
Day pupils	£14
<b>Extras per quarter</b>	
Wax flowers, leather work etc.	£1.11.6
German	£1.11.6
Solo singing	£3.3
Calisthenics	10/6
Laundress	10/6 <sup>26</sup>

Day fees were comparable to those charged by St Peter's College but boarding fees were considerably lower, which suggests that her boarders may have undertaken some domestic duties themselves or that their accommodation, though adequate, was not exalted.<sup>27</sup> With

<sup>22</sup> The Misses Rackstrow advertised their own school in the City in 1875. *Register*, 15th January, 1875, p. 1. Memoir of Mr F.P. Mullins whose mother, Miss S. S. Adams, attended Hardwicke House. Fragments, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>23</sup> Adelaide girls' schools which took boarders advertised occasionally for live-in governesses from the 1860s. *Register*, 4th January, 1866, p. 2. Older pupils stayed at school when they had finished their education to help with household and school duties. Annie Parsons said that she stayed on at Hardwicke to learn 'on the job'. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>24</sup> Alice married the son of prominent Inspector Burgan and Emma married Mr Chinner, the music master whom she may have met while on governess' duties.

<sup>25</sup> *Register*, 17th January, 1880, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> 1879 prospectus, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>27</sup> Unlike the 1850s, fees were seldom advertised in the 1870s. In 1871, St Peter's College charged £14 for day pupils and £60 for boarders. *Register*, 12th January, 1871, p. 1. St Mary's Dominican Convent charged £12.12 in 1873 for tuition, £15 with accomplishments. *Register*, 11th January, 1873, p. 1. In 1879, The Advanced School charged £12.12 for day tuition when Hardwicke charged £14. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 90.

thirty boarding pupils, Mrs Shuttleworth would have annually received approximately £1200 and a further £400 from day girls. From this total she would pay individual annual salaries of no more than £150, less for women, so at least half of the school's income would be apportioned for these and the wages of domestic staff.<sup>28</sup> The 'Extra Fees' would pay for the special 'accomplishments' classes. Rates, food, and general living expenses would account for a large proportion of the remaining disposable capital. However, Mrs Shuttleworth and her family could enjoy a comfortable standard of living and the pleasure of a substantial house and tended garden throughout the year. There was enough to pay the fees at Prince Alfred College for sons William and Henry and to cover 'extra' family occasions.<sup>29</sup> The overall financial success of the school depended upon the number of paying pupils being maintained. Hence, the standing of the school was vital. As its reputation built up, the school population increased, warranting an expansion in accommodation. In 1874 a new schoolroom of generous proportions was built to complement the three smaller classrooms, causing an increase in property valuation to £75.<sup>30</sup>

A glimpse of the life of the boarders is given in the undated notes of Annie Parsons, the first boarder in 1873. She recalled that 'the boarders rose at 6 a.m. Also that 'Saturday mornings found us walking to the Botanic Gardens, returning in time for breakfast.' This was the measure of their exercise. Every year in the school garden Mrs Shuttleworth gave a party for her pupils to which she invited a few closely connected boys. A description of the occasion in the diary of contemporary S.W. Padman, brother of pupil Clara, states that although he was one of the few boys among eighty or so girls, 'they were good times'.<sup>31</sup> Mrs Shuttleworth wanted her boarders to have a happy school experience and treated them like an extension to her family.

Indeed, from the start, the school was a family concern. Even Mr Shuttleworth had his part to play.<sup>32</sup> He had a responsibility in the maintenance of school decorum, a vital component of the school's reputation among its clientele. Young Padman describes an occasion when he visited the boarders who were amusing themselves in the enclosed garden. He read some poetry with them, but was disturbed by Mr Shuttleworth who 'cleared him out and warned him off for behaviour quite contrary to discipline.' Few girls'

---

<sup>28</sup> Mrs Shuttleworth was quite a canny operator. A note to boarders' parents in 1878 reads, 'In consequence of the advanced rate of wages, a supplementary charge will be made for the washing of dresses and fancy Skirts.' Fragment, Scrapbook.

<sup>29</sup> The 1878 wedding of daughter Alice would have been an 'extra' expense.

<sup>30</sup> It measured 35' x 14.5' x 13'. The three class rooms were less spacious: Room 1, 16' x 15' x 12' Room 2, 13' x 9' x 10' Room 3, 22' x 15.5' x 13'. 1879 Statistical Return, Scrapbook.

<sup>31</sup> 'Reminiscences and Autobiographical Notes of S.W. Padman 1857 - 1932', held by his son, quoted in letter from M. Ragless, 25th July, 1976. Copy, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>32</sup> It appeared that he developed resolve and direction by taking the position of Sunday School Superintendent of the Kent Town Methodist Church where he worked unstintingly.

schools had this direct masculine support which could prove useful, especially when dealing with unwelcome behaviour of the opposite sex. However, whereas an honourable husband could be an asset, a dubious presence could detract from the expected high tone of the establishment.

According to the 1879 prospectus, the curriculum at Hardwicke comprised traditional subjects in the ladies' 'accomplishments curriculum' with instruction in English, French, Italian, drawing, music, class singing, and plain needlework. These combined with elements of an 'English curriculum', ancient and modern history, chronology, geography, (with use of globes), literature, writing and arithmetic. This range of subjects reflects the model of Melbourne's Presbyterian Ladies' College whose serious academic curriculum was designed 'to give girls the same education as their brothers received at the public schools for boys.'<sup>33</sup> The government return further illuminates details.<sup>34</sup> All pupils took reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, and drawing, with the vast majority, fifty six pupils, involved with music and singing. Fifty one pupils learned a foreign language (French, German or Italian) but Latin was studied by a lone student. Mathematics, developed from arithmetic and a requirement for the Primary public examination, was only taken by twenty four pupils. The subject was a significant departure from the orthodox 'ladies' curriculum' offered at some contemporary girls' schools.<sup>35</sup> It appears that not all girls over fourteen were prepared for this developing academic discipline. This comparatively small proportion of pupils may relate to the number of older boarders at Hardwicke who may have lacked the advantage of even elementary mathematics during sparse home tuition with a poorly educated governess. Three items were noted under the Industrial Occupation heading - leather work, wax flowers and embroidery. By choosing to list traditional lady-like accomplishments, in contrast to practical and utilitarian subjects like crochet, dressmaking or candle-making which might have been offered in less genteel schools, Mrs Shuttleworth reflected the relatively limited interpretation of the conception of 'industrial occupation' which she conceived as acceptable to her clientele.

With no legal requirement to submit her school to inspection, Mrs Shuttleworth invited prominent educationalists to view the school and to make public comment. At the end of the first year, *The Protestant Advocate*, a paper of some standing in Methodist circles, reported that Dr Wyatt, Chief Inspector of Schools, had expressed his approval of the manner in which Hardwicke House was conducted and his satisfaction at the progress made by the

---

<sup>33</sup> Fitzpatrick, *P.L.C., Melbourne*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>34</sup> 1879 Statistical Return, Scrapbook.

<sup>35</sup> A typical 'ladies' curriculum' advertisement read 'The Misses Sheridan's classes will resume on Monday, January 15th. 1877. English, Drawing, Music, Languages. Mackinnon Parade, North Adelaide.' *Register*, 8th January, 1877, p. 1.

pupils.<sup>36</sup> In his opinion, 'the young ladies exhibited a knowledge which could only have been the result of great application on their part and of unflagging labour on the part of their instructresses. In addition, the specimens of drawing and writing were also very good and deserved commendation.' This was soon followed by accolades from Mr Chapple, Headmaster of Prince Alfred College, who acknowledged 'the care and attention which Mrs Shuttleworth bestowed on her charges.' Praise of Mrs Shuttleworth continued, 'She is evidently a painstaking and thoroughly competent instructress, hence the rapid progress made by her pupils.'<sup>37</sup> Public endorsement of this type from eminent male educationists would prove a valuable means of attracting pupils of the correct calibre to the school.

From the first, Mrs Shuttleworth was keen to display the talents of her many musical pupils. They gave annual concerts in their own schoolroom or in White's or Garner's Rooms in the City.<sup>38</sup> Formal invitations from Mrs Shuttleworth were issued and written replies requested. Son Claude, then in his thirties, helped to organise these evenings where attention to detail was paramount.<sup>39</sup> The girls' carefully nurtured accomplishments were displayed via piano music, instrumental duets, choruses and solos. In keeping with the modesty required of the Victorian young lady, names of the artistes were not published, which also confirmed the belief that girls should share their talents without reward. A *Reverie Musicale* 'Hubert's Dream' with elocution by Mr Whinham finished the elaborate programme in 1876 before Prize giving and 'God Save the Queen' with carriages at 10.30 p.m.<sup>40</sup> These and similar occasions were well publicised and brought a measure of social prestige to the school, especially as the Mayor of Adelaide, Mr L. Smith or the Hon. George Cotton Esq., M.P., presided, and full accounts later appeared in the press.<sup>41</sup>

These occasions were always used as fund-raisers to help needy charities and organisations as Mrs Shuttleworth was convinced that the girls had a responsibility towards the less fortunate.<sup>42</sup> Continuing the Victorian tradition of womanly 'good works' which reflected her own upbringing of Christian and social concern, she also encouraged the sewing of pillowcases for hospitals and knitting for the poor. The Headmistress endeavoured to put into practice her choice of school motto 'Non scholae sed vitae discimus' - 'We learn not for school but for Life'.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> *The Protestant Advocate*, 27th December, 1873. Cutting, Scrapbook.

<sup>37</sup> Scrapbook fragment, untraced in either *Register* or *Advertiser*.

<sup>38</sup> Public Assembly Rooms, off King William Street in the City.

<sup>39</sup> Lists of details concerning protocol for Entertainments were carefully preserved by Claude. Scrapbook.

<sup>40</sup> Headmaster of Mr Whinham's Grammar School, North Adelaide, renowned for his interest in theatricals.

<sup>41</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1876, p. 4.

<sup>42</sup> The school helped the Children's Hospital, the Home for Incurables, The Indian Famine Relief Fund of 1877, the Strangers' Friends' Society.

<sup>43</sup> Taken from Smith's *Principia Latina* Pt IV Fol. 41. This motto was also used by the Adelaide Girls' High School, the successor to the Advanced School for Girls.

In a remarkable achievement, only six years after inception of the University and in the first year of the Primary examinations, pupils from Mrs Shuttleworth's School appeared on the lists of successes. Three Honours places of the ten girls who were candidates at this level were gained in 1878 by her pupils. Five names appeared in the First Class. These included Maria Trevison Pitt in third place, with credits in Mathematics and Physical Geography and a pass in French. The Second Class included Charlotte Dobbs with the same subjects and a credit in French. Lydia Lathlean's name appears in the Third Class also with French credit.<sup>44</sup> The names of Mrs Shuttleworth's scholars were found in the same list as Edith Emily Dornwell of the State Central Model School, Grote Street with Second Class, who later became the first woman graduate in Science from an Australian university.<sup>45</sup>

The school's initial academic achievement must have brought great joy and credit, confirming its scholarly intent and academic rigour. Monsieur Bircher had demonstrated effectiveness in the tuition of his native tongue and the visiting mathematics master proved that a girl was capable of work of quality in his discipline. The girls and staff were proficient enough for greater things. Buoyed with confidence, Mrs Shuttleworth advertised that 'from that year a class would be prepared for the Matriculation Examinations of December next.'<sup>46</sup> She realised the value of giving her girls the option of academic scope and undertook the challenge at the first available opportunity, preparing a candidate for the 1882 Matriculation.

The initial Adelaide Matriculation examinations set in September, 1876 showed ten passes, all male. However, masculine academic supremacy was short lived as in the next year the lists included the name of the first girl to pass, Edith Agnes Cook, from the Pupil Teacher's School.<sup>47</sup> Hardwicke girls were also prominent in challenging the monopoly of academic success which was clearly assumed in the boys' schools.<sup>48</sup> The Primary in 1879 included the names of Hardwicke pupils, Sarah Sophia Adams and Charlotte Wright, two of only eight girls mentioned in the lists.<sup>49</sup> Hardwicke's academic achievements continued annually, enhancing its reputation as a school which gave opportunity for clever girls to

---

<sup>44</sup> One girl from Mrs Martin's School in Hackney and six girls from the government Grote Street School made up the 1878 Primary successes. See Chapter 3.

<sup>45</sup> She subsequently won a bursary in 1879 to study at the Advanced School, Matriculated in 1882, entering the University where she had a distinguished academic career.

<sup>46</sup> *Register*, 19th January, 1878, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup> Miss Cook passed Matriculation, First Class, and subsequently became first Headmistress of the Advanced School for Girls in 1879. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 80.

<sup>48</sup> Prince Alfred College was the leading academic school followed by Mr Whinham's and St Peter's College.

<sup>49</sup> Charlotte Wright later joined the Advanced School for Matriculation and subsequently became the first woman B.A. graduate from the University of Adelaide in 1888. Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 216.

further their studies. Further, in 1879, Mr Hartley, newly appointed Inspector-General of Education presented prizes to outstanding winners of papers which he had examined in open competition.<sup>50</sup> Six prizes were awarded in all, three of which went to pupils at Mrs Shuttleworth's. The year 1880 was lean in public examinations but the next proved to be exceptional.

In 1881 a scholar from Mrs Shuttleworth's gained the top position in the colony in the Primary. The three Adams girls, Sarah Sophia, Anna Maria and Barbara, daughters of an Irish migrant policeman who valued education, lived in Gilbert Street in the City.<sup>51</sup> In preference to closer schools, the sisters were attracted to Hardwicke by its growing reputation for a well-balanced and challenging education. Sarah had the distinction of winning a Minister of Education Exhibition for Girls in 1880 from Mrs Shuttleworth's School.<sup>52</sup> She topped First Class Honours in the 1881 Primary in front of her sister Anna who headed Third Class.<sup>53</sup> Taking advantage of Mrs Shuttleworth's promise to offer a Matriculation Class, in 1882 Sarah became only the fourth girl in the colony to reach Matriculation standard which she achieved at First Class level. Within ten years, Mrs Shuttleworth's school had demonstrated the academic excellence to which she aspired.

It is of interest to trace the later history of girls who were influenced by this change of educational emphasis exemplified at Mrs Shuttleworth's. As well as academic achievements, Sarah Adams was a talented musician, winning prizes for theory and practice.<sup>54</sup> She progressed to study music at the University, though she did not attempt to graduate. Maintaining this interest, she started an elementary school with her sisters in their house in Gilbert Street. By 1886 they had four classes, offering drawing and music in addition to a basic curriculum, reciprocating the traditional pattern which they had learned at Hardwicke.<sup>55</sup> The sound education received at Mrs Shuttleworth's, including the fostered love of music, gave the Adams girls a creative framework round which to further their talents. Encouraged in their early days by both family and school, the sisters subsequently lived rich and varied lives.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Little detail of the competition is in the unnamed newspaper article. The other winners came from Model schools, so it would appear to be limited to younger pupils. Scrapbook.

<sup>51</sup> Mr Adams was Catholic while his wife was a more highly born Protestant, a possible reason for immigration and explanation of Mrs Adam's wish to send her daughters to the genteel Hardwicke. 1977 interview Mr M. Mullins of Adams family. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>52</sup> Only six Exhibitions were awarded annually from 1879. A Hardwicke girl achieved this competitive Honour in 1879 and in 1880. Scrapbook.

<sup>53</sup> Classmate Blanche Brown also gained a Third. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1882, p. civ.

<sup>54</sup> Unnamed cutting. Scrapbook.

<sup>55</sup> The 1890 school concert suggests a thriving and well attended school. Programme, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>56</sup> The Adams' school closed in 1892 with the marriage of Anna, who was soon widowed. She was an outspoken artist, who in the early 1900s was licensee of the Wymouth hotel, moving in 1910 to live with her sister Barbara. They were interested in politics and were founder members of the Alberton Women's Liberal Club. Sarah married in 1889 and raised five musical sons. Adams Memoir, Raduntz Collection.

Fellow pupils of the Adams girls were the Adamson sisters, Lydia and Claudia, daughters of an inventive agricultural engineer who had a profound belief in the importance of education.<sup>57</sup> There is no record of Lydia winning prizes at Hardwicke or of her having passed public examinations, but from 1882 she gained practical experience of teaching in a variety of schools. In contrast to the more traditional path of the Adams sisters, she appears to have been particularly interested in developing the intellectual abilities of older girls. In the family home from 1885 Miss Adamson advertised her own school, Downshire House, later the Kensington School for Girls, which catered for the growing interest in a serious education for girls.<sup>58</sup> Lydia Adamson is recorded as being the first candidate to sit and pass the Higher Public Examination in the Theory and History of Education at the University in 1888.<sup>59</sup> Known as a cultivated, well read woman with broad sympathies and interests, Miss Adamson opened the Malvern Collegiate School for Girls in 1893. From its inception the school offered University examinations and quickly flourished, growing to fifty pupils who demonstrated success in scholarship, music and art.<sup>60</sup> Surviving Miss Adamson's death in 1912, the school grew to celebrate its centenary as Walford School. Building on her family's interests, Miss Adamson is an example of a pupil who took advantage of the opportunities of the liberal education which Mrs Shuttleworth provided and developed them to improve the learning and ultimately the career options of generations of young women.<sup>61</sup>

1880 was not a good year in the life of the Shuttleworth family as Kate, aged seventeen, and Henry, aged nineteen, died of consumption. Fatal illness was an unfortunate factor in everyday life, accepted as an unwelcome occurrence to be borne with fortitude and faith.<sup>62</sup> This infectious disease spreads easily in crowded conditions. At Hardwicke, individual space in the twelve roomed house was at a premium, so Mrs Shuttleworth must have been concerned that this misfortune might damage the school's reputation for good health. Now aged fifty eight, Mrs Shuttleworth herself was sick in 1881. Nevertheless, in January 1882 she advertised that at the request of parents, a Preparatory school and Kindergarten would commence under an efficient governess, suggesting undiminished interest and confidence.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Robert Adamson, Ben Evans and Julie Evans, *Dunfermline to Down Under*, (Adelaide: Robert Adamson, Ben Evans and Julie Evans, 1994), p. 158. *Walford*, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Mrs Shuttleworth presented Speech Day prizes and spoke warmly of Miss Adamson's achievements. *Register*, 24th December, 1888, p. 7.

<sup>59</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1889, p. cclii.

<sup>60</sup> In 1906 two former pupils graduated with Honours classics degrees. *Walford*, p. 28.

<sup>61</sup> The school of over 650 girls, now named Walford Anglican School for Girls, celebrated its centenary in 1993. It could be argued that Mrs Shuttleworth's influence, transmitted via Miss Adamson and the tradition which she engendered at the school, has been instrumental in guiding many thousands of South Australia's young women.

<sup>62</sup> Obituary notices, Scrapbook.

<sup>63</sup> *Register*, 5th January, 1882, p. 1. She was careful to add that the Lower and Upper parts of the school would be kept separate.

However, three months later the regular advertisement for Hardwicke House stated that from April 3rd the now styled 'Collegiate School' would be conducted by Mrs Tilly, and the Misses Tilly, successors to Mrs Shuttleworth.

Mrs Shuttleworth, with the help of her family, ran Hardwicke House as a successful concern for ten years until her retirement in 1882. She laid the foundations of the enterprise, forging its reputation as an academic school which gave scope for music studies and the development of a social conscience. She had reason to be proud of her achievement. Building on the strong contemporary interest in girls' education, her aim of giving girls a chance to develop their academic and personal potential was realised. In public examinations her pupils demonstrated that scholastic opportunities and academic rigour required at Hardwicke approached those available to their brothers and that chances of their individual success were as great, if not greater. Yet there were ambiguities. Mrs Shuttleworth, like the pioneering English Headmistresses, met the contradiction of 'double conformity', having to accept the male academic curriculum yet keep the rigid codes of ladylike behaviour.<sup>64</sup> However, successful negotiation of these limits ensured that the educational aims of Melbourne's Presbyterian Ladies' College and of the Advanced School in Adelaide, both well staffed and substantial, were mirrored in a smaller and more intimate family setting. Mrs Shuttleworth created a distinct school community, a centre of learning and culture of worth and substance whose good name was paramount in Adelaide and beyond. Without the benefit of higher education or specific training, as a response to the challenge of an inadequate husband and the resulting curtailing of opportunity for her family, Mrs Shuttleworth ensured that her children and her pupils received the type of education which she planned for them, beyond that which she herself received. She gave them a chance to make their way in the world and by doing so 'placed her thumbprint' on the school which she founded and on the dynasty which she helped to nurture.<sup>65</sup> The Shuttleworths moved to a three acre block nearby where they built a fine house and enjoyed the rewards of their labour until 1892 when Claude Senior died. Jane lived until 1910.

The reputation of Hardwicke House as a school where serious education was appreciated and intellectual challenge was welcomed attracted the attention of two sisters, the Misses Tilly, who came to join their family - parents, two brothers and a sister - who had emigrated to South Australia in the late 1870s.<sup>66</sup> They were fresh from an abortive visit to New

---

<sup>64</sup> Purvis, *A History of Women's Education*, p. 76; Also M. Theobald, 'The P.L.C. Mystique: Reflections on the Reform of Female Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 92, April, 1989, pp. 243-259; Delamont and Duffin eds., *The Nineteenth-Century Woman*, pp. 134-163.

<sup>65</sup> Shuttleworth, *Shuttleworth Family*, p. 19.

<sup>66</sup> The spelling of Tilly is written as Tilley in early newspapers but this may have been an error on the part of the journalist. The form Tilly will be used in this thesis. Birth years of the Tilly family were: Lucy



Zealand where they did not find a congenial educational climate and were drawn to Adelaide whose reputation and opportunities of an enlightened approach to the education of girls had been carefully considered.<sup>67</sup> The sisters may have been attracted to Hardwicke, a leading privately owned academic establishment for girls, because of its emphasis on music and developing a social conscience which fitted their educational and social ideals.

The Tillys were probably the first women to arrive in South Australia with acknowledged educational qualifications. As their family was interested in the reformist ideas of Bentham and Mill, they were given the opportunity of an education to foster personal development at private girls' schools in the south of England.<sup>68</sup> From there, Miss Lucy sat the Associate Examination set by the English College of Preceptors in December 1875, gaining Honours in English Subjects.<sup>69</sup> Miss Florence sat one year later and won Special Certificates in Scripture, French and in Political Economy, an unusual interest for a girl of her time. In addition, they acquired external Cambridge Senior Certificates and 'Continental French and German experience'.<sup>70</sup> Miss Lucy visited leading English and Continental colleges to study the best methods of tuition and taught in one of the larger English Schools.<sup>71</sup> Her experience there gave her a taste for hard work and developed ambition. As a professional with superior qualifications, she dreamed of setting up her own school.

When Mrs Shuttleworth retired at the start of the second term 1882 the Tilly family purchased the goodwill of Hardwicke House.<sup>72</sup> Even though Mr Tilly had previous educational experience in England, in Adelaide he took up duties as a professional photographer.<sup>73</sup> Presumably, he attended to inaugural financial arrangements. Initial advertisements state that Mrs Tilly, assisted by her well-qualified daughters, was the proprietor which suggests that the Tillys thought their daughters were too young to attract suitable clientele as Principals. Lucy (known as Miss Tilly) was twenty six and Florence (Miss Florence) was twenty four so the name of a mature matron added confidence, even

---

Agnes, 1857; Florence Mary, 1859; Henry Martin, 1862; Marian, 1866 and Arthur Lindsay, 1869. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Miss Tilly, *Australasian Christian World*, 22nd July, 1898. Cutting, Raduntz collection.

<sup>68</sup> Lucy attended Miss Miall's School, Darwin House, Buckhurst Hill, Essex as a boarder and Florence was a day pupil at Miss Hollier's School, St Bernard's, Southsea. Letter, J. Vincent Chapman, College of Preceptors, to Mrs H. Raduntz, 4th January, 1980. Raduntz collection.

<sup>69</sup> Miss Florence won 1st Prize in English and Scripture History, 2nd prize in History with Special Certificates in Geography, Euclid and French. Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Later college advertisements proudly relayed full information concerning their superior educational qualifications.

<sup>71</sup> *Australasian Christian World*, 22nd July, 1898. The school is unnamed in this interview, but Miss Tilly's preparation of a 'high number of candidates for Cambridge examinations' would suggest a well established High School like The North London Collegiate School.

<sup>72</sup> *Register*, 18th March, 1882, p. 2. No farewell to Mrs Shuttleworth could be traced.

<sup>73</sup> Mr Tilly was a photographer in Kent Town and Norwood in 1883-4. He may also have played some role at the school as he had been Headmaster of a boys' school in England.

though she had no proven knowledge of education.<sup>74</sup> Mr Tilly's educational experience would have added a steady, mediating influence. For over a year the Tilley's continued to use the familiar name and environs of the school on Kent Terrace, advertising that the lower school would be taught on the Kindergarten system, which suggests that the numbers of younger pupils on the roll had increased.<sup>75</sup>

But Miss Lucy had dreamed of a more prestigious educational enterprise. Building on the already distinguished reputation of the school, she planned for a College, similar to those she knew in England which would match the prestigious Adelaide boys' foundations, where she could control the reins. With his specialised experience of schools gained while a headmaster in England, Mr Tilly helped to design a new building, the first private girls' school in Adelaide to be specifically built for educational purposes.<sup>76</sup> It maintained a domestic nature yet forged a path of efficiency, incorporating up to date ideas on specialist teaching rooms, high ceilings, light, air and flexibility. Set in pleasant leafy surroundings of the established area of East Adelaide, with virgin blocks nearby for future development by families who might use the school, a local Glen Osmond hard bluestone was chosen, with red brick quoins and other dressings.<sup>77</sup> Special attention was given to ventilation and the walls were of sufficient thickness to moderate extremes of temperature. The two storey building was cleverly designed to incorporate teaching on the ground floor with three large schoolrooms which could be thrown open to make a seventy foot long concert area, in addition to six individual music rooms.<sup>78</sup> Three sides of the lower floor enclosed a grassed play area with ample additional recreation space, garden, animals and stables beyond. Sleeping arrangements for boarders and the Tilly family were above in twenty bedrooms augmented by additional balcony accommodation.<sup>79</sup> There were bathrooms with deep drainage and a tower with a flag which announced that the Tillys were in residence. The building gave the impression of permanence, taste and distinction, qualities which were soon reflected in the daily round of the prestigious first girls' collegiate institution of the colony. Its cost was £4000 so the necessary bank loan made it essential that all members of the Tilly family call on their reserves of self confidence and industry to ensure the success of the enterprise.

---

<sup>74</sup> Reports in the later 1890s still name Mrs Tilly as Principal, possibly to recognise that family money was initially used to set up the collegiate venture. A similar nomenclature was found at Cheltenham Ladies' College in 1854 where the first Principal, Miss Anne Proctor was officially Lady Vice-Principal and her mother, an army widow, Lady Principal, although the daughter was the real head of the College. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl*, p. 91.

<sup>75</sup> *Register*, 17th July, 1872, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> Article in *Frearson's Monthly Illustrated Adelaide News*, February, 1884, p. 19. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>77</sup> East Adelaide was subdivided into St Peters from 1877. The exact address of the College was 6, Third Avenue, St Peters. Warburton, *St Peters*, p. 79.

<sup>78</sup> The dimensions could reach 70' x 16' x 14'. Personal measurement taken during visit, August, 1993.

<sup>79</sup> At a later unknown date some bedrooms were altered to make a large stage performance area.

From its inception the college was indeed a family concern. Now in his early fifties, Mr Tilly was valuable in carrying out the responsibilities which by convention were reserved for men. Concurring with Victorian ideals of feminine modesty and self deprecation, the custom of the day allowed ladies to run schools which moulded the future citizens of the community, but did not condone them speaking in public. Accordingly, he graciously accepted the accolades of the prominent gentlemen at the opening ceremony of the college in December, 1883.<sup>80</sup> His overall role at the college is not documented but he was interested in and supportive of the enterprise. Artistically inclined Marian served initially as a governess and art teacher. Brother Henry also lived at the school, though he suffered from a disability which limited his contribution.<sup>81</sup>

The Tillys were a strongly committed Methodist family who daily modelled their faith so the college reflected their concern for positive Christian living. Every class had Scripture daily with their classtaker and a host of local visiting clerics gave additional emphasis in older classes.<sup>82</sup> Boarders had grace before meals following the recitation of a Bible reading, morning and evening prayers and Scripture with Miss Tilly each Sunday.<sup>83</sup> The enveloping emphasis of the school was to prepare students 'to fight life's evils with the sword of the spirit' and girls leaving Hardwicke were reminded to be 'loyal to Christ and a blessing to their fellows.'<sup>84</sup> Each year the college adopted a biblical sentence as a motto and Speech Days started with a Thanksgiving for blessings received.<sup>85</sup> Visiting clergy attended to lecture about the Mission Field.<sup>86</sup> Methodist groups for young people, the Christian Union and Christian Endeavour helped girls in their personal spiritual growth and the development of a constructive social conscience.<sup>87</sup> Girls were also encouraged to sit the Methodist Sunday School examinations where they were prominent on the lists of successes which led to their natural progression as Sunday School teachers in adult life.<sup>88</sup> Christian service to others was continually in the forefront of the college's philosophy and was demonstrated by

---

<sup>80</sup> These included three members of the Legislative Council, three Methodist ministers and education leaders. The Tillys appreciated the necessity of holding high profile reported public occasions. *Register*, 20th December, 1883, p. 1 (Supplement).

<sup>81</sup> After a successful school career he contacted 'brain fever', probably meningitis, which left him with an unfortunate manner and a peculiar gait. Later, pupils ungenerously called him 'silly Harry'.

<sup>82</sup> 1880s Speech Day Reports included information of visits from Methodist ministers.

<sup>83</sup> *Hardwicke College Review*, No. 20, 1889, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1889, p. 7.

<sup>85</sup> For instance, 'God is Light' in 1895; 'The joy of the Lord is your strength' in 1899. Speech Day Reports, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>86</sup> Miss Tilly invited 'every missionary on furlough in Adelaide to address the girls - from China, Labrador, Papua, from remote Spitzbergen and a lady doctor from Bombay.' Churchward, in Macdonald, ed., *In Paths Divided*, p. 116.

<sup>87</sup> Speech Day Reports, including 19th December, 1893; 18th December, 1894.

<sup>88</sup> Diaries of Anne Raglass (Padman), 1875-6 and J. Tait (Percival), 1900-02. Raduntz Collection.

charitable works in gifts of money, in sewing for the needy and in service via music.<sup>89</sup> The college was ecumenical, accepting girls of all Christian traditions. Neither did it show racial discrimination as Lily May Lee, a half Chinese girl, was accepted at a time when this was unusual.<sup>90</sup> The Misses Tilly made no secret that they encouraged girls in the highest moral standards. They did not accept untruthfulness or lack of moral courage. They were training character, moulding their girls as reliable citizens and homemakers responsible for future generations. But they were no prudes.<sup>91</sup> Although serious in intent, their college was a happy and joyous experience for the many pupils who often travelled from far to attend what was reputed to be the premier private girls' school in the colony.<sup>92</sup>

The newly named Hardwicke College started auspiciously with Mrs Shuttleworth's blessing.<sup>93</sup> Her politician brother spoke at length, demonstrating that the enterprise was evidence of the 'way in which ladies courageously threw themselves into a work much less thought of when it was commenced than now.' In applauding the gathering influence and prominence given to education, especially the increasing opportunities for girls which had been encouraged by the example of his sister, he hoped that the curriculum of the public examinations would become standard among girls' schools.<sup>94</sup> The Tillys used every opportunity to advance their cause of promoting higher education for girls.

With a distinctive and increased religious tone to the school, the Tillys continued to stress Hardwicke's positive educational ideas, upholding excellence in academic standards. They promoted an enjoyable liberal education in order to inspire and stimulate girls into further academic interests when they left their charge.<sup>95</sup> In addition to English subjects, languages (French and German), mathematics (arithmetic, with Euclid and algebra for the senior pupils) and science (physiology and botany) were offered. In keeping with their liberal educational philosophy they included music and art as compulsory subjects in the curriculum. This development was a distinct departure from the majority of contemporary schools where they were treated as special 'extra' subjects, hence an assured source of extra school income in the manner of the 'accomplishments curriculum'.

---

<sup>89</sup> A particular interest was the Indian Mission field, especially the Home in Mysore. Speech Days were always held in aid of a worthy concern of the College. Boarders sewed garments for the Missions while a governess read to them. *Hardwicke College Review*, No. 14, September, 1888, p. 2.

<sup>90</sup> Recollection of Old Scholar. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Old Scholar Mrs Percival (née Tait) October, 1977. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>92</sup> Day girls travelled from as far as Port Adelaide while a few boarders attended from Western Australia and missionaries' children came from Muaritus and India. 1899 Prospectus. The length and detail of annual Speech Day Reports give valuable insight into the relative contribution of schools. In the 1880s Hardwicke had easily the most comprehensive girls' Reports, rivalling the premier boys' schools in educational opportunity and achievement.

<sup>93</sup> Undated article in Scrapbook, possibly *The Advertiser*, 20th December, 1883.

<sup>94</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1883, p. 1 (Supplement).

<sup>95</sup> Speech Day Report, 14th December, 1896; Interview, *Australasian Christian World*, 22nd July, 1898.

The Tillys demonstrated a commonsense path in their pedagogy. For instance, in 1885 the study of physiology was discontinued because basic subjects were below standard and needed extra attention.<sup>96</sup> Understanding and ease in use of language were seen as important and every girl from first to fifth form learned French and all but eleven German.<sup>97</sup> A positive pride in high achievement was rewarded. Unlike less rigorous schools, Hardwicke held weekly tests giving certificates to pupils with consistently high standards. Class prizes and special subject prizes, often donated by their teachers, were generously awarded at Speech Day. Although their overarching standards were those set in the University examinations, these were regarded as 'an incentive to talented scholars and a check to those of average ability.'<sup>98</sup> Examinations were by nature competitive, a concept which needed careful consideration.

Differing stances towards competition were demonstrated by two of the prominent contemporary English girls' schools. Miss Buss, Headmistress of the North London Collegiate, fostered a competitive thrust in academic work, in music and the growing interest in girls' sport. She believed that the competitive edge gave stimulus and focus, challenging competitors to ever increasing comparative heights.<sup>99</sup> To ensure that the girls' curriculum and achievements were not seen as inferior, Miss Buss intended that her pupils sit the same competitive public examinations as boys, thereby reiterating the stance adopted by Emily Davies and other progressive English educators.<sup>100</sup> At Cheltenham Ladies' College Miss Beale was more cautious, recognising that intense competition could spawn jealousy, spite and cheating, which mediated against the College's accepted Christian principles, particularly community love and support.<sup>101</sup> The Misses Tilly faced the same dilemma. Intense competition ran counter to their Christian principles of co-operation and mutual help. But they themselves had set up a college which they planned to be the best. They recognised that the academic arena was competitive, not only between schools and their potential pupils, but increasingly between girls and boys. Thus, they were forced to accommodate competition similar to that found in the boys' schools in order to give their girls optimum chance in the public eye. Accordingly, they determined 'to enter no names for the Primary without Mathematics and no Matriculation candidates without Latin',

---

<sup>96</sup> These included history, geography and grammar. *Register*, 21st December, 1885, p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1888, p. 7.

<sup>99</sup> Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 43.

<sup>100</sup> Purvis, *A History of Women's Education*, pp. 78, 114.

<sup>101</sup> Raikes, *Dorothea Beale*, p. 147. Having opposed their entry at first, Miss Beale rejoiced in her girls' success in examinations. Beale, *History of Cheltenham*, pp. 44, 102-104, quoted in Pedersen, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses', p. 160.

proving their intent to prepare girls with a proper academic background which would stand them in good stead in future intellectual challenges.<sup>102</sup>

The Principals offered 'interesting academic opportunities beyond the routine of lower classes', but they also stressed that they prepared girls for competitive academic examinations if parents so wished.<sup>103</sup> However, the prominence of Hardwicke's results in the early 1880s gradually ceased as more girls from a variety of schools reached similar standards.<sup>104</sup> Hardwicke was a small academic community of no more than one hundred and twenty five, so the numbers who stayed for Matriculation could not be expected to be great.<sup>105</sup> The Advanced School for Girls had larger and more dependable pupil numbers which enabled it to maintain consistent examination pre-eminence. Its superior academic thrust secured the best trained staff who produced results which outstripped privately owned competitors. They also seriously challenged the established boys' schools, which helped to dispel notions that girls were by nature intellectually inferior.

Table V shows the Hardwicke examination position. Although overall academic soundness is illustrated, proportionately the results do not confirm the prominence of the early Shuttleworth years. In a South Australian climate which promoted enhanced educational opportunities for middle class girls, it is somewhat surprising that examination candidature was not taken up by more than a few clever pupils.<sup>106</sup> Even though the college gave a sound academic foundation and scholastic opportunity was there for eager scholars, it appears that Miss Tilly did not expect all girls to sit public examinations. The small candidature may illuminate a prominence of boarders who were sent to Hardwicke for social 'finish' and a general liberal education, rather than for specifically academic reasons. This contrasts with the thrust from similar parents only ten years later who keenly supported the opening of the Methodist Ladies' College, which included in its charter a specific mission to prepare girls for University entrance.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1885, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> 'Special courses may be arranged for any student.' Advertisement, *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, Vol. X, No. 99, 5th November, 1897, p. 1; 'Pupils are allowed, if they desire it, to take up the University course, the Art and Music course or the Business course.' *Directory of South Australia*, 1903, p. 460.

<sup>104</sup> Included in early successes were girls from Miss Vivian's, Mrs Kelsey's, Madame Marvel's, Mrs Bickford's, Miss Martin's, Miss Aldersey's, and Collegiate schools in Semaphore and Glenelg. *University of Adelaide Calendars*, 1878-1888.

<sup>105</sup> The roll on the opening day of the Tilly's College in 1883 was 121, including 40 boarders. Some Old Scholars also participated in certain classes, particularly in Music.

<sup>106</sup> For instance, girls who took examinations included in 1887 Edith Haycroft, daughter of a metallurgical chemist, in 1888 Charlotte Müller, daughter of the German owner of the Maid and Magpie Hotel and the Newman girls from Parkside.

<sup>107</sup> It may be argued that the college was conceived after the effects of the women's franchise had started to influence popular perception towards the importance of extended education for women.

**Table V**

**Hardwicke Public Examinations 1880 - 1900**

	No	Higher	No	Matric\SeniorPub	No	Junior Public
1884			1	1En 1Gm*		
1885					2	2Fr 1Gm.2Ma
1886					1	1En*
1887			1	1En 1Fr 1La.1Ma		
1888	1	1Th. of Ed	1	1En.1Fr 1La.1Bo.	1	1Fr.1Gm.1La.1Bo
1889			2	2En** 2Fr 2Bo 2P		
1890			1	1Fr.1Gm.1Bo 1P	1	1Fr., 1Gm. 1Ma
1891			1	1 Ma	1	1 Fr 1Ma 1Sc
1892			2	2En* 2Fr, 2Ma 2Bo 1P	3	2Fr 2Gm 2Ma 3Bo 3P*
1893			1	1En* 1El* 1Bo 1P* 1G	5	3Fr 4Gm* 5Bo 5P**
1894			3	3En 1Fr 3Bo 2P 1G	5	1Fr 4Ma 4Bo 3P 4G
1895			2	2En 1Fr 2Bo 2P 1G	5	4Fr 2Bo 2P 5G
1896	4	1Eg 1Fr 1P 1M	2	2En 2Fr 2G	2	2En 2Fr 2Gm 2Bo
1897			2	2En 2El 1Fr	3	3Bo* 3P*
1898			1	1El	2	2Sc*
1899			2	2En 1Fr	3	1Fr* 2Sc**
1900			3	1En 1El 3Fr	1	1En 1Fr 1Bo 1P 1G

**Source:** *University of Adelaide Calendars, 1884 - 1900.*

**Key:** No: Number of candidates achieving certificates

**Subjects:** En: English; El: English Literature; Fr: French; Gm: German; La: Latin; Ma: Mathematics(Euclid and Algebra); Bo: Botany; P: Physiology; G: Geography; Sc: Science; Th and H of Ed.: Theory and History of Education; M: Music

\* Individual Credits

When the Preliminary, a general examination for candidates of about thirteen years, was introduced in 1889 the Tillys were uneasy about its potential of dominating the curriculum throughout the college. They wished to retain the formation of creativity in these years and to minimise the constricted syllabus and rote learning which they considered was a consequence of the controlled examination system. At the 1898 Speech Day Miss Tilly stated that the preliminary course of study 'implies the beginning, not by any means the

completion of a liberal education.’<sup>108</sup> They were pleased when it was terminated in 1901 following a review of examination requirements.<sup>109</sup>

In summary, Hardwicke appeared to maintain a balanced and common-sense approach to the examination arena, which was often a subject of comment at Speech Days. Presiding in 1892, Reverend R.S. Casely thought that Miss Tilly had ‘struck the happy medium’.<sup>110</sup> The college did not deter pupils from entering academic examinations, but their place and effect was kept under constant consideration and in proportion to other college activities. Examinations took a legitimate but reasonable place in the priorities of a liberal education.

The Misses Tilly did not allow their own intellectual training to restrict the college’s appreciation of modern knowledge, as exemplified in their early approach to science.<sup>111</sup> In contrast to boys’ schools where special areas were developed for physics and chemistry from the 1880s, girls’ schools devoted specialist rooms to music and art.<sup>112</sup> Thus, although Hardwicke was among the South Australian pioneers of a structured scientific education for girls, it could only offer physiology and botany which did not require specialist areas. Learning about the body via a skeleton and personal observation of bodily behaviours was a natural interest of growing girls, especially as a precursor of the future role of child bearing. Botany was taught as an adjunct to art, but senior classes undertook expeditions to the Hills where the classification of specimens became an important exercise in systematic scientific method.<sup>113</sup> In addition, Miss Tilly organised knowledgeable visitors to the school to expand the girls’ spirit of inquiry in other scientific areas.<sup>114</sup> Although these were but glimpses into scientific fields, they helped to stimulate curiosity and extend vision.<sup>115</sup> Overall, however, the girls lacked the systematic training of scientific method from specialist teachers to which some of their brothers had access and thus were disadvantaged in their science studies at the University. The Hardwicke Principals at least demonstrated an interest in understanding

---

<sup>108</sup> Unpublished Speech Day Report, 13th December, 1898, p. 3.

<sup>109</sup> Unpublished Speech Day Report, 13th December, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>110</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1892, p. 2 (Supplement).

<sup>111</sup> ‘The cult of Science was maintained in British magazines of the later nineteenth century’. Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship*, quoted in L. Birke, W. Faulkner, S. Best, D. Janson-Smith., K. Overfield, eds., *Alice through the Microscope*, (London: Virago, 1980), p. 7.

<sup>112</sup> Histories of boys’ schools confirm that Prince Alfred College started science studies on the appointment of Mr Hartley as Headmaster in 1872. The College had plans for a specialist Science laboratory by 1878 and the building was completed in 1881. Chemistry was taught at St Peter’s College from 1855. In Britain, two early pioneers of girls’ science education were The Park School, Glasgow (1882) and St Leonard’s School, St Andrews (1885). Avery, *The Best Type of Girl*, p. 255.

<sup>113</sup> Girls also recorded the debt for specimens to Dr Schomburgk, Director of the Botanic Gardens. *Hardwicke College Review*, No. 12, September, 1887, p. 6.

<sup>114</sup> Topics included snow crystals, the use of a telescope to view the moon, X-rays, colour photography and the wonders revealed under the microscope.

<sup>115</sup> In 1891 a microscope was purchased. Hardwicke teachers attended the Australasian Science Congress held in Adelaide in 1893. Prizes were given for science and a medal was struck for Junior Science in 1895. Speech Day Reports.



new knowledge, encouraging girls to continue with their studies in unfamiliar fields. They were delighted when the first winner of the University scholarship studied sciences, disciplines which they themselves had not the opportunity to pursue.<sup>116</sup>

From the outset, the Misses Tilly encouraged gifted pupils, offering three open Hardwicke scholarships for class work and music. This gesture allowed clever girls, who might otherwise not have had the opportunity, to attend the college and may have helped to widen its social mix, a principle which the Misses Tilly deemed important.<sup>117</sup> Generous annual internal prizes were also donated so that talented pupils could continue with specific studies.<sup>118</sup> Of particular importance was the Hardwicke University Scholarship, a valuable forty five guinea award, the first offered at a private girls' school, which clearly demonstrated encouragement of intelligent girls to make the most of opportunities for University education. This acted as a lure for girls from less affluent families who could, in theory, study on scholarships throughout school and university. Current news of these particular scholars was reported with a note of pride at Speech Days. But scholarships meant direct loss of income to the college. The social conscience of the Tillys, their determination to reach the highest standards in Christian living for a wide spectrum of girls and their encouragement of continuation of education was well demonstrated by their generosity.

Some girls travelled long distances to take up their scholarships.<sup>119</sup> Scholars were obliged to have their conduct cards approved by teachers daily and were required to pass every subject each day, so they could not afford to slack. Some felt that paying pupils were favoured, but one, at least, bore no grudge. She felt that she was privileged to be given the opportunity of a Hardwicke education and judiciously made the most of it.<sup>120</sup>

The memories of this scholar recall the Principals in the late 1890s. Miss Florence was remembered for a solemn face with only an occasional smile. She took each senior class once a week in history where she was known for encouraging challenging discussion on general and topical matters. Miss Tilly acted more like an inspectress. Her forte was in the office, attending to matters of management. However, Miss Tilly personally examined

---

<sup>116</sup> News of Florence Haycroft's success in physics, chemistry and mathematics was proudly acknowledged at Speech Days. *Register*, 21st December, 1889, p. 7.

<sup>117</sup> This was possibly encouraged by the early success of Advanced School for Girls which offered bursaries to deserving pupils from less affluent backgrounds.

<sup>118</sup> For instance, the Freeman Scholarship value 12 guineas, the 7 guinea Marian Art Scholarship, the 3 guinea Harvey Art Scholarship and various Music Prizes, worth 1 to 10 guineas.

<sup>119</sup> Mrs Colman (née Oliver) travelled from Port Adelaide which required a journey by train, then by horse car and a little cart. 1977 Colman reminiscences. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>120</sup> She was the daughter of a Port Adelaide wood machinist. *Ibid.* Behaviour was taken into consideration when rewarding scholarships. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 26th November, 1897, p. 1.

every class weekly, in order to 'ascertain as far as possible the precise mental and moral progress of each pupil.'<sup>121</sup>

Classes started at 9 a.m. with the foundation subjects of arithmetic, English and languages. Recess was at 10.45 a.m. and Scripture occupied the quarter hour from eleven, after which subjects varied according to the day.<sup>122</sup> Lunch was followed by a time of leisure, quiet conversation in the grounds, or cricket practice for the energetic. Afternoons were reserved for history, art, elocution and music classes.<sup>123</sup> School finished at 3 p.m. when cricket practice might be resumed before travel home for music practice, help in the house and preparation for next day's classes.

The boarders' school day was similar. They were able to make out of hours use of school facilities with access to pianos for regular practice and to the small library.<sup>124</sup> Some physical recreation was compulsory, as was sewing and quiet reading in the winter evenings. After supper they had preparation in the classrooms supervised by living-in governesses, before prayers and early retiring. The boarders appreciated their pleasant surroundings, making use of the orchard, stables, lawns and tennis court and maintaining small individual gardens.<sup>125</sup> In addition attending cultural events in the City, at least one expedition to the beach, the Hills or a place of interest nearby was organised each term. Reports of these appear regularly in the school magazine, the *Hardwicke Review*, giving the impression of a happy, energetic group of girls who enjoyed both their own company and that of the governesses.<sup>126</sup> With the closeness of shared experiences, boarders appeared to have lived happily with each other. They joined in the excitement of preparation for community occasions at the College where they acted as hostesses. The Principals were grooming them for ease of social manner, so deportment and elocution were important lessons to be learned, as was a ladylike manner and a sense of propriety. The Misses Tilly required each girl to bow as she left the dining room. Christian names were seldom used and girls were addressed using the formality of their family name.<sup>127</sup> But these niceties had a natural place in the order of priorities as country parents in particular would expect that their daughters would receive appropriate training in metropolitan social graces. In the

---

<sup>121</sup> *Hardwicke Prospectus*, March, 1899.

<sup>122</sup> Colman reminiscences.

<sup>123</sup> It was common contemporary practice in the larger English girls' schools for the mornings to be given over to academic work and the afternoons be devoted to social home duties or to 'extra' musical and artistic activities. Later, sport was added. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education*, p. 78.

<sup>124</sup> The library gradually grew via donations of additional volumes from school families responding to regular requests. *Hardwicke College Review*, No. 12, September, 1887, p. 7.

<sup>125</sup> The girls 'showed renewed interest in gardening and appreciated cuttings.' *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>126</sup> In 1887 the girls gave an illuminated address and tea set as a wedding present to Miss Hodges, 'dear friend and teacher'. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>127</sup> An imitation of the form of address in traditional boys' schools.

1890s, Mrs Tilly 'in her kindly fashion' supervised their domestic arrangements and particular reference was made in Speech Day reports to the excellent health of boarders.<sup>128</sup>

The gracious house was the Tilly's home and they were keen to extend its homely ambience. Contrasting with the more military atmosphere and style of boys' boarding houses, the walls were painted in soft colours. Girls' art work was encouraged and the rooms were decorated with fresh flowers, a special boarders' responsibility.<sup>129</sup> There was no fixed uniform: girls wore clothes to their own taste, blurring distinctions between school and home life.<sup>130</sup> Family occasions were particularly celebrated. Foremost were the Principals' birthdays when Mrs Tilly supervised a grand supper and the Boarders gave a concert and not inconsiderable gifts to their mentors. In keeping with the domestic atmosphere, Old Scholars were invited 'Home' each Thursday for afternoon tea.<sup>131</sup> The Tilly sisters looked upon the girls as their family and extended their interest and affection to them.

Miss Tilly had a high regard for Australian girls, finding them 'good-tempered, sparkling, affectionate, responsive, essentially 'nice to be with'. She maintained that school discipline was upheld by moulding with the rule of love, but that the few rules which were developed had to be strictly obeyed.<sup>132</sup> Indiscretions at Hardwicke proved difficult to find. A glimpse of schoolgirl fun was hinted at in recollections of an Old Scholar who remembered, 'College boys used to sit on the fence and watch the cricket, calling out 'good on you!''<sup>133</sup> Another memory recalled, 'Boys were never very far away. We threw down innumerable notes to them as the boarders did from dormitory windows.'<sup>134</sup> With their affective discipline, these indiscretions would have raised the ire of the Principals, but they may have turned a blind eye on the trivial or harmless. The girls' accounts in the *Review* leave the impression that the boarders were less closely monitored in their large garden precincts than might have been thought necessary, for instance, by the watchful Dominican nuns in the confines of their North Adelaide convent.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Speech Day Report, 19th December, 1893, p. 3. The prospectus also confirms that 'all matters pertaining to health are carefully studied.'

<sup>129</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1891, p. 6; *Hardwicke College Review*, No. 12, September, 1887, p. 6.

<sup>130</sup> The girls wore a practical dark pinafore over their own clothes. Hardwicke girls were identified by a silver and gold hat badge with school motto. White dresses with school badges were worn for formal college concerts. *Hardwicke College Review* No. 12, September, 1887, p. 2.

<sup>131</sup> *Hardwicke College Review* No. 20, September, 1889, p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Miss Tilly. *Australasian Christian World*, 22nd July, 1898; Memoir of Mrs Tait states that Miss Tilly was 'strict but kindly, and that the school atmosphere was a happy one.' Raduntz Collection.

<sup>133</sup> Notes of memories of Mrs Colman (Elsie Oliver, 1890s). Raduntz Collection.

<sup>134</sup> Notes of memories of Mrs Macleod (Jessie Findlater, 1880s). Raduntz Collection.

<sup>135</sup> S. Burley and K. Teague, *Chapel, Cloister and Classroom*, (Adelaide: St Dominic's Priory College, 1993); *Register*, 19th January, 1885, p. 3.

Excellence in this world's tangible accomplishments was important to the practical Misses Tilly. Accordingly, they guaranteed that all pupils from Class 3 to 5 learned both simple and fancy sewing in addition to cookery.<sup>136</sup> Encouraging these skills to ensure that their pupils became domestically efficient and self-sufficient home makers, the Tillys would have been aware of the increasing difficulty which middle class Hardwicke clientele found in obtaining adequate domestic help, which would extend later to the girls' future homes. But some pupils, especially from less affluent families who were sent to Hardwicke for social reasons, would have to seek suitable paid work on leaving school. The Principals' first concern was to ensure that their girls were adequately equipped. As Miss Marian had married the manager of the Barlock Typewriting Company in England, she sent a typewriter to the intrepid Miss Tilly who taught herself typing and introduced secretarial skills to the College curriculum. In the 1890s, competence in shorthand and book-keeping enabled Hardwicke girls to acquire commercial and office jobs and positions in the Telephone Company, expanding fields which employed swelling numbers of women and girls.<sup>137</sup> The innovative and pragmatic Tillys were keen to prepare their pupils to make reasoned choices if they were required to make their own way in the world. Their own pattern had been thus.

While Miss Lucy concentrated on daily management of the college, Miss Florence's energy centred round music. In 1888 she graduated with one of the first Mus. Bac. degrees from Adelaide University while maintaining college responsibilities as Head of the Music School.<sup>138</sup> A compulsory component of each girl's education, the scope and standards of Hardwicke music were unsurpassed at other schools.<sup>139</sup> In addition to class music and singing the majority of girls had private lessons in piano or singing.<sup>140</sup> Music was an important element of the cultural and social life of middle class Adelaide, executed domestically by the 'gentler sex'. From a relatively cursory and dilettante approach in earlier ladies' schools, its teaching became increasingly structured, culminating in the publicly accountable inception of examinations from 1886. Hardwicke girls were encouraged to enter theory and practice examinations set by the University, although Miss Tilly constantly stressed that the overall aim of the music department was to engender an enduring love of

---

<sup>136</sup> Classes were held in the domestic kitchens and there was an attractive display at the Christmas Speech Day. *Review*, No.12, September, 1887, p. 6.

<sup>137</sup> 'Girls can take up the University course, an Art and music course or the Business Course.' *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 10th January, 1896, p. 1. Annie and Jane Tait, daughters of a Broken Hill hotelier, learned enough in the Hardwicke business course at the end of the 1890s to help their father with book-keeping in his business. Hilda Williams left Hardwicke when her mother died in 1895 to become her father's business manager in his coach business. In 1902, the Adams girls wanted to be nurses, but could not afford the 2/- per week and money for clothes, so they trained for one month at the Telephone Exchange to earn 12/- a week. Informal recollections, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>138</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1888, p. 7. There is no evidence that she had specialised in music in England. It was an intelligent move to seek important qualifications in music as this specialisation enabled the Principals to specialise and maintain the high reputation of the College.

<sup>139</sup> Annual Report, 17th December, 1897, p. 3.

<sup>140</sup> By 1891 there were 280 pupils studying in the music school. *Register*, 21st December, 1891, p. 6.

music and that examinations were merely a 'little help along the way'- (and successes a valuable tool to attract high calibre pupils). Results were invariably impeccable. Hardwicke students consistently won numerous First Class Honours which were noted each Speech Day by announcing a running total of successes, published for an admiring public. By 1908 Hardwicke's 1200 passes confirmed its musical excellence.<sup>141</sup> In order to sustain this level of quality the Music School engaged six specialists in addition to five trained governesses.<sup>142</sup> In addition, two music specialists with golden reputations from 'Home' were brought out in 1890.<sup>143</sup> A notable feature of Speech Day performances were duets and increasingly intricate pieces for eight hands. Musicians were taught to develop their talents 'in order to share them and to please others,' maintaining Shuttleworth social service traditions by giving concerts to a variety of audiences.<sup>144</sup> The pragmatic Tillys also enabled girls to use their music skills as a livelihood in teaching.<sup>145</sup> Thus Hardwicke College added greatly to the predominant culture of its clientele by nurturing skilled musicians who passed on the accomplished tradition of music to their own, and in time, future generations.

Hardwicke girls also undertook art as an important cultural pursuit. Originally, Miss Marian had responsibility for these classes which appeared to be satisfactory. However, under public scrutiny in 1884 her display was criticised, scathingly described as 'the usual young ladies' high-class school type, that is to say, copies.'<sup>146</sup> A *Register* reporter deprecated its slavish devotion to orthodox studies and the mechanical copying of hackneyed landscapes, advising training of observation from nature and the encouragement of originality and personal creativity. Miss Tilly would not have been pleased with this publicised assessment, even though it was a criticism of orthodox art teaching in general, not solely directed at Hardwicke. But the attack may have been instrumental in encouraging the Director of the School of Design from 1887 to raise the standard of artistic activity in schools by introducing a variety of art examinations where direction, philosophy and technique could be monitored. In 1885 an unqualified governess taught art classes, helped by a senior pupil in addition to her scholastic programme. However, by 1888 Miss Tilly admitted that rapid strides had been made in larger English schools in the scientific teaching of drawing and painting, and to introduce these new ideas she appointed Mrs Harvey,

---

<sup>141</sup> For instance, in 1890, 150 music passes were advertised. By 1895, this reached 330 and by 1900, 551 (with 244 Honours). The *South Australia Music Journal* confirmed that Hardwicke pupils headed the list of successes in both theory and practice in 1895 University examinations. Fragment, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>142</sup> *Register*, 19th January, 1889, p. 2.

<sup>143</sup> It appears that English teachers were appointed to gain reassurance and confirmation of Australian taste and style from 'the old country'. *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7.

<sup>144</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1888, p. 7. Music groups were regularly asked to perform at the Girls' Asylum the Destitute Home and for the 'Factory Girls'. *Hardwicke Reviews*, 1888, 1889. Annual concerts were also reported in *Music* and *South Australian Music Journal*. Fragments, Warburton Collection.

<sup>145</sup> 'Girls who have passed through the college are teaching music where they receive from £40 to £100.' *Australasian Christian World*, 22nd July, 1898.

<sup>146</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1884, p. 6.

late Head Mistress of the Luton School of Art.<sup>147</sup> As a result, by 1890 many Hardwicke girls were devoting a large proportion of time to art with outstanding effects and henceforth examination results were reported annually with a cumulative tally of successes.<sup>148</sup> Displays of work were mounted regularly to demonstrate that special emphasis was placed on painting from nature and that a variety of skills was encouraged. In 1891 a talented pupil achieved acclaim by painting a banner for the Sawyer's Union. Mrs Harvey advised that college classes were well supported and enjoyed and that a few successful leavers continued to study art at the Adelaide School of Design. Thus Miss Tilly's decisive steps, which included offering scholarships for art tuition to promising pupils and improving the teaching facilities, helped to encourage the study and love of art. In the quest for culture at the college it received prominence similar to music.<sup>149</sup>

Music and art were popular recreations, but Miss Tilly was also mindful of physical health and encouraged 'hygienic exercises' for her pupils. In the 1880s Herr Leschen and Miss Thomas directed daily outdoor calisthenics designed to improve deportment, including free exercises, step movement, skipping rope exercises and poles.<sup>150</sup> A gymnasium group with Herr Kirchner was established, as was Mr Wivell's dancing class to encourage poise and social confidence.<sup>151</sup> But Miss Tilly was a leader in encouraging a wider variety of physical pursuits for girls. Under Miss Bastard's care, a swimming class was formed each first quarter.<sup>152</sup> As the grounds of the new college matured a lawn tennis court was laid out.<sup>153</sup> Initially, the 'grounds rang with peals of laughter', but from 1885 a competitive prize was given when matches were played in a more serious manner.<sup>154</sup> This became an annual event and the competition was eagerly anticipated. In these ways Hardwicke was a pioneer in fostering serious sports for girls. The college also encouraged team games as Miss Tilly was convinced that they developed a strong moral influence.<sup>155</sup> In 1894 an

---

<sup>147</sup> Miss Carline was awarded a prize in 1885 for efficient assistance in art classes. Miss Müller, 1888 Dux, won the University scholarship.

<sup>148</sup> In 1892 work was sent to be examined by the South Kensington School of Examiners in London, possibly to restore Miss Tilly's faith in comparative standards. All fourteen candidates passed with either Excellent or First Class. *Register*, 19th December, 1892, p. 3 (Supplement). By 1901, 257 Art passes were advertised.

<sup>149</sup> From 1889 an annual scholarship, named after Miss Marian and worth 7 guineas, was awarded. *Register*, 21st December, 1891, p. 6.

<sup>150</sup> Poles were 'long in vogue on the Continent'. *Hardwicke Review*, No 16, March 1888, p. 4.

<sup>151</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1885, p. 3.

<sup>152</sup> The Bastards ran the City Baths off North Terrace in the City. In the 1880s many Adelaide schoolchildren learned to swim there.

<sup>153</sup> College programmes featured this by illustrating it with pride on covers. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>154</sup> *Hardwicke Review*, No. 12, 1886, p. 4.

<sup>155</sup> Miss Tilly is reported to have added 'which tended to counteract the selfishness so unwittingly fostered by parents whose interest is so naturally focussed on the one whose welfare is the centre of their concern.' *Australasian Christian World*, 22nd. July, 1898.

innovative College Cricket Club was formed.<sup>156</sup> There is no evidence that a Hardwicke team played against other schools, as no girls' school had similar recreational interests at this time. Day girls played against boarders and current pupils annually played an Old Scholars' team.<sup>157</sup> The professional Misses Tilly were absorbing and applying the ideology of 'muscular Christianity' and the moral value of sport enunciated by masters of boys' schools in the English public school tradition.<sup>158</sup> By 1901 ping-pong was added, so that 'scarcely a girl was not involved in one or other sporting club.'<sup>159</sup> Clearly, Miss Tilly was of serious intent when she equated mental alertness with physical well-being and made a variety of opportunities available to her pupils. Her progressive approach helped the health and physical development of Hardwicke girls who developed confidence and increased mobility as a result of her pioneering spirit. Further, by encouraging the development of physical strength and skill and embracing elements of sporting competition, the Tillys helped to undermine the orthodox Victorian ideal of fragile womanhood.

The Tilly's positive and progressive attitude was also demonstrated with the first edition in 1884 of the *Hardwicke College Review*, which was the genesis of a tradition of publications in girls' schools. This compact, stimulating magazine combined quarterly news of school events with pupils' original writing and serious articles of scholarship. It painted a picture of a busy and lively place of learning with glimpses of humour and the natural vivacity of growing girls.<sup>160</sup> The *Register* glowed in its appreciation of the magazine's contents, comparing it very favourably with the two current boys' publications.<sup>161</sup> In addition to offering girls the experience of personal writing and of organising written material, Miss Tilly believed that the college got 'a great deal of amusement' out of the venture.<sup>162</sup> But the *Review* was also a powerful and propitious advertising tool for the college. Miss Tilly had a shrewd approach to proclaiming the excellence at which she aimed.

The comprehensive educational opportunities given to Hardwicke girls became increasingly structured. One result of the public examination system was that school courses by necessity became more carefully planned and sequential in their development. School enrolment reflected this academic pattern and more girls finished their schooling

---

<sup>156</sup> This was under the captaincy of Miss G. Hill, sister of Clem, a renowned Australian cricketer whose support added kudos.

<sup>157</sup> Programme of an 'Open Day' in 1895 includes music items and sports matches. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>158</sup> Gibbs, pp. 54-59; Gathorne-Hardy, *Public School Phenomenon*, pp. 158-197.

<sup>159</sup> Speech Day Report, 13th December, 1901, p. 3.

<sup>160</sup> A boarder, with the bluntness of youth, wrote, 'Miss Tilly never likes to refuse us anything reasonable.' *Hardwicke Review*, No. 13, 1888, p. 2.

<sup>161</sup> *The St Peter's School Magazine* and *The Prince Alfred Chronicle. Register*, 25th November, 1884. p. 5.

<sup>162</sup> *Register*, December 21st, 1885, p. 3.

having started their education in the Hardwicke Kindergarten. In her 1893 Report, Miss Tilly drew attention to the value of this progression and pointed out the many successful duxes and principal prizewinners who had benefited by sequential study throughout the college.<sup>163</sup> Miss Tilly entreated parents to send their daughters as young as possible as she considered that many girls were seriously handicapped without the disciplined and thorough approach which Hardwicke followed from the youngest years.<sup>164</sup> However, poor seasons in the 1890s resulted in financial restraints which forced country parents to send their offspring to board at a later stage. Girls were specially disadvantaged as sons appeared to get the first opportunity of education.<sup>165</sup> As a result, pupils arrived at Hardwicke with an inferior academic foundation and 'found many difficulties in taking up advanced work.'<sup>166</sup>

In order to help overcome deficiencies in rural education, the Tillys conceived a novel scheme. They planned to 'establish in outlying districts primary schools in which children might be grounded in the system of the higher schools'.<sup>167</sup> Accordingly, in 1890 they opened a Hardwicke branch school in Laura. Miss Tilly referred to successful branch school concerts there in 1891, suggesting her personal attendance. Although this school closed within two years, some Laura pupils were later educated in Adelaide schools, not necessarily at Hardwicke.<sup>168</sup> The story of the Blantyre School in Jamestown confirms the 'great deal of trouble and organisation' which met the Misses Tilly as Principals.<sup>169</sup> From 1883 until 1891 Blantyre House was a ladies' High School run by three Misses Hervey, who offered an orthodox 'English curriculum' with accomplishments to up to thirty girls, day and boarding pupils, and a special class for juniors.<sup>170</sup> The Misses Tilly purchased the school in 1891 as a branch of Hardwicke.<sup>171</sup> Chairman and prominent lawyer Mr Boucaut expressed his thanks as a parent and citizen for the fine progress made by the pupils at the 1892 break-up. Many Jamestown prizewinners, including his three daughters, later boarded

---

<sup>163</sup> In 1893 three top scholars Daisy Churchward, May James and Edith Heale were entered from Kindergarten to the final class. 1893 Report.

<sup>164</sup> Miss Tilly constantly referred to the 'consecutive plan of study'. *Register*, December, 1889, p. 7. 1892, 1893 Reports.

<sup>165</sup> A phenomenon reported by many English Victorian pioneering women including Dorothea Beale, Emily Davies, Maria Grey. Purvis, *History of Women's Education*, p. 65; Vera Brittain, Mrs Henry Sidgwick, Florence Nightingale. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>166</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7.

<sup>167</sup> The advertisement hints that girls went for a short spell for 'finishing'. *Register*, 21st December, 1889, p. 7.

<sup>168</sup> Class photograph shows twenty five small girls and four boys accompanied by their teacher, Miss Tilly. Laura Centenary Celebration Committee, *Laura Days: A Peep at the Bygone*, (Adelaide: Laura Centenary Celebration Committee, 1972), p. 72. Miss Lucy may have taught music there as some pupil names are listed in her music successes. *Register*, 21st December, 1891, p. 6.

<sup>169</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1889, p. 7.

<sup>170</sup> *Agriculturist and Review*, 3rd January, 1888, p. 2. Also described in a local history, N. Robinson, *Change on Change, a History of the Northern Highlands of South Australia*, (Adelaide: Investigator, 1971), p. 180.

<sup>171</sup> This was to be managed by Miss Bleby, Royal Academy of London and Miss Carrich, art teacher. *Agriculturist and Review*, 23rd December, 1891, p. 1.



at Adelaide schools.<sup>172</sup> At the Kooringa branch Miss Tilly planned to keep the curriculum and timetable similar to Hardwicke, where examinations were forwarded for inspection.<sup>173</sup> After a second successful year, the cordial thanks of the parents were recorded to Miss Tilly who travelled by train to be present at the 1892 break-up.<sup>174</sup> Aiming to alleviate the disadvantage country families felt because of the lack of a broad education in a Christian setting, in 1891 the Tillys opened a branch school in the Christian Disciples' Church, Port Pirie, advertising 'certified and experienced governesses in all departments with private pupils received for music, singing and harmony.'<sup>175</sup> The following year, possibly in a franchise arrangement, Miss Tilly appointed two well qualified staff.<sup>176</sup>

Dr Torr, Headmaster of the Methodist Way College in Adelaide understood the significance of these schools and 'trusted that they would meet the success which they deserved.'<sup>177</sup> However, there is no further evidence of this interesting and unique initiative and information is inadequate to gauge any lasting impact. The South Australian economy of the 1890s was increasingly depressed by severe and prolonged drought and by bank failures. Efficient, but more narrowly conceived, local elementary Government schools flourished, particularly after the 1891 Education Act when free education was provided to all pupils.<sup>178</sup> Both factors contributed to the short life of the Hardwicke branch schools. Thus were dashed the hopes of the Principals, to 'not only offer country girls a liberal education on which they could build to good effect at Hardwicke or elsewhere, but that they would also train pupils for Christ.'<sup>179</sup>

The Tillys wanted to educate girls to develop a love of learning to fullest capacity and were particularly keen to teach them to think for themselves, which they considered of vital importance. They enunciated their beliefs and policies at annual Speech Days. In 1889, 'hearing much talk about "Women's Rights"', they maintained it was their responsibility to educate women as intelligent homemakers and as well informed mothers, although they

---

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 29th December, 1892, p. 2. Prizewinner names Boucaut, Sambell and Stacy are found at Mrs Thornber's school and Boucaut at St Peter's College. Ibid., 16th December, 1896, p. 3.

<sup>173</sup> *Methodist Journal*, 18th December, 1891, p. 8. The author is indebted to Dr R. Petersen for this information.

<sup>174</sup> *Burra Record*, 16th December, 1891 (Supplement). *South Australian Chronicle*, 23rd December, 1892, p. 12. This was to be their final concert as Kooringa's six private schools closed because of government competition.

<sup>175</sup> *Port Pirie Advocate*, 23rd January, 1891, p. 2.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 1st February, 1892, p. 2.

<sup>177</sup> The schools also educated small boys who may have been potential clientele for Way College. *Methodist Journal*, 1st January, 1892, p. 3.

<sup>178</sup> In 1896 Jamestown Primary school examined one hundred and ninety eight pupils and Laura Public school enrolled over three hundred pupils in 1892.

<sup>179</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7.

realised that the scope of 'Women's Work' was changing.<sup>180</sup> They referred to Old Scholars who were finding their way to various fields of usefulness - in homes, in Church and Mission work, in teaching and in business. By 1893 Miss Tilly stated that though she still felt that the highest and best sphere was the home, she stressed that the great end of education was subordinate to the development of character and 'to equip a girl fully for whatever would make her shine and guarantee success in some arena'. She reached the conclusion that

women were being summoned to wider, though not loftier, ways of usefulness and that there would be work in the future for women in medicine, literature, science, missions and in many areas of social reform.<sup>181</sup>

Particularly encouraged by the granting of the franchise to women, she believed that the greatest hope for South Australia lay in the 'education of those who will wield mighty power over South Australia's destinies, in women.'<sup>182</sup> In the gradual climb towards greater acceptance of women in the public domain these ideas were modest but they signalled soundly principled beginnings. Miss Tilly enunciated them in a manner which ensured that they appeared acceptable and least threatening to parents.

A brief consideration of the careers of three Hardwicke pupils who exemplify the gradual blossoming of women's presence in wider arenas illuminates the educational advantages these girls received which helped to transform their horizons. Olive Newman, B.Sc., born 1873, received her total schooling at Hardwicke. She was an intelligent pupil who won prizes and scholarships, culminating as Dux in 1889, having matriculated. She started teaching music at the family home in Parkside, but her particular interest was science, so she enrolled for Higher Public in Pure Mathematics and Physics in 1897, moving to the more challenging educational environment of the new Methodist Ladies' College in 1902.<sup>183</sup> Initially, with the Headmistress she jointly taught all secondary classes, but growth in college numbers concentrated Miss Newman's energy in the sciences.<sup>184</sup> She set up and successfully administered a unique department among girls' schools, where her enthusiasm inspired her pupils' lasting interest and high achievement.<sup>185</sup> Miss Newman retired in 1933 as Senior Mistress after a distinguished career having influenced the intellectual and personal

---

<sup>180</sup> Mrs Tilly and the Misses Tilly signed the petition for Women's Suffrage presented to the Premier in 1894. Women's Suffrage Petition, 1894. State Records, G.R.G. 92/5.

<sup>181</sup> Speech Day Report, 19th December, 1893, p. 3.

<sup>182</sup> Discussed after 1894 when South Australian women won the franchise and the possibility of representing the people in Parliament. Speech Day Report, 14th December, 1896, p. 3.

<sup>183</sup> 1897 Hardwicke Report, p. 2. Later, she had also studied Chemistry and Botany (1898), Biology (1899) and Geology (1898) before finishing her University degree in 1905. Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 13.

<sup>184</sup> Headmistress Miss Edeson and Miss Newman together taught arts and mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology and botany. Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 5.

<sup>185</sup> The first five places of the 1905 Primary were filled by Methodist Ladies' College girls. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

development of hundreds of young women. Her life exemplified not only the Christian qualities which the Tillys had striven to nurture, but also highlighted hard work and intellectual success which she had helped pioneer for girls in an increasingly critical area.

Ellen Daisy Churchward, born 1877, also had an outstanding scholastic career at Hardwicke, winning prizes and two scholarships.<sup>186</sup> Her father died in 1890, so money was scarce and the family had to sell their house, dismiss servants and take in a lodger.<sup>187</sup> In spite of additional home pressures, Daisy was College Dux in 1893, gaining second place in Senior and top rating in the colony's English examination. She remained at Hardwicke as a governess but, with five younger peers to be educated, she abandoned the University plans for which she was so admirably suited and became a country governess to supplement the family income.<sup>188</sup> With improving circumstances she returned home in 1905, involved herself with Church activities and married. Daisy was a devoted wife and mother to four children. She died suddenly in 1915, leaving an anguished husband and family. In her short life she exemplified the highest ideals of self sacrifice and generous love towards others, qualities which had been confirmed throughout her days at Hardwicke. Daisy gracefully exemplified the college motto 'Ohne Hast, Ohne Rast'.<sup>189</sup>

The Misses Tilly realised that the majority of Hardwicke girls left the College with the prospect of marriage and motherhood, so they endeavoured to prepare them to exert strong moral influence via full and unselfish lives in their families and in their local communities. With their emphasis on manners and the proprieties, the Principals still managed to blend gentility with practicality.<sup>190</sup> Laura Read, an 1890s pupil, exemplified a realistic blend of these qualities in her later life.<sup>191</sup> The Reads, owners of a City family hotel, expected that Hardwicke would prepare their girls to meet life's challenges and to appreciate culture. Laura was a lively girl who, though not a scholar, had an intelligent appreciation of the rightness of things. Leaving Hardwicke, she helped where needed in the busy family business. She married John O'Brien in 1911 when they set up their own hotel and had a growing family.<sup>192</sup> Mr O'Brien died of tuberculosis in 1922, leaving his widow with an overdraft of £5000 and five dependent children. Laura rose to the challenge. Courage and

---

<sup>186</sup> Daisy was the eldest daughter of Samuel Churchward, Second Master at Prince Alfred College and Emily Padman. Churchward Diaries.

<sup>187</sup> The family was helped by the of generosity of Miss Tilly who educated the two younger sisters free for four years. Churchward, in Macdonald, ed., *In Paths Divided*, p. 104.

<sup>188</sup> To stay as a governess was a recognised pathway. In 1886 two previous scholars, Miss Cant and Miss Thomas returned to the College as teachers.

<sup>189</sup> The Melbourne Presbyterian Ladies' College motto, which the Misses Tilly adopted for Hardwicke.

<sup>190</sup> A concept developed in the 1830s by Victorian authors Ellis and More discussed in Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 182.

<sup>191</sup> Details from Mrs Bey, daughter of Mrs O'Brien. Interview, 8th April, 1994.

<sup>192</sup> Reportedly against her parents' wishes as he was a Roman Catholic.

determination, coupled with hard work over long hours, enabled her to repay her debts and to educate her children successfully. She was a popular, attractive woman who acquired astute business sense. In the Depression, she bought a run down business, completely refurbished it and turned the South Australian Hotel into one of Adelaide's legends. She masterminded the enterprise, overseeing every operation, pervading its atmosphere with immaculate taste and charm. Flair, determination and hard work turned her life from potential catastrophe to success.<sup>193</sup> The lack lustre scholar had indeed learned well the lessons of life from Hardwicke, including the model of an independent woman running a business. Her education at home and school had harnessed drive and determination to enable her to overcome problems in a courageous and gracious fashion.

From its inception, Hardwicke warmly welcomed Old Scholars, allowing them to study in certain classes.<sup>194</sup> At least once a year, they met informally for a reunion often with music and callisthenics and at 1890s gatherings organised displays as well as music, tennis and cricket.<sup>195</sup> In 1898 the suggestion was made to form an Old Scholars' Musical Association, a concept enthusiastically backed by Miss Florence.<sup>196</sup> Although an unofficial Old Students' Club confirmed that bonds of friendship and shared interests were a strong force in the later lives of Hardwicke scholars, no official association was constituted while the college was in existence.<sup>197</sup> However, in 1930 The Old Collegians Association was set up, a well organised and keenly supported group with over seventy members, including the Tillys.<sup>198</sup> They met at the South Australian Hotel or at each others' houses to hear music performances and recitations, reminiscent of the boarders' concerts of their schooldays. Minute books record their continued interest in worthy causes, including support of the college in Mysore.<sup>199</sup> They maintained a link with educational matters and donated £100 for the Hardwicke Prize for biology to be competed for annually at the University of Adelaide.<sup>200</sup> The Old Collegians enjoyed their continuing fellowship, their informal network providing a valuable social support group. Their Minute book was wound up at the last meeting of the Association in 1976.

---

<sup>193</sup> Mrs O'Brien died in 1957 but the hotel survived until 1972.

<sup>194</sup> Attendance noted at classes in English, French, music, singing and painting. *Register*, 21st December, 1885, p. 3,

<sup>195</sup> Programmes, Raduntz Collection. *Register*, 20th December, 1888, p. 9.

<sup>196</sup> She regretted that many students failed to maintain their music lessons on leaving school. *Register*, 20th December, 1898, p. 7. There is no further information about the outcome of the idea.

<sup>197</sup> They held eighteen meetings in 1905. *Register*, 15th December, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>198</sup> Memoir of Mrs Gordon recalls the formation of the group. A photograph taken in 1939 shows thirty seven spritely ladies enjoying the company of the now frailer Principals. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>199</sup> Old Scholars' Minute Book, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>200</sup> The Hardwicke Prize continues to be given to the top student in the Biology Matriculation examination, a highly respected, but not lucrative, honour. The College is thus remembered annually.

In direct contrast to the closed and inward looking nature of earlier girls' schools, a Hardwicke education was lively and progressive, encouraging an outgoing stimulus and an appreciation of contemporary public debate. Momentous movements of the day - the coming of women's franchise, the South African War, the birth of the Commonwealth of Australia - were thoroughly discussed to keep the girls in concert with universal modern ideas.<sup>201</sup> A unique attraction in a girls' school was the Museum which displayed artefacts, often sent from Old Scholars to exemplify the cultures of different countries.<sup>202</sup> Throughout the years visitors from many parts of the world were invited to give Hardwicke girls a glimpse of different life styles. The majority came from the Mission field but an American lady graduate, educationalists, doctors and literary figures also discussed developments further afield.<sup>203</sup> This comprehensive approach to a liberal education, deemed by the Principals to be helpful in developing a lifelong interest in the world's possibilities, confirms the balanced approach of these two late Victorian educators who understood that the apparently secure world and ideology of their class was in continual change. In 1906, Miss Tilly confirmed,

no higher testimony could be offered to the efficiency of our work than the happy homes of our students in all parts of the world and the immense success of those who have had to earn their own living. These have found their training with us of considerable financial value, not only in the Australian states but in England, France, Africa and other places.<sup>204</sup>

Their pragmatic approach reaped appropriate rewards.

The question which therefore must be addressed is why this apparently thriving school was closed in 1910. Many influences caused its demise. The Misses Tilly were in their early fifties.<sup>205</sup> Over the years their flamboyant démodé dress suggested a cheerful Victorian eccentricity though the respect which they commanded was unimpaired.<sup>206</sup> When the Methodist Church decided to increase educational opportunities for their girls, the practicality of making Hardwicke, which had both tradition and suitable clientele, as the official Methodist school may have been considered. However, scrutiny of the annual conference minutes of the Wesleyan Methodist church in both 1889 and 1898 confirms the appointment of a Committee for the 'consideration and establishment of a Ladies' College and for selecting and securing a block of land for the purpose of erecting a building', which

---

<sup>201</sup> *Hardwicke Review*, No. 12, September, 1887, p. 3. In the 1890s the Tillys were keen to introduce new inventions, including a graphophone, a musical box and colour photography. There was also an exhibition of illustrated books concerning Röntgen X rays and a microscope. Raduntz Collection.

<sup>202</sup> Speech Day Report, 17th December, 1895.

<sup>203</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1891 p. 6.

<sup>204</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1906, p. 4.

<sup>205</sup> Miss Lucy became increasingly short sighted and Miss Florence rather awkward and flat footed.

<sup>206</sup> As a young child, Old Scholar Mrs Fellows recalled murmurings among adults about their oddities. Raduntz Collection.

implies a lack of interest in taking over any existing school.<sup>207</sup> The fact that a new concept was developed was maybe an indication that the educational ideas and leadership of the Misses Tilly, which appeared progressive in the nineteenth century, were becoming dated, inappropriate for the different challenges of the twentieth. From 1902, when Methodist Ladies' College opened for boarders and day girls, Church interest guaranteed its predicability and status and it soon flourished, particularly as it offered a contemporary curriculum. Early examination success guaranteed that it was an undoubted draw for ambitious Methodist parents and many chose to send their girls there rather than to Hardwicke.

Speech Day Reports became appreciably shorter from 1905 and Miss Tilly denied impressions that the college was becoming solely a music school.<sup>208</sup> However, successive Annual Reports suggest that whereas the study of music maintained its prominence, even increasing its complexity with London examinations added to its lists of successes, the academic drive of the college gradually declined.<sup>209</sup> In brief, the college offered an education which had become old-fashioned and it lost some of its clientele who were anxious to acquire an academic or commercial training, available at Methodist Ladies' College, or the newly restructured Adelaide High School.<sup>210</sup> Miss Tilly had received her education over thirty years earlier and may not have made the opportunity to stay abreast of new teaching techniques. For instance, unlike fellow Headmistresses Mrs Kelsey, Miss Thornber and Miss Jacob she had not visited Britain to investigate its current educational ideas. The curriculum had not progressed and examination results reflected languor and lassitude. Increasingly, Hardwicke found difficulty in obtaining and keeping well trained staff with up to date ideas in the main academic subjects, facing competition for top applicants with contemporary schools of academic note. Above all, the leadership of the Misses Tilly appeared to have become tired and repetitive, lacking in drive and impetus.<sup>211</sup> Parents preferred to seek a more forward looking education for their daughters which anticipated the future, reflecting the contemporary spirit of excitement and change. They were no longer seeking an education which relied on reputation, whose annual reports barely covered one column of the Speech Day page in the *Register*.

---

<sup>207</sup> Minutes, South Australian Conference of the Australian Wesleyan Methodist Church, Adelaide, 22nd January, 1889, p. 57; *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 87. Listed on the committee are Hardwicke names Knowles, Lathlean, Dunn, Gault, Goode, Davie, Dobbie, Hill, Longbottom, Madge.

<sup>208</sup> She reminded parents that the Tilly family had not equipped a building for accommodation of boarders solely to run a music department. *Register*, 15th December, 1906, p. 4.

<sup>209</sup> From 1901 no Hardwicke names could be traced in the lists gaining Senior or Junior certificates, though individual subjects, with no school names attached may have been passed.

<sup>210</sup> Tormore, although not officially a Church school, had strong Church of England backing and academic superiority. Methodist Ladies' College offered the most direct competition.

<sup>211</sup> Indicated in the the brief *Register* reports from 1905 until 1910.

Enrolments decreased from 1903. As numbers dwindled, the economics of the enterprise became increasingly strained and the building became run down, forcing the Tillys to introduce stringencies. They had enjoyed a period of relative comfort in financial affairs and had saved enough to enjoy a retirement free from economic worry. In this respect, they followed the pattern of Mrs Shuttleworth and they, too, were sensible enough to know when the propitious time for graceful retirement had arrived. By 1909 only thirty to forty students remained, though Miss Florence still advertised for music pupils. On the death of Mrs Tilly in 1910, they closed the college.

Miss Tilly was fifty three and Miss Florence fifty one, so together they could anticipate many years of constructive retirement. Miss Florence went to London to attend the 1911 coronation. Returning to Adelaide, she rekindled her interest and talent for art, sponsoring exhibitions and producing works which still hang in local homes.<sup>212</sup> In addition, she resumed music teaching and held concerts given by former pupils and friends, recreating a pleasant cultural atmosphere. Miss Lucy also enjoyed travel. She developed her interest in the Women's Christian Temperance Society, in books and in small local cultural groups who debated ideas. In addition, the Misses Tilly never missed a 'Missionary Farewell' held in or near the city.<sup>213</sup> The sisters enjoyed a rich and happy retirement surrounded by Old Collegians and the many friends they had made during their thirty years of life at Hardwicke. They retained their independent outlook and died within a week of one another in 1946, mourned by their remaining Old Collegians and wider family.

The school occupies a significant place in the history of girls' education in South Australia. It exemplified the gradual metamorphosis of the many schools which were a feature of the first fifty years of girls' education in South Australia, the majority of which were amateurish and short lived. Hardwicke, born out of the necessity of the Shuttleworth family to increase both the value and the dependability of their income, enjoyed longer success. It was securely based and thus was able to anticipate change. Its founder was pivotal to its history. As an accepted member of her class, coupled with support from family and church networks, Mrs Shuttleworth intelligently appreciated the social climate of her discriminating clientele and was able to uphold her firmly held Christian values. She had the educational background to comprehend the influence which the opening of the University of Adelaide meant to the development of the intellectual life of South Australia, especially to women, grasping the resultant impact of the public examinations in schools. One of the great benefits which she recognised was the drive and determination of the two newly arrived members of her staff, whose expertise helped to maintain the excellence which the founder had nurtured.

---

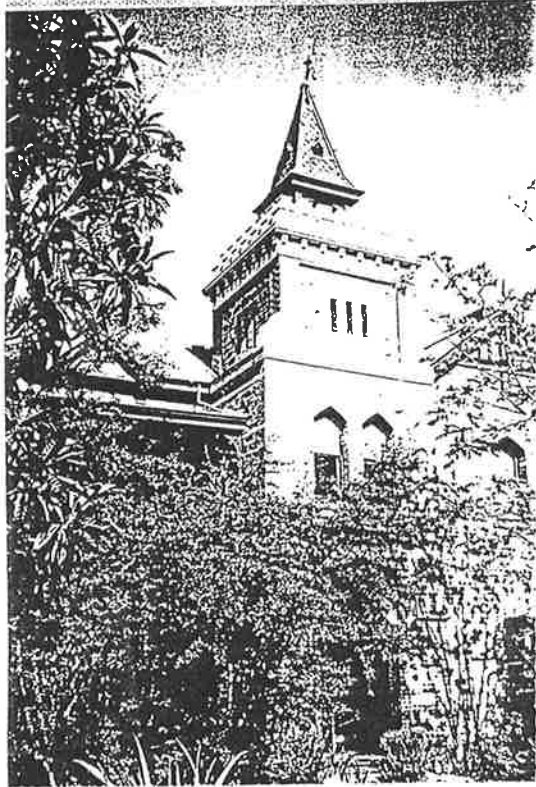
<sup>212</sup> 'Roses', signed F. M. T., hangs in the home of Mrs Bey.

<sup>213</sup> Churchward, in Macdonald, ed., *In Paths Divided*, p. 116.

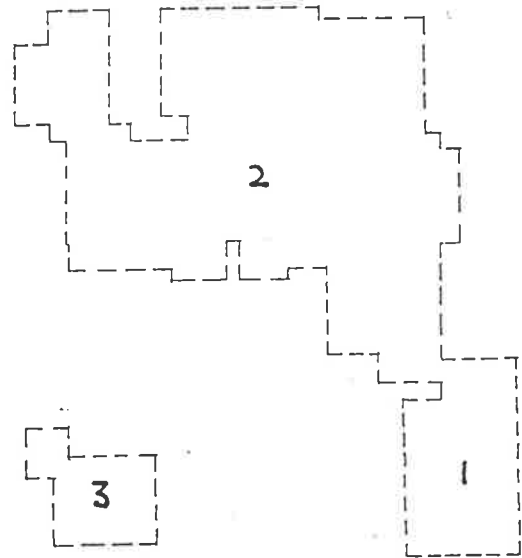
The Misses Tilly are excellent examples of transitional professionalism. Although not University educated, they differed from their predecessor genteel amateur Headmistresses with their training in pedagogy in the literary curriculum and their acquired expertise in music. The Tillys set a high standard of expectation of the value of an efficient and liberal education for their late nineteenth century clientele. With their hard work, innovative approach and Christian example the Tilly family helped to maintain the high reputation of the college in the forefront of the South Australian public. The college's contribution to a well planned and rigorous music education was perhaps its greatest gift to the colony. This was helped by linkage to the Conservatorium, where the transformation of Music as a 'genteel accomplishment to leisured ladies' to a 'feminine profession' was given increased impetus and increasingly adopted by ambitious girls. In addition, by continuing to nurture sensitive, mannerly young ladies the Tillys added to the pool of well educated and cultured middle class women who had a strong moral influence on their homes and increasingly on the public arena where women were beginning to make their presence felt in political and economic decisions and in paid employment. The impact of their strong Christian commitment helped to shape increasingly confident, independent and fearless women who gave back to the community a measure of the moral, cultural and intellectual capital which they had received at Hardwicke. The school lived up to the motto of its founder 'Non scholae sed vitae discimus' - 'We learn not for school but for Life.'



# THE UNLEY PARK SCHOOL

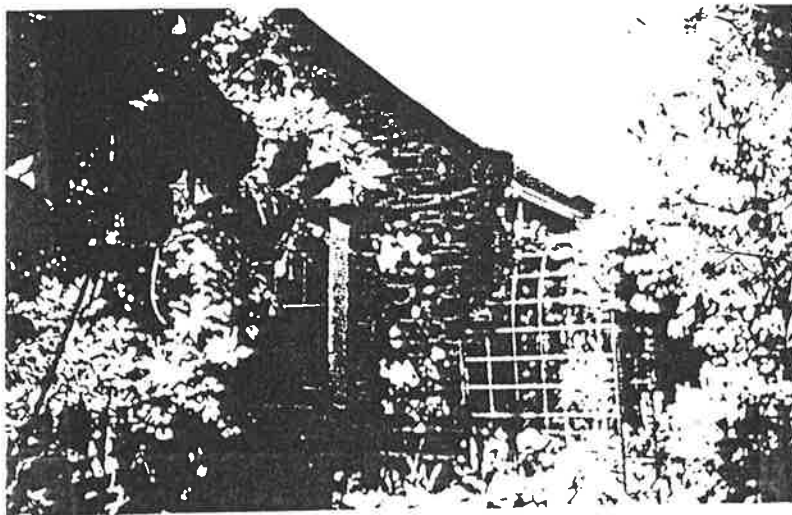


Harpurhey



Key:

1. Original four roomed cottage
2. Harpurhey
3. Kindergarten



The Kindergarten

## Chapter 5

### Mrs Thornber's Unley Park School

Her girls were never expected merely to say 'yes' when told to do this and that, they did it 'with pleasure'.<sup>1</sup>

The new approach to girls' education in South Australia was amply demonstrated at Hardwicke by its rigorous overall approach, encouraging pupils to develop sound intellectual interests and an appreciation of the wider world as well as personal achievement in music, art and sports in a Christian setting. The enthusiasm and drive of Mrs Shuttleworth and the energetic Misses Tilly ensured that their innovations led to Hardwicke's pre-eminence in private schooling in the 1870s and 1880s. The 1890s saw the peak of an older school, the Unley Park School, Mrs Thornber's, which reputedly became 'a household word in South Australia'.<sup>2</sup>

'Mr Robert Thornber had long indulged in intemperance and had often suffered from *delirium tremens*. One fourth the quantity of laudanum taken would have been sufficient to destroy life. A verdict of temporary insanity was returned.<sup>3</sup> This episode was the reason for the setting up of the Unley Park School by a bereft Mrs Thornber, left in 1855 with a family to bring up and educate with only a small inheritance.

Mrs Thornber, née Catherine Maria Rowland, was born at Rodd, Herefordshire in 1812.<sup>4</sup> Robert Thornber was a hosier in Harpurhey, Lancashire. They were probably married in 1833 as their first son, Charles Rowland was born in June, 1834.<sup>5</sup> Mrs Thornber and her family, now enlarged by Edward, Catherine Maria and baby Rachel, travelled to South Australia in 1839, Mr Thornber having preceded them.<sup>6</sup> The family first settled in Port

---

<sup>1</sup> Thornber maxim, *Register*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Observer*, 15th December, 1906, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Report of Coroner's Inquests, *Register*, 1st January, 1855, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Little can be traced of her ancestry. She may have been the daughter of William and Frances Rowland of the parish of Old Radnor, as her brother, William, baptised 31.8.17, appears on the Parish Register. William Sen. is designated as labourer. Information from Hereford and Worcester County Archivist, Mrs P. Beavan, 13th July, 1994.

<sup>5</sup> Undated memoir of Charles Rowland Thornber, written by his son, H. L. Thornber. A237/A, M.L.S.A.

<sup>6</sup> Charles was born in 1834; Edward in 1835; Catherine Maria in 1837; Rachel in 1839. Later, in South Australia, Harold was born in 1843 and Ellen in 1851. Details from *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 12, pp. 218/9. Also letter, 10th September, 1993 from Dr J. Tregenza, St Peter's College Historian. The memoir of Charles states that the family arrived on the *Superb*, as does Opie in *South Australian Records to 1841*, p. 67. However, the *Gazette and Register*, 2nd November, 1839, makes no reference to Mrs Thornber

Adelaide where for some time they lived in a tent, then in the developing suburb of Kensington as pioneer residents.<sup>7</sup> Mr Thornber's business interests prospered, as by 1848 he bought five blocks of land and built a family home set among pleasant gardens in the quiet, self-sufficient village of Mitcham.<sup>8</sup> In 1849 Mr Thornber was styled as agent, later as Gentleman Farmer.<sup>9</sup> The ownership of land may have been the reason for his title of gentleman, with its connotations of enhanced social cachet.

The Thornbers were strong Anglicans. In 1848 they gave one acre and £20 to the Church of England for the establishment of St Michael's Church, Mitcham.<sup>10</sup> Further, the two boys were recorded as numbers five and six on the opening day of the Church of England Collegiate School, as travelling daily for 'higher learning'.<sup>11</sup> There is no evidence of the education of the girls, but probably Catherine and Rachel were taught at home by their mother.<sup>12</sup> In 1855 daughter Catherine was a governess, teaching daily lessons and music to the families of prominent neighbours, proving she had competence in accomplishments and the *savoir faire* to be accepted into their socially conspicuous houses.<sup>13</sup> Thus, on the untimely death of the family breadwinner with the responsibility of the education of her two youngest children, Mrs Thornber, then aged forty three, turned to one of the few respectable avenues open to a widow of her class. In the family home in Church Street, Mitcham she opened a school.

---

and her family in their lists of arriving passengers. Either they were among the twenty two steerage passengers, or, as an unescorted woman, she was of little significance.

<sup>7</sup> The six Thornbers are listed in the 1841 Port Adelaide District Census Returns. M.L.S.A.

<sup>8</sup> Block Nos. 15, 16, 17, 38 and 103 of Section 236 were registered in the name of Thornber. Mitcham Council records.

<sup>9</sup> In 1847, Mr Thornber was styled as proprietor, South Terrace, in 1848 as a timber dealer in Grenfell Street, and in 1849 as agent and shareholder in the Adelaide and Suburban Building Company. *Murray's Directories*.

<sup>10</sup> Mrs Thornber was instrumental in adding over £7 by subscription in 1853. Mitcham Council Conveyance Book 12, Folio 474, 1853, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> 15th July, 1847, Dr J. Tregenza, St Peter's Historian. Mr Thornber one of sixty five proprietors of the Collegiate School of St Peter, as the school was renamed from 1849. Price, *Collegiate School of St Peter*, p. 3. The mail coach run by Mrs Kinsman also took passengers. Norman, *History of the City of Mitcham*, p. 166.

<sup>12</sup> They were not found on the school roll of the retired carpenter, Mr Mugg, who ran a school for thirty children. On his roll were Thomas Playford, later Premier of South Australia, the children of Pastor Findlayson and the three Ferguson girls, daughters of successful farmers. Norman, *History of the City of Mitcham*, p. 76. Mrs Manton ran a girls' school nearby, but her Establishment for Young Ladies in her spacious residence advertised exclusively for Boarders. *Register*, 13th January, 1858, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> The Hon. Edward Stirling of Urrbrae House and solicitor Mr Hicks of 'Netherby'. Obituary of Miss C.M. Thornber, *Advertiser*, 4th October, 1924, p. 10.

From the first, the enterprise had a family flavour.<sup>14</sup> Helped by her two older daughters, Mrs Thornber educated Ellen and the children of relations.<sup>15</sup> Mitcham neighbours also attended.<sup>16</sup> There is little evidence concerning this embryo school, but later in 1855 Mrs Thornber developed the blocks which she owned nearby.<sup>17</sup> Described as 'one of the most picturesque woodland sections of the colony with prolific native trees', surrounded by fertile agricultural land with serviceable water from the Brown Hill Creek and the convenience of the nearby developing township of Unley, the district was aptly named Unley Park.<sup>18</sup> It had suburban potential, particularly for affluent members of the middle class. In Park Street, Mrs Thornber built a stone house of four main rooms, naming it 'Harpurhey', in which 'unpretentious edifice' she accepted twelve scholars, ten day pupils and two boarders.<sup>19</sup>

The venture soon progressed from being a neighbourhood school into a more secure educational proposition. By enlarging the premises, in 1857 Mrs Thornber was able to advertise for six young ladies as boarders.<sup>20</sup> Hoping to widen her circle of day pupils, in 1862 she advertised her school as 'Unley Park Cottage', a homely nomenclature which gave a comfortable image suggesting a suitable environment for younger children.<sup>21</sup> Thereafter, the *Register* displayed discreetly worded advertisements whose simplicity continued throughout the history of the school.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> At the final Speech Day Miss Thornber discussed the school contribution of three generations of Thornbers, suggesting also a grand-daughter. *Observer*, 15th December, 1906, p. 37. Daughters of Edward joined the Old Scholars' Association, Mary in 1892 and Daisy in 1896, one at least was a governess. Unley Park School Old Scholar lists, 1892-1902, p. 12. S.R.G. 41, M.L.S.A.

<sup>15</sup> These may have included Rowland nieces as their family featured in the life of the Thornbers. In 1877 Edward Thornber is styled as Estate Agent in the firm of Thornber and Rowland. *Adelaide Directories*.

<sup>16</sup> Members of the Stirling, Hicks, Buchanan, Morgan, Boucaut, Poole and Browne families. *Advertiser*, 4th October, 1924, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> In May, 1855 Mrs Thornber purchased from Thomas Whistler of Section 236 half acre blocks (allotments 104, 105 and 106) in Park Street (later Gover Street) and allotment 10 on Unley Road. Total cost £122. Brenda Paxton, *Ladies of the Province*, (Adelaide: City of Unley, 1990). p. 5. In 1871 she owned a house and garden of 3 acres with £70 assessment. G. B. Payne and E. Cosh, *History of Unley 1871-1971*, (Adelaide: Corporation of the City of Unley, 1977), p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Gum, peppermint, wattle, old eucalypts and boxwood. Article, 'Building Improvement at Unley Park', *Register*, 28th January, 1896, p. 5. The centre of the Unley township was two miles distant from the City of Adelaide. The direct road to Unley was upgraded in 1851, affording better communication and encouraging domestic development thereby increasing the likelihood of pupils for the school. There were 100 householders in Unley in 1855, which increased to 275 houses by 1872. Payne and Cosh, *History of Unley*, p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> *Register*, 28th January, 1896, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> *Register*, 8th August, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Register*, 9th January, 1862, p. 1. Gowrie Cottage and Croxall Cottage for younger pupils advertised in the same manner whereas those for senior pupils styled themselves 'House' - Minerva House, Hardwicke House.

<sup>22</sup> 'Mrs Thornber's School will be reopened on Monday, January 19th'. This simple wording was in contrast to that used, for instance, for Mrs Gilbert's Seminary for Young Ladies. *Register*, 12th January, 1861, p. 1. This simplicity in public communication suggests that Mrs Thornber's School was adequately known and did not require elaboration.

There is little direct evidence of the curriculum in the early years, but it may be inferred, both from Mrs Thornber's background and from her clientele, that it emphasised ladylike accomplishments.<sup>23</sup> A publication in 1860 described elements of the 'Usual English Education' which middle class clients would expect.<sup>24</sup> With her enthusiasm for Church activities Mrs Thornber ensured that Religious Education occupied a prominent place in the curriculum, inviting Reverend S. Poole, the Rector of St John's, Adelaide, to give Scripture classes each week.<sup>25</sup> She would also have ensured that music and artistic accomplishments were a strong feature of each child's education, especially as Miss Thornber had proven skills in music.<sup>26</sup> Social conventions, fine manners and elocution which had been encouraged in her own children would be stressed. A regard for the proprieties would attract suitable pupils to the growing school where Mrs Thornber guided the behaviour of the children of families making their way in that section of local society which was intent on developing a mannerly and cultured lifestyle. Miss Rachel concentrated on domestic duties, ensuring that the boarding pupils were carefully nurtured.<sup>27</sup>

Contemporary annual reports of school examinations in South Australia suggest that much learning concerned factual information committed to memory with little scope for original thought.<sup>28</sup> This accent on rote learning is confirmed in a memoir of a pupil at the Unley Park school who attended from 1867 for six years.<sup>29</sup> Grace Fowler was 'intensely fond of reading and listening, but was unimpressed by learning by heart,' finding that Telemachus and the irregular verbs which had to be committed to memory in Monsieur Marval's class were not to her liking.<sup>30</sup> But she appreciated history and the 'Globes' given by Reverend Read, supplementing her ideas with wide reading in her father's library.<sup>31</sup> In 1873, Grace found a great disparity in her new school in London, where she was taught by

---

<sup>23</sup> *Register*, 8th August, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Mrs Gilbert's Select Seminary for Young Ladies advertised, 'A system of instruction including an English Education-everything essential to the attainment of a sound, useful and religious Education with the usual Accomplishments.' *Register*, 9th January, 1860, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> He describes the glass of wine taken weekly in the 1870s in Mrs Thornber's drawing room as a 'Victorian nicety'. At least one of his daughters later attended the school. *Observer*, 6th December, 1924, p. 19. *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 11, p. 256.

<sup>26</sup> The Victorian nomenclature of 'Miss Thornber' will henceforth be used to nominate the eldest daughter, Catherine and her sisters will be referred to as Miss Rachel and Miss Ellen. Miss Thornber taught music to local families.

<sup>27</sup> Oral evidence from Old Scholar, Mrs Mollie Bowen, confirmed that she suffered from a stutter which restricted her activity in the classroom. Interview, 18th July, 1993.

<sup>28</sup> The description of the School Examination at Magill Public School, 1857, confirms the contemporary accent on rote learning. Fragment from *Educational Journal*, September 1857, quoted in E. Warburton, 'Speaking from the Past', unpublished booklet, p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> Grace was a lively and intelligent daughter of the well-to-do founder of the grocery business of D. and J. Fowler Ltd. *Finlayson*, p. 41; Fowler Papers P.R.G. 34/42, M.L.S.A.; Also quoted in Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 24.

<sup>30</sup> Monsieur Marval, reputed to be the only Frenchman in the colony, was said to be an engineer who had no other work. See Chapter 3.

<sup>31</sup> The Reverend Henry Read M.A. was Rector of St Michael's, Mitcham. *Synod of Church of England Reports*, 1862-1869, 2, p. 1083, Appendix A.

'good masters' whose teaching was different 'as they expected us to work', a contrast to the more relaxed ways at Mrs Thornber's. However, Grace had pleasant memories of Unley Park days, especially the 'largish playground where the fun was fast and furious' and recalled that 'they were a very happy lot of girls'.<sup>32</sup> She remembered her childhood with delight, especially the many open air activities - riding, visiting, walking, bathing and picnicking - interests and sentiments which were shared by many Thornber pupils.

The four youngest girls of Baptist Pastor Finlayson attended Mrs Thornber's school from the late 1860s. They had a thorough Christian upbringing and were successful at their studies, gaining many prizes.<sup>33</sup> Underlining the broad Protestant character of the school, the presence of similar girls from reputable and respected local families would help enhance the stability and reputation of a school where right behaviour and a sense of propriety were honoured.

The district of Unley grew to become an independent Corporation in 1871.<sup>34</sup> With more local young people requiring to be educated and with transport on horse tram from the City established from 1883, the size and scope of Mrs Thornber's school developed. The immediate area round Park Street expanded with substantial ornate villas of the successful middle class.<sup>35</sup> On her adjacent land in 1885 Mrs Thornber built a new schoolhouse, to which further rooms were added, totalling eight, to meet increasing demand.<sup>36</sup> When the first Speech Day was reported in 1890, with one hundred and six girls and fifteen boys and room for twenty or thirty more, the school had a secure place in the life of the neighbourhood.<sup>37</sup>

The initial reasons for creating the school were to provide a livelihood for the Thornbers and an education for Ellen. The rising academic standard attained by the school during the 1870s is demonstrated by her scholastic achievements, as in 1879 she was sufficiently well educated to attend the Teachers' Training College and evening classes at the University of Adelaide as a non-matriculated student.<sup>38</sup> There she made the acquaintance of two similar

---

<sup>32</sup> Boys were also accepted as Grace's brother, James was prepared to enter St Peter's College. Fowler Papers.

<sup>33</sup> The girls attended school 'when fit'. Their older sister Jane was mother's help at home when a sister was greatly afflicted. In spite of sickly childhoods all lived well into their seventies and beyond. When she finished her schooling, the second youngest, Bessie, stayed at Mrs Thornber's teaching English. *Finlayson*, pp. 26, 87.

<sup>34</sup> Payne and Cosh, *History of Unley*, p. 32. Its population reached two thousand, occupying three hundred and forty four houses. This averages seven persons per dwelling, suggesting sizeable families.

<sup>35</sup> Many worked daily in Adelaide: Frearson, printer; Morphett, librarian; Morris, engineer, were listed in Park Street or in adjacent streets. *Sands and McDougall Directory*, 1888, p. 117.

<sup>36</sup> *Register*, 1st October, 1885, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7; *Register*, 28th January, 1896, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1879, p. 31. There were only twelve women in the list of thirty five non-Matriculating students in 1879, most from the Training College.

educationalists, Caroline Jacob and Annie Montgomery Martin, whose friendship and professional association she nurtured and maintained.<sup>39</sup> They passed Chemistry, a non-traditional subject for women. In 1880 Ellen continued studying with contemporaries Edith Cook and Annie Loutit, who later also ran prominent girls' schools.<sup>40</sup> She passed English Literature with Credit in 1882 and attended further University evening classes in addition to teaching duties.<sup>41</sup> From 1880 Miss Ellen taught exclusively at the newly opened Advanced School for Girls, helping to establish the high academic prestige which the school soon developed.<sup>42</sup> She was Acting Head from October, 1885 until her resignation in April, 1886.<sup>43</sup> It was beneficial to the Unley Park enterprise that Miss Ellen left the security of her mother's school during these years. Not only would her annual teacher's salary of over £110 have been a welcome addition to family finances, but in addition, her higher education and experience gained in a wider scholastic environment could be put to Unley Park's advantage. Having decided to return to teach there in 1886, she built on her acquired knowledge and encouraged the more capable pupils to aim for higher study, helping to broaden the vision of the school. The four Thornber ladies were then intimately involved with the enterprise, Mrs Thornber as figurehead, Miss Thornber as administrator, Miss Ellen with academic responsibilities and Miss Rachel as matron/housekeeper. In 1886 when Mrs Thornber advertised that she had built additional classrooms, there was no confirmation of ownership, but it appears that henceforth the larger school was under the joint direction of Mrs Thornber and her three unmarried daughters.<sup>44</sup>

Since Grace Fowler's halcyon days, the Unley Park School had developed in scope and academic intent, preparing girls for competitive public examinations. In 1885, Zoe Rosser passed Third Class in the Junior, one of only five girls from a private school, with eight from the Advanced School. This achievement was emulated in 1887 with successful Unley Park candidates in Second and Third classes of Junior and was repeated in 1888, when their first Senior Public candidate obtained four credits.<sup>45</sup> The instruction required to prepare

---

<sup>39</sup> Miss Jacob was Headmistress of Tormore School from 1897 and Miss Martin had her own academic school from 1885, developed from a more modest establishment.

<sup>40</sup> Edith Agnes Hübbe, née Cook, Headmistress of the Advanced School for Girls, 1881-1885 and Annie Freeman Loutit, Headmistress of Caithness School, Angaston, 1901-1909.

<sup>41</sup> Ellen's name also appeared on the list of students attending evening classes from 1883-1885 when either she did not attempt examinations or she failed to make the pass standard. Evidence from the Calendar suggests that many students did not sit examinations possibly as classes were from 7.30 p.m. *University of Adelaide Calendars*, 1883, 1884, 1885.

<sup>42</sup> Headmistress Miss Cook praised Miss Thornber for her untiring energy and successful teaching for public examinations. Report of Advanced School, *Register*, 20th December, 1885, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Ellen may have been disappointed at not having her Headship confirmed and subsequently left the Advanced School. *South Australian Education Department Gazette*, 11th, April, 1886, p. 18.

<sup>44</sup> *Register*, 16th January, 1886, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Subjects passed, often with credit, were English, German, Physical Geography, Animal Physiology, Botany and Physiology, and Mathematics. The first Senior successes were in English\*, Botany and Physiology\*, Physical Geography and principles of Geology, French\* and German\*. (\*Credit). *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1888, p. cclviii.

candidates in a range of subjects is an indication of the increasingly academic intent of the former 'cottage school'.

This steady growth in academic sophistication was helped by enlisting the advice of 'visiting professors', leading scholars of Adelaide. To establish public accountability, Mrs Thornber sought the assistance of men prominent in Adelaide academic circles, Professors Boulger (Latin) and Ives (Music), Archdeacon Farr and Reverend F. Williams as examiners.<sup>46</sup> Mathematics was taught by Mr Wyllie and 'our clergyman' Mr Sambell was a 'constant helper'. However, over the years the majority of the teaching staff were women. In addition to Miss Ellen, they included Mrs Loessel (German), Miss Overbury (Art), Miss Eleanor Allen (English, History and French, also Kindergarten mistress), Miss Annie Jacob (English and French), Miss Williams (Needlework), Miss Stenning (Practical Business subjects) and Miss Shannon (Junior work). Florence Hogarth was a pupil teacher in 1886 and governesses, including Old Scholars Bessie Finlayson, Maud Austin, Alma-Helena Loessel, Louisa Bayley and Ethel Ambrose, were employed in the classroom and in the Boarding House.<sup>47</sup> Lacking further education and experience, these young women could be employed more cheaply than more mature teachers.<sup>48</sup>

The academic standing of the staff was enhanced by recruiting women graduates, who included Miss Stella Howchin B.Sc., in 1894 and Old Scholar Miss May Burgess B.Sc., in 1900.<sup>49</sup> In 1898 Miss Allen, who had taken University classes but had not graduated, was encouraged to spend two years in Paris to achieve her diploma. In addition, there were visiting specialist teachers, many of whom were shared by the prominent boys' colleges.<sup>50</sup> Directing Music was Mr Stevens, assisted by Mr Mitchell for Singing. Mr Reeves maintained the high standard of elocution which Miss Thornber encouraged in everyday speech.<sup>51</sup> Monsieur Calais attended for French conversation and Herr Leschen took drill and

---

<sup>46</sup> Professor Boulger was Professor of Classics and English at the University, 1883-1894. He may have taught Ellen one of the subjects in her evening class. Professor Ives Mus. Bac. (Cantab.) was Professor of Music at the University, 1884-1901. George Henry Farr was Headmaster of St Peter's College, 1854-1878, and Francis Williams, 1882-1889. Hood, *The Collegiate School of St Peter Handbook*, p. 8; *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> *South Australian Education Gazette*, Vol.11, No. 16, September, 1886, p. 63.

<sup>48</sup> The Government pupil teacher salary in 1879 ranged from £15 to £36. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 195.

<sup>49</sup> Miss Howchin was the daughter of the University lecturer in Geology, who later became Professor.

<sup>50</sup> Stephens, Reeves and Mitchell appeared in Prince Alfred College and St Peter's Speech Day Reports. Mr Mitchell taught music in Woodville, later ran a successful Music School on North Terrace to which some of his former Thornber pupils went to take further qualifications. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 18th June, 1897, p. 15; *Register*, 15th January, 1910, p. 3. Mr Reeves had a flourishing private elocution school. Mr Calais also taught French at Mrs Kelsey's School. Herr Leschen attended many of the prestigious schools. Petersen, 'Varieties of P.E. at Way College', p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Miss Thornber explained the need and praised elocution lessons. *Register*, 16th December, 1903, p. 4.



gymnastic exercises. Each Speech day the principals warmly thanked the staff, acknowledging their ability, co-operation and earnestness in excellent work.<sup>52</sup>

Information about the Unley Park School, the only private girls' school to be mentioned in the 1898 report of South Australian education in a special enquiry set up by the British Board of Education, indicates its programme:

'ordinary curriculum' of English in all its branches, French, Mathematics, drill, classsinging, drawing, Science (Geology, Physiology, Botany). Extra subjects charged Music, Latin, painting, elocution, etc.<sup>53</sup>

This confirmed elements of the 'ladies accomplishments' curriculum of previous decades and a core of arts subjects, but the inclusion of Latin was unusual for girls.<sup>54</sup> The strong interest in and regard for a variety of sciences showed a progressive strand in a small girls' school.

Miss Thornber appreciated the need for girls to be 'at least introduced to scientific knowledge in its simpler forms' and in 1892 invited two local experts to examine work in physiology.<sup>55</sup> From 1894, Miss Howchin B.Sc ensured that Unley Park pupils had a strong grounding in, and developed an enthusiasm for, specialised sciences. To teach observation and classification skills, she led expeditions to collect wild flower specimens which the girls arranged in orders, genera and species. A skeleton and a 'magic lantern' for viewing slides aided physiology.<sup>56</sup> Geology was supported by visits to places of geological interest where the girls collected stones. The teaching of academically able pupils went further. Under Miss Howchin's tuition, the school had a fine record of success in sciences in the public examinations at both Senior and Junior levels. Indeed, in 1898, the school headed the lists in Botany and Physiology and in Geology and Physical Geography, with the only credit for these subjects at the Senior level.<sup>57</sup> However, in contrast with the boys' schools, chemistry

---

<sup>52</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1900, p. 3; *Register*, 16th December, 1904, p. 3. The Thornbers fully recognised the strength of their school and with characteristic natural graciousness and good manners reiterated the fact publicly.

<sup>53</sup> Special Report of British Board of Education on the system of Education in South Australia 1901, Pub. Her Majesties' Stationary Office, pp. 492-493.

<sup>54</sup> The preponderance of subjects with verbal bias links with educational research in the 1960s which suggests that girls throughout their school careers are better at grammar and verbal fluency than boys. J. W. B. Douglas, *The Home and the School*, (London: Panther, 1967), pp. 99-100; R. Deem, *Women and Schooling*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 27. By contrast, all seven boys' schools mentioned in the Report included Latin in the core classical subjects, most mention German and science and many indicate vocational interests in commercial subjects and carpentry.

<sup>55</sup> Dr Martin and Dr T. K. Hamilton, *Register*, 18th December, 1895, p. 7. Following her University classes in chemistry in 1879, Miss Ellen may have been instrumental in insisting that the girls studied science. Miss Howchin's appointment indicates that science was taught seriously.

<sup>56</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1896, p. 7. The skeleton, given in 1896, was mounted by friend Dr Stirling, whose family were early school pupils. Old Scholars recalled that it was kept modestly behind a silk curtain to maintain contemporary proprieties. Miss Ellen brought back the lantern from Europe in 1894. *Register*, 19th December, 1894, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1898, p. 6.

and natural philosophy (physics) were not taught at senior level, as the practical work required specialist rooms and equipment which Miss Thornber lacked.<sup>58</sup> Rather than venturing into this little tried field for South Australian girls, she chose to expand the boarding facilities where she considered her traditional market lay when she acquired some capital on her mother's death in 1894.<sup>59</sup>

The school's development of mathematics failed to parallel its scientific prominence. Although a pass at Junior Public level in 1888 confirms that pupils were prepared for the required level of skill, only one Unley Park girl offered Mathematics as an optional higher subject in 1889. Entries in Pure Mathematics at Senior level were limited to single successful candidatures in 1892 and 1893. Overall, the school suffered from the lack of a dynamic mathematics specialist of the cut of Miss Howchin until the appointment of Miss May Burgess B.Sc. in 1900. Her influence appears to have been immediate and positive, responsible for the 1900 and 1901 Senior passes, which entailed the study of Trigonometry, and for the eleven passes in Junior Algebra in 1901.<sup>60</sup>

As early as 1884, Miss Cook, Headmistress of the Advanced School realised the importance of mathematics teaching, which was being hampered by the traditional lack of female expertise in the area. Accordingly, she negotiated the release of Mr Andrew Scott, assistant master at the Training College, to take the subject with higher pupils.<sup>61</sup> Although the premier places in the mathematics examinations had been regularly taken by candidates from the boys' schools who had the benefit of specialised teaching from University trained men, he laid a firm foundation for the future success in the subject of the girls from the Advanced School. Indeed, by 1886, they gained First Class in Junior with credits in Mathematics and by 1888 attained similar results at Senior.<sup>62</sup>

Miss Thornber's girls had no similar benefit. Mr Wyllie was referred to as 'our old Maths Master' in 1891. From 1892 the Old Scholars donated a two guinea prize for arithmetic, which suggests that, unlike those given for other disciplines and for attendance, no regular maths prize had been awarded. Mathematics appears to have been a Cinderella

---

<sup>58</sup> Prince Alfred College led the schools in the development of Science teaching and had specially equipped laboratories from 1882. Discussion with R. Gibbs, School Historian, September, 1993.

<sup>59</sup> Physics and Astronomy were taught at Presbyterian Ladies' College, Melbourne from its inception in 1875. Reid, *The Ladies Came to Stay*, p. 60. Mrs Thornber's estate, of not more than £450, was left to her daughters 'as long as they did not marry'. This suggests that she had already passed on the property and the goodwill of the school to her daughters and that the latter condition assured the unmarried girls of a livelihood. Copy of will, dated 10th July, 1894, Unley Council Archives.

<sup>60</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1901, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 54.

<sup>62</sup> In 1886 three Advanced School girls attained First Class in Junior with credits in Mathematics. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1886, p. ccviii. In 1888, Stella Howchin and a classmate came top of Senior, with passes in Pure Mathematics. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1888, p. ccviii.

subject which suffered from the lack of inspired teaching. Not only were Unley Park pupils unable to challenge the boys' superiority, but their lack of expertise formed an impediment to the development of the sciences. Girls attending University found that they were disadvantaged by their incomplete study of the required Latin and Greek for graduation in Arts, and were encouraged to take a Science course.<sup>63</sup> Old Scholars Amy and May Burgess took honours science degrees in Physiology and Chemistry, which reflects the fact that they had little grounding in mathematics and physics. Ethel Ambrose, having passed Mathematics at Junior level only while a pupil at Unley Park, studied mathematics with a private tutor during her first year at University to give her the essential background for the understanding of physics needed for her medical course.<sup>64</sup> Clearly, the study of higher mathematics was not a Thornber strength.

It is important to consider why this significant subject failed to receive greater impetus. The study of higher mathematics is essentially one of logical theory developed via sequential argument, which may have little practical relevance until the theory is applied to a physical dimension. In order to ensure that the abstruse concepts are carefully explained and understood to a competence which may then be applied, the ideas require careful and intelligent teaching fired by a specialist's enthusiasm. Since Miss Cook's years of the mid-1880s, there had been little change in the numbers of South Australian teachers who had the appropriate academic qualifications to take the subject beyond a basic level, certainly insufficient numbers of trained women. The teaching by men, possibly retired, may not have presented the subject as an attractive option. That only a scant number of Unley Park girls attempted the higher subject suggests that few families wished their daughters to study at this level as many had practical interests, seeing little relevance in studying abstractions.<sup>65</sup> There may also have been a remnant of earlier thinking, a hint of the 'weaker brains' of girls, which was not moderated by the success of able girls in public examination results. That so few girls attempted the subject did not encourage a growth in confidence of less able girls and thus the pattern continued. The history of mathematics teaching at Unley Park is typical of the difficulties which were found in the majority of girls' schools, demonstrating the academic limitations which were unwittingly placed on their most able scholars in areas which were to assume gathering importance in the new century.

---

<sup>63</sup> Even though Latin was taught as an 'extra' only one Thornber candidate passed the required Senior, in 1896. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1897, p. E 65.

<sup>64</sup> She passed Higher Public in Mathematics in 1897 with Private Study. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1898, p. 403.

<sup>65</sup> This was especially marked in the boarders. For instance, in 1901, Lily King came from a property near Kapunda, Minnie Sutherland from the Golden Horseshoe Mine, Kalgoorlie, W. A., and the three Tucker sisters from the Telegraph Station in Mount Gambier. Old Scholars' Lists. S.R.G. 41, M.L.S.A.

There is evidence that the tendency of girls not studying complex mathematics has continued. Over the period 1970-1980, journal inclusions in *The Australian Mathematical Teacher* reveal only one article on girls in mathematics, suggesting a heavily masculine domination of the subject.<sup>66</sup> Recent evidence from South Australian public examinations demonstrates that the number of girls sitting the most complex mathematical subjects fell behind those of boys by 46% of the total enrolment.<sup>67</sup>

The girls studied grammar and literature with regular success.<sup>68</sup> University educated Miss Ellen and Miss Allen selected predominantly English works with a distinctly moral flavour to uphold the school's aim of developing the character.<sup>69</sup> Pupils were encouraged to read widely and senior girls were able to explore a wider insight into the subject.<sup>70</sup> Examination results were consistently of credit or pass standard.<sup>71</sup> In 1900, Miss Allen edited a modest school magazine which gave opportunities of writing reports of school functions and for original work in poetry and prose.<sup>72</sup> As Miss Thornber thought that a well modulated voice was an attractive requirement for a girl, the spoken word also received attention.<sup>73</sup> However, they were only trained to communicate the concepts of others. Consistent with the Victorian ideal of not unduly projecting oneself, girls were not trained to develop arguments in public speaking, speech-making or debating or to enunciate their ideas with confidence in public. By contrast, clarity of self-expression and correct speech were taught to boys, as it was assumed they would require them in their future public lives.<sup>74</sup>

French teaching developed appreciably after the rote learning days of M. Marval. In 1892 a second class was begun to give an early start to the subject, enabling all pupils to study the language in middle years where M. Calais was employed to encourage fluency in

---

<sup>66</sup> 'Mathematics in Australia has developed along conventional, male-based lines'. Gilah Leder, 'Contextual Setting and Mathematical Performance', in *Australian Mathematics Teacher*, Vol.32, No. 4, 1976, p. 124.

<sup>67</sup> Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia Annual Report, 1994, p. 77.

<sup>68</sup> In the 1880s and 1890s the study of English included history, mainly British, which was examined as part of English papers. From 1901 the study of history was examined on its own. *University of Adelaide Calendars*.

<sup>69</sup> They studied Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, Prescott and Tennyson. *Register*, 21st December, 1892, p. 7. The choice of literature was shaped by 'Whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report.' *Register*, 14th December, 1899, p. 6.

<sup>70</sup> By this they meant Dickens and Kingsley, Langlands and Chaucer, not contemporary Australian authors. *Register*, 19th December, 1891, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> Indeed, only one candidature, the 1896 Senior, failed to record Unley Park successes in English. In total, there were twelve credits and forty seven passes between 1885 and 1901. *University of Adelaide Calendars*.

<sup>72</sup> The final edition in 1906 has ten pages. The imaginative spirit fostered at school was later put into practice by Old Scholar Tarella Quin who gained recognition and applause for her novel *Desert Rose*.

<sup>73</sup> In 1901 Thornber Old Scholar Emma Burford won the elocution prize at the Elder Conservatorium of the University. Scholar Mignon Weston shared the prize in 1905. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1906, p. 292.

<sup>74</sup> Prince Alfred College Headmaster, Mr Chapple was insistent on correct speech and clear delivery of ideas and paid great attention to it. Gibbs, *History of Prince Alfred College*, p. 70.

conversation.<sup>75</sup> In senior classes, particularly for those girls who had progressed through the school, Miss Annie Jacob prepared candidates thoroughly for examinations, achieving steady success until she left in 1897.<sup>76</sup> From 1894, the examination syllabus did not refer to a particular text, forcing originality in teaching method. Accordingly, Miss Jacob's successor, native speaker Madame Durand, gave an immediate impetus to this modern approach, reviving the study of French classical authors and ordering current French magazines.<sup>77</sup> Having acquired contemporary expertise in Paris, Miss Allen instituted special conversation classes for current pupils, Old Scholars and other interested linguists.<sup>78</sup> Thanks to her modern training, examination successes continued and there was a marked improvement in pronunciation, confirming that the school kept abreast of modern education developments.<sup>79</sup>

The majority of girls studied French as part of their regular programme, but German was also taught, although it never achieved the same prominence and initially may have been classed as an 'extra'. In 1887 Rhea Loessel passed Matriculation with a credit in German.<sup>80</sup> Her mother continued to teach the subject at Unley Park, preparing the six girls who passed German at Junior and those tackling Senior, who achieved passes and a credit. By employing Miss Naudebaum, a native German speaker who took an experimental class with younger children in 1893, the school further encouraged interest in languages.<sup>81</sup>

Latin, the central pillar of the Classical curriculum followed by generations of boys throughout the English speaking world, maintained its importance in South Australia as a requirement for entry into the University Arts, Law and Medical faculties and thus its prominent position in boys' schools.<sup>82</sup> As an advertised 'extra' subject it was taken up by at least one Thornber girl who passed Senior in 1896. Possibly as a result of Miss Thornber's visit to English High schools in 1900, reference was made next year to the special attention paid to Latin and to the keen interest of the girls, implying that at least one group studied the

---

<sup>75</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1895, p. 7.

<sup>76</sup> Twenty passed Senior (two with credit), and twenty one Junior (two credits). *University of Adelaide Calendars*.

<sup>77</sup> Mme Durand was chosen for the school in England by prominent Cambridge educationist, Miss Hughes. *Register*, 15th December, 1897, p. 9.

<sup>78</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1898, p. 6; *Register*, 15th December, 1900, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1901, p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> Miss Loessel (Alma-Helena), possibly a sister, was a governess at the Unley Park School from 1887-1890, having been a pupil teacher in the Education Department from 1881-1885. *South Australian Education Gazette*, Vol. 1, No. 6, September, 1885, p. 34.

<sup>81</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1893, p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> The small boys' class of the 1880s and early 1890s at the Unley Park School was taught Latin in preparation for further work at their colleges.

subject, though not for examinations.<sup>83</sup> Unley Park public examination results are shown in Table VI.

**Table VI**  
**Unley Park Public Examinations 1885-1901**

Year	Senior Passes		Junior Passes	
	No		No	
1885	0		1	1En 1Bo 1G
1886	0		1	1En 1Fr 1Bo 1G
1887	0		2	2En 2Fr 2Gm*1G
1888	2	2En* 1Fr* 2Gm* 2Bo* 2G	1	1En 1Ma 1Bo
1889	2	2En* 2Fr 2Bo**2G	1	2En 2Fr 1Ma 2Bo
1890	2	2En 2Fr* 2G	0	
1891	0		5	5Eg**5Fr 5Bo**
1892	6	6Eg***6Fr 1Ma 6Bo 6G	6	6Eg*** 6Fr 5Bo**
1893	6	6Eg* 6Fr 1Gm 1Ma 5Bo* 3G	3	3Eg* 3Fr 3Bo*
1894	0		7	7Eg*7Fr 7Bo
1895	5	5Eg 5Fr 5Bo 5G	7	7Eg*7Fr 2Gm 7Bo*
1896	6	1La 5Bo*****	3	3Eg 3Fr**3Bo*
1897	4	3Eg 3Fr 1Ma 3Bo* 3G*	1	1Eg* 1Fr* 1Gm 1Bo*
1898	1	1Eg 1Fr* 1Gm 1Bo* 1G*	3	2Eg 2Fr 3Bo
1899	3	3Eg* 3Fr* 1Gm 3Bo**	8	8Eg 8Fr 8Bo
1900	5	5Eg 4Fr 4Bo 4G	4	3Eg 3Fr 4Bo*
1901	1	1Eg 1Fr 1Gm 1Al 1Ge 1Tr 1Phy*	13	9Eg 11Fr 4Ar 6Al 3Ge 7Phy* 3G

Source: *University of Adelaide Calendars, 1885-1901.*

Key: No: Number of candidates awarded certificates.

Subjects: En: English; Fr: French; Gm: German; La: Latin; Ma: Mathematics; Bo: Botany and Physiology; Ar: Arithmetic; Al: Algebra; Ge: Geometry; Tr: Trigonometry; Phy: Physics; G; Geography.

\* Individual credits.

<sup>83</sup> Miss Thornber would have been made aware that academic pupils in Britain also required Latin for University entrance. *Register*, 19th December, 1901, p. 4.

This demonstrates that subjects most frequently offered for candidature at Mrs Thornber's were English, French, Botany and Physiology, and Geography and Geology. The fact that they were repeated year by year with almost monotonous regularity reflects the comparatively unadventurous choice offered to candidates by the University examiners.<sup>84</sup> Results indicate that Unley Park teaching was of predictably high quality. However, in concert with many contemporary educators, the Thornbers maintained that the examinations did not take first place and were only an adjunct to their 'great aim to give their girls a love of goodness and truth and modesty.' They wished to 'give time to inculcate habits of neatness and refinement, teaching that it is a good thing to be clever, but a better thing to be good.'<sup>85</sup> Accordingly, deprecating the narrowness of examination syllabuses, with Miss Allen they encouraged their girls to read widely.<sup>86</sup> The Thornbers were delighted in 1894 when their most senior girls enjoyed 'a delightful year studying physics, chemistry, mathematics, art and literature without regard to marks and examinations.'<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, they were undoubtedly keen to encourage able scholars to gain acceptance into higher education as the annual exposition of examination successes appears both as a confirmation of this intent and as a public exercise in accountability. However, the ultimate aim of the school was to offer a wide liberal education in order to advance the moral and mental welfare of the pupils. This was the Thornbers' life work and their 'hobby to which they devoted themselves'.<sup>88</sup>

In this spirit of a broad education the principals did not overlook education for the home where they expected their girls to carry out duties. Fancy needlework, 'always attractive to womanly minds and fingers', was taught to the boarders and all junior and middle classes learned needle skills.<sup>89</sup> Joined by older girls when their examinations were finished, they sewed decorative Christmas presents for the residents of the House of Mercy at Walkerville. On Saturday mornings in 1903 the boarders made good progress learning cookery at the School of Mines. The Thornbers had been accustomed to the benefits of home help, so this encouragement of independence from paid labour in the home, promoting efficiency and self dependence, was a progressive and far sighted appreciation of modern domestic reality.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> In 1893, Senior offered six languages, two mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Botany/Physiology, and Geography/Geology. There were fewer Junior subjects, which confirms the narrowness of the examination curriculum. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1894, pp. cclxxi, cclxxiv.

<sup>85</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7; *Register*, 19th December, 1891, p. 6.

<sup>86</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1895, p. 7. Miss Allen had an enquiring mind, as during her year abroad she visited Egypt and Europe, including Rome, Florence and Milan. She appears to have been a stimulating and interesting teacher. Later, she became a Doctor of Philosophy and Psychology. Hinton, ed., *Ethel Ambrose*, p. 66.

<sup>87</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1894, p. 7.

<sup>88</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1892, p. 7.

<sup>89</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1902, p. 8. A boarder recalled 'dear old Mrs Thornber teaching us to blend gay silks and make cross-stitch cloths.' *Advertiser*, 11th May, 1933, p. 10.

<sup>90</sup> This spirit of independence was shared by Mrs Kelsey, who also sent her girls to learn cookery and dressmaking at the School of Mines, a reflection of the increasing economic reality of their class in modern life. See chapter 6.

Miss Thornber also explored other modern practical opportunities for her girls, acquiring a Yost typewriter and mimeograph in 1898 so they could learn typing and shorthand.<sup>91</sup> However, there is no publicly recorded evidence that the girls might use these new skills in the future as a means of making a livelihood outside the home.

Miss Thornber and Miss Ellen kept abreast of modern developments in education in England. Miss Ellen had an educational visit 'home' in 1894 when she visited Girls' High Schools and attended the annual meeting of the English Teachers' Guild, cementing the link with the South Australian branch of which she and her sister were members.<sup>92</sup> Overall she found that English schools taught similar subjects with matching methods of instruction, though she observed more 'heart and energy' and consequently paid greater attention to physical exercise at Unley Park. She brought back two ideas for debate and exploration - the advantage of personal beneficence in private schools via scholarships and the hope that Australian girls would stay longer at school.<sup>93</sup> At the age of sixty three, Miss Thornber also went to England in 1900 to study leading schools, encouraging a more thorough study of Latin and mathematics on her return. The initiation of a more structured Harpurhey Club for Old Scholars may also have been adapted from the concept developed by one of the larger English associations.<sup>94</sup> Miss Allen's European visit helped to clarify ideas about the Kindergarten class, in addition to increasing her confidence in spoken French and extending her background in English literature. The importance of these visits was twofold. Not only were they a source of personal refreshment and renewal to the educators, but they were also a clear display of their open approach to educational advance, demonstrating their wish to give their pupils the best tried methods based on contemporary educational theory and practice. The reliance which was placed on the standards of 'Home' rather than the acceptance of those currently in vogue in other Australian colonies, is indicative that British influence in education continued to be strongly felt, even at a distance of 14 000 miles.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> *Register*, 15th January, 1898, p. 2; *Register*, 15th December, 1897, p. 9. Muirdens and The Adelaide Shorthand and Business Academy, Business Colleges which trained girls for office duties, were founded in this era. Some girls may have left Unley Park early, especially in the drought and depression years of the 1890s, to learn these marketable skills. Miss Thornber may have been trying to stem the early flow of girls whom she considered too young to leave school.

<sup>92</sup> In addition to Ceylon, Aden, Gibraltar and Norway, she visited Oxford, Cambridge and Stratford. Her school correspondence was used to good effect as a teaching tool to the girls. *Register*, 19th December, 1894, p. 7. The South Australian Guild was formed in 1881. Miss Ellen was a member from 1886, Miss Allen from 1887. Minutes, Collegiate Schools Association, V 1224, M.L.S.A.

<sup>93</sup> Miss Ellen found that English girls were given the opportunity of continuing their studies at school to a much more mature age than Australian girls. This helped to lessen their preciosity and deepen their sense of reverence by decreasing the cramming nature of their academic work, and encouraged a keener love of literature. *Register*, 19th December, 1894, p. 7.

<sup>94</sup> For instance, Cheltenham Ladies' College also ran St Hilda's College for teachers and a guild of old college members, based on principles of 'continued self-education and service to the community'. Avery, *Best Type of Girl*, p. 122.

<sup>95</sup> A distinctive 'colonial attitude' to education was not obvious and there is no evidence that the Thornbers travelled to Melbourne or Sydney to compare educational ideas.



One area in the school which was particularly influenced by European thought was the education of the very young.<sup>96</sup> From 1855 Unley Park had accepted children from their first school years. In 1890 modern kindergarten methods, including weaving and working with fingers and an emphasis on early musical activities, were successfully introduced to the youngest children.<sup>97</sup> From 1895 the Kindergarten was separated from the rest of the school and housed in its own airy room and garden, enabling the children to undertake an autonomous programme. The cultivation of small gardens inspired observation and a joy of the outdoors where there was regular opportunity for games and play. Songs, dialogues, pictures and stories encouraged the stimulation of imagination.<sup>98</sup> Following these distinctive ideas of Froebel, Miss Allen maintained that kindergarten learning helped to train minds in observation and fingers in accuracy, in addition to early and prompt obedience.<sup>99</sup> The small size of the class, ten pupils in 1898, twelve in 1900, ensured that the education was personal, and the children were reported to be industrious and happy in their ideal surroundings.<sup>100</sup>

Believing that small boys needed the nurture of women, neither Prince Alfred College nor St Peter's took younger boys until the early years of the twentieth century when they could appoint a specially trained teacher for the age group.<sup>101</sup> During the 1880s at Unley Park a small group of boys was accepted to Class 1, but in 1891 eight boys extended their stay which merited a further special class.<sup>102</sup> Miss Thornber was pleased that the boys did well when they moved on as she considered that they confirmed the school's values of a good foundation and hard work.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, she decided to terminate the class in 1897 to give extra space to boarders. However, in the early years of the 20th century boys were again accepted. Unley Park's most distinguished Old Scholar, Howard Florey, developer of penicillin and Nobel Prize winner, attended from 1904 until 1907, meriting acclaim from the start of his career.<sup>104</sup> Miss Thornber would have been gratified that his early education

---

<sup>96</sup> Especially the ideas of German Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) in the kindergarten.

<sup>97</sup> Younger pupils performed Haydn's 'Toy Symphony' and gave a presentation of a dance minuet at the 1895 Speech Day. *Register*, 18th December, 1895, p. 7.

<sup>98</sup> Miss Allen also took senior English classes, which suggests that the kindergarten was held during mornings only.

<sup>99</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1896, p. 10.

<sup>100</sup> *Register*, 14th December, 1899, p. 6.

<sup>101</sup> Their histories confirm that Prince Alfred College opened their prep. in 1911 and St Peter's in 1910. The prevailing ideology was that men did not interact with young boys as they were better handled by their mothers, or mother substitutes, until they were ready to be toughened up by male interaction. Discussion with R. Gibbs, Prince Alfred historian.

<sup>102</sup> Taken by Old Scholar, Miss Austin who learned her skills as a governess. Some left at the opening of nearby Way College in 1892. *Register*, 21st December, 1892, p. 7.

<sup>103</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7.

<sup>104</sup> Some details of the school are inaccurately described in the newest biography of Florey. Gwyn Macfarlane, *Howard Florey, the Making of a great Scientist*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 35.

under the 'glorious guidance of Froebel' should have helped to nurture such creative brilliance.

There is evidence that Music played a prominent part in the life of the school. Each Speech Day the Director of Music, Mr Mitchell, carefully prepared a varied programme for public appreciation. This regularly consisted of class singing, under the direction of Mr Stevens, high quality solo and duet piano work and dramatic presentations of Mr Reeves' elocution class. In 1897, for instance, the smallest pupils presented a cantata 'An Hour in Fairyland' with solo and choral performances, and the 'trial scene' from *The Merchant of Venice* was mounted by elocution pupils. However, the important item of the evening was a short comic operetta concerning the Women's Rights movement, with words specially written for the occasion and music composed by Mr Stevens. Its choice reflected the open mindedness of the principals who thereby educated the girls and the audience in the contemporary topical debate.<sup>105</sup> Girls were prepared for public music examinations and results were always a matter of pride and rejoicing. Reflecting the high standards which were consistently achieved, the *Register* in 1890 reported passes by the total candidature in both theory and practice, several with First Class honours, giving particular acclaim to a candidate who obtained the highest marks awarded.<sup>106</sup> Over the years, success followed success. Prizes were liberally given in theory and for practical work on piano, violin and in singing and in 1902 a silver medal was presented to a pupil for obtaining 100% in examinations for the second year running.<sup>107</sup> On leaving school, many girls continued music at the University, taking singing or piano. Fannie de Mole studied thus and later taught French and Music with success at Tormore. Ethel Hantke, one of Mr Stevens' promising singers, built on her 1902 Conservatorium scholarship and graduated to further training in Paris.<sup>108</sup>

The study of art took a conspicuous place in the curriculum. Following Froebel, younger children were encouraged to express themselves in craft activities and every older pupil had drawing as a regular discipline, though painting, skilfully and carefully taught by visiting Miss Overbury, was an 'extra'.<sup>109</sup> Annually girls were successful in the public examinations set from 1887 by the South Australian School of Design. Five girls passed freehand in 1890, but thereafter reports become increasingly varied and explicit, a consequence of the

---

<sup>105</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1897, p. 9. After much keenly argued debate, women in South Australia received the franchise and the right to stand for Parliament in 1894, pioneers in the Western world.

<sup>106</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7.

<sup>107</sup> Subsequent Speech Day Reports confirm that this medal was given annually from 1902 as a stimulus for greater exertions by parent Mr R. D. Wendt, a prominent Adelaide jeweller.

<sup>108</sup> She won the 1902 Oratorio prize at the Elder conservatorium in 1902. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1906, p. 292.

<sup>109</sup> These included basketwork, plaiting and drawing. *Register*, 20th December, 1893 p. 3; *Register*, 16th December, 1903, p. 4.

widespread development of the subject in schools where courses of plane geometry and design expanded the diversity. The scope was further extended when the examinations were graded so that talented artists could aim at higher achievement levels each year. At Unley Park increased attention was given to model drawing and painting from nature and girls were also entered for examinations set by London's South Kensington School of Art from 1892. Each Speech Day Miss Thornber announced the successes with pride, drawing particular attention to the many Excellents and Credits, creating the impression that the attainment of art at Unley Park was one of consistent high achievement. However, the examination appeared to be the ultimate arbitrator, thwarting the subject by its conformity and conservatism.<sup>110</sup> A search after beauty for its own sake in form, texture and line was not obvious. This is somewhat surprising, as the Thornber family appreciated beauty in Nature. Their garden, with magnificent large trees, lawns and carefully tended flower beds created an ambience of elegance and tranquillity.<sup>111</sup> Further, Miss Ellen particularly wrote in letters to the school that her visit 'home' in 1894 included excursions to Oxford and Cambridge which were 'exquisite in their beauty'.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, the place of art in the school appears to be somewhat constrained by the examination requirements and to lack the vitality and personality of spontaneous appreciation.

Guest speaker at the 1892 Speech Day was Dr E.C. Stirling M.A. who discussed 'A Healthy Mind in a Healthy Body'. In England he was impressed by the much improved appearance of young women thanks to greater attention given to open air sports. However, he feared that Australian girls were liable to an increasingly degenerate physique as they had not yet adopted vigorous open-air exercise. He encouraged more fresh air and recreation. Accordingly, an enhanced emphasis on physical activity was developed at Unley Park. The school was blessed with spacious grounds. Whereas the swing and free activity in the playground were popular in the early 1870s, twenty years later a lawn was developed for a tennis court and saw 'many a game of fun and frolic', with the presentation of a tennis racquet, a prize in competition.<sup>113</sup> In 1894 Miss Ellen observed for herself the extent and the variety of exercise practised in English girls' High Schools and on her return she implemented certain features. Herr Leschen increased his offering in the school's physical activity by introducing club swinging to supplement the regular drill discipline and added

---

<sup>110</sup> The Speech Day account confirms this point, stating, 'The art classes under Miss Overbury have done excellent work; some charming sketches in oil and water colours show much taste and skill.' However, this is followed by: 'We obtained eighteen passes in the late examination of which two were excellent and eight were good.' There appeared to be a lack of appreciation of the work itself. Its attribute was in being of the required subject and standard to pass the examination. *Register*, 17th December, 1896, p. 10.

<sup>111</sup> The classrooms were decorated with seasonal blooms and the boarders' rooms were named after the flowers planted below. The girls were encouraged to tend individual plots in order to stimulate a taste for flowers - but also a love of order and neatness. *Register*, 21st December, 1892, p. 7.

<sup>112</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1894, p. 7.

<sup>113</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1893, p. 3.

calisthenics and rings to create a display repertoire for public demonstration.<sup>114</sup> To encourage more active sports, the development of the Boarding House included a special playground for boarders giving increased space for cricket and tennis.<sup>115</sup> From 1897 boarders were driven twice a week to the Glenelg baths to learn swimming. However, unlike contemporary girls' schools in Britain and a few of the more progressive ones in South Australia, there is no evidence of competitive team sport within the school, with Old Scholars or against other schools, until 1907.<sup>116</sup> Overall, Miss Thornber was 'not unmindful of physical exercise in the midst of earnest work' and reported that the girls 'enjoyed their cricket and tennis as healthy girls should'.<sup>117</sup> She was certainly proud of the school's opportunities to maintain optimum health, which resulted in their escaping epidemics like measles in 1893.<sup>118</sup>

The pupils' health was a constant concern. Typhoid was reported in the colony in 1886, tuberculosis was a constant scourge and occasional outbreaks of diphtheria, measles and influenza were feared. Miss Thornber regularly stressed the healthy location of the school, referring to the school's light airy rooms for classes and for Boarders and the cool, extensive grounds.<sup>119</sup> She drew attention to the excellence of the fresh water from the natural spring and to the addition of deep drainage in 1899, important factors considered by concerned parents nervous of their daughters' welfare.<sup>120</sup> Miss Thornber was thankful for the wonderful health which her household enjoyed.<sup>121</sup>

This household comprised more than her immediate family. The first two boarders in 1855 were housed *en famille* in the original small cottage on the three acre block but from 1888 they occupied enlarged quarters adapted for their needs. Some further modifications were made in 1892 to meet the demand of increased enrolments but Harpurhey's zenith came in 1895 when the original building was enlarged.<sup>122</sup> A castellated tower and spire shaped roof were added, under which was an impressive principal staircase of kauri pine and polished cedar creating eight new bedrooms with balconies and five bathrooms, twenty three

---

<sup>114</sup> Unley Park girls took part in the Leschen Demonstrations for over one thousand school pupils in 1897 and 1900. Petersen, 'Varieties of P.E. at Way College', p. 11.

<sup>115</sup> Recalled by "Louisa", *Advertiser*, 11th May, 1933, p. 10.

<sup>116</sup> Hardwicke fostered competitive team games from the 1890s and Methodist Ladies' College, The Advanced School, Mrs Browns' and St Aloysius played competitive tennis in the early years of the new century.

<sup>117</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1897, p. 9.

<sup>118</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1893, p. 3.

<sup>119</sup> Miss Thornber announced that the house had not had a case of sickness in 1897, attributable to the dry season and good water supply. *Register*, 15th December, 1897, p. 9.

<sup>120</sup> *Register*, 14th December, 1899, p. 6.

<sup>121</sup> A reminder of the early deaths of South Australians is exemplified in Old Scholars' records in 1893, 1898 and 1899. S.R.G. 41, M.L.S.A.

<sup>122</sup> Before 1896 the house was described as an eight roomed house on 4.5 acres, assessed at £50. Paxton, *Ladies of the Province*, p. 7.

rooms in total.<sup>123</sup> Adjacent to small farms in pleasant open country, the fine building was set off by magnificent grounds dominated by large shady trees.<sup>124</sup> Miss Rachel maintained special responsibility to oversee the smooth running of the house. Her domestic staff included a cook, maids, a gardener and groom who managed the stabling arrangements.<sup>125</sup>

At Harpurhey Miss Thornber could accommodate thirty boarders, some of whom travelled great distances. The South Australian girls came from properties on the Murray, from farms in the fertile South-East, from the mid-North wheat-growing areas as well as from the towns made prosperous by mining industries. But girls also came from other colonies. Two girls came from the Western Australian gold town of Kalgoorlie and one from Broken Hill in New South Wales.<sup>126</sup> Two Victorian sisters came from Red Hill. Most of the girls' families made a livelihood from the land, but ministers of the Church of England, engineers, country lawyers, a public schoolmaster and the manager of a Post Office also sent their daughters to be educated under the Thornbers' care.

The boarders led a happy and carefree existence. Up at six for music practice, then the welcome breakfast bell and a 'crocodile' walk booted and hatted, governessed by a youthful teacher. Lessons, games, music and other recreations occupied the working hours, before a hymn and a glass of milk with a biscuit concluded the day at eight o'clock. Leisure hours spent reading, gentle swings under the Moreton Bay fig, informal games of tennis and cricket and trips to Glenelg on Saturday afternoons in the summer were recalled with pleasure.<sup>127</sup> The Sunday walk over open fields in all weathers summer or winter to St Michael's Church in Mitcham and the dancing classes on Wednesday afternoons were vivid and happy memories. As is characteristic of girls of their age, boarders spent much time thinking of their appearance. Of great importance was hair - a welter of plaits, curls, ringlets and fringes - used as a distinguishing feature in the pen-portraits of Old Scholars in the final magazine.<sup>128</sup> Although the girls had no official school uniform, wasp waists, sober black hose and lace-up or buttoned boots were remembered.<sup>129</sup> As a protection against the sun the girls wore hats which had the distinguishing feature of a metal school badge.

---

<sup>123</sup> In keeping with Dr Stirling's advice, the rooms were large and airy. *Register*, 28th January, 1896, p. 7.

<sup>124</sup> The open land would be a welcome reminder to boarders of their home terrain. However, it was gradually eroded by the elegant properties of the successful middle class.

<sup>125</sup> Old Scholar Mollie Bowen, 1903 till 1906, recalled that older girls drove themselves to school in governess carts or pony traps, leaving animals who required attention. Interview, 16th October, 1993. Hebe ('Lil') Perry was a domestic helper with the Thornbers in the 1890s. She liked the Thornbers as they kept up the acquaintance after her marriage, which suggests that they were fair employers who took a personal interest in their household. Telephone conversation with daughter, 1st October, 1993.

<sup>126</sup> Information from the Old Scholar Records. S.R.G. 41.

<sup>127</sup> By Old Scholar "Louisa" in 'article, 'Out Among the People', *Advertiser*, 11th May, 1933, p. 10.

<sup>128</sup> 'Very fair'; 'golden hair too'; 'She had beautiful hair.' *Unley Park Magazine*, 1906, p. 9.

<sup>129</sup> 'Louisa' learned with horror that 'a visitor to the school had never worn a corset in her life, though her figure seemed to flow and was untied', which suggests that this garment was worn regularly. The practice

The girls' welfare and happiness were predominant in the life of the Thornbers. Open-minded and secure in their own family life, they tried to ensure that the girls had the opportunity to meet the brothers and friends of other pupils. Annually, they were hostesses at the school dance, the highlight of the girls' social activity, which was eagerly anticipated.<sup>130</sup> The invitations were carefully monitored so that the girls made suitable social contacts as befitted the daughters whose parents made the 'large and fashionable gathering' at the opening of the new Harpurhey.<sup>131</sup> The Thornbers accurately anticipated the needs of their clientele and entertained them with exemplary style and grace.<sup>132</sup>

Reminiscent of early English pioneers of higher education for women, Emily Davies and Elizabeth Wordsworth, who guarded their hard fought position against male opposition with unremitting attention to the ladylike proprieties, the Thornbers shaped their school by their daily example of refined living.<sup>133</sup> Mrs Thornber, the epitome of a gracious Victorian lady, treated everyone with the most formal courtesy and respect.<sup>134</sup> Her quiet and determined presence was the dominant influence pervading the school which, within her lifetime, was referred to as 'one of the brightest pages in the educational history of South Australia'.<sup>135</sup> Mrs Thornber was given absolute support by her daughters, two of whom had assumed the role of Principals by 1888.<sup>136</sup> The eldest, Miss Catherine, was the pillar of the school for over fifty years. She was the overall organiser who interviewed the parents and dealt with the financial and business side of school management. Her pupils trusted and loved her, remembering her as small yet dignified, gentle yet precise, calm, not easily roused, but capable of righteous anger.<sup>137</sup> Miss Ellen was a contrast. With her early University education and wider experience, she was responsible for the academic tone. Her status as the youngest member of the family required her to defer to her older sister's wishes, but in the school her authority was unquestioned.<sup>138</sup> To the girls, she was a law unto herself, a

---

came under fire from medical specialists who linked it with lung constriction and by the pupils when they started to play more strenuous sports in the early years of the twentieth century.

<sup>130</sup> Article 'Fifty Years a Schoolmistress' quoted a 'well known man in the City' who upheld that the school was renowned for its annual dances for which invitations were most eagerly sought. *Register*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4 (Women's Page). Thornber dances were also recalled by a respondent to a radio 'talk' programme whose father was still talking about them in his eighties.

<sup>131</sup> *Register*, 14th December, 1899, p. 6.

<sup>132</sup> Mrs Thornber's was very fashionable, with the Principals having 'good clothes'. 1899 diary of Mrs Harriet Caw, O.H. 3/1, M.L.S.A.

<sup>133</sup> Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, pp. 77-93.

<sup>134</sup> *Observer*, 6th December, 1924, p. 15. An obituary writer believed, 'She was beloved by all, her quiet, gentle ways had a wonderful power.' *Register*, 19th December, 1894, p. 7.

<sup>135</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1893, p. 6.

<sup>136</sup> Mrs Thornber was seventy in 1882 so it is probable that the daughters had almost total oversight of the school in the 1880s.

<sup>137</sup> Written as a tribute by Old Scholar May Burgess. 'Fifty years a Schoolmistress', *Register*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4 (Women's Page).

<sup>138</sup> Miss Ellen was referred to as 'she who must be obeyed'. *Register*, 15th December, 1897, p. 9.

feared presence, a compelling power with astuteness and energy, who could instil quiet with a sharp clap.<sup>139</sup> She had a straight back and an eagle eye, though certain quaint mannerisms reflected a more lovable and human aspect.<sup>140</sup> Overall, the Thornbers were 'ladies' whose behaviour, prestige and moral influence were the drawing card and the undoubted reason for the success of the school. By their careful interpretation of the needs of their clientele and their modern educational approach they charted a hazardous, yet successful path, blending propitious behaviour with serious academic intent. In achieving their aims, they transformed the possibilities of their pupils within a generation.

The school was not only the abiding interest of the Thornbers, it was also their livelihood. Fees charged were their sole income so numbers were crucial to the enterprise's smooth running, yearly planning and forward development, as demonstrated in Table VII.

**Table VII**  
**Numbers of Unley Park School Pupils 1890-1906**

Year	Day Pupils	Boarders	Total
<b>1890</b>	121	24	145
<b>1891</b>	122	26	148
<b>1892</b>	130	26	156
<b>1893</b>	128	35	153
<b>1894</b>	large senior class	similar to 1893	similar to 1893
<b>1895</b>	'same' numbers	'same' numbers	'same' numbers
<b>1896</b>	130	26	156
<b>1897</b>	109	30	139
<b>1898</b>	100	25	125
<b>1899</b>	84	28	112
<b>1900</b>		no information	
<b>1901</b>	83	23	106
<b>1902</b>	70s	fewer	90s
<b>1903</b>	80s	<20	about 100
<b>1904</b>	80s	<20	about 100
<b>1905</b>	80 senior girls	<20	about 100
<b>1906</b>	60 senior girls	<20	about 80

Source: *Register Speech Day Reports and Report to the British Government, 1899.*

<sup>139</sup> *Unley Park Magazine*, 1906, p. 2.

<sup>140</sup> Miss Ellen absent-mindedly fingered her cameo brooch when she was deeply engrossed. *Advertiser*, 11th May, 1933, p. 10.

The school's most prosperous years of the 1890s decade coincided with poor seasons on the land and the failure of the Bank of Adelaide. However, numbers continued to rise until 1896 as the table illustrates. There is scant evidence concerning the financial position of the school and the simple advertisements give no financial information. However, the 1897 statistics for the English Enquiry furnish some details.<sup>141</sup> The school charged a modest two guineas for each of four terms for tuition with Latin, German, painting and music as 'extras'.<sup>142</sup> There is no reference to reductions for younger pupils, for sisters or for the daughters of clergy. With similar expenses to be covered as other schools considered, nearly two thirds of the fee income would be expended before the Thornbers could consider saving for the future development of the school, towards their own retirement or for the many charities in which they had an interest.<sup>143</sup>

The boarding fees would be calculated to ensure that their income fully covered the annual Harpurhey expenses. By contrast to the modest fee charged for a day pupil at Mrs Thornber's, the boarding fees were similar to those of other colleges. Over £1000 would be required annually for Miss Rachel's requirements in order to keep the household running smoothly to meet the standard expected by discerning parents. At least twenty five boarders each year would ensure that the Boarding House met its expenses and enable the Thornbers to retain their domestic helpers whose labour would ensure the refinement and quality of their home life throughout the year. The gradual drop in boarding numbers from 1900, especially as the mortgage on the newly redesigned building may still have been an expense to be met, would cause concern and may have required withdrawals from saved capital.<sup>144</sup>

Although the Thornbers maintained an establishment of refinement and order which attracted the daughters of the wealthier families from the land, they were sympathetic to the plight of the less affluent. Regularly they supported girls who otherwise could not have attended, including clergy daughters.<sup>145</sup> Having been impressed by the private beneficence and generous endowments enjoyed by some of the larger English girls' schools giving aid to deserving scholars and to buildings, in honour of Queen Victoria's 1897 Jubilee the Thornbers inaugurated a scholarship. It was awarded by competition among the 'daughters of Parochial Clergymen holding the License of the Bishop', the holder entitled to free tuition

---

<sup>141</sup> Special Report of British Board of Education, pp. 492-493.

<sup>142</sup> These were low as the Report confirms that the boys' schools charged considerably more.

<sup>143</sup> The Mayor of Adelaide, Mr Theodore Bruce, Thornber parent, revealed that hardly a local charity existed which had not been generously supported by the Thornbers, which had confirmed their high standing in the area. *Observer*, 15th December, 1906, p. 12.

<sup>144</sup> The value of the property, buildings and equipment was quoted at £4000 in 1897. *Register*, 28th January, 1896, p. 7. In spite of Mrs Thornber's will of £450, the extra expense may have necessitated a mortgage.

<sup>145</sup> Mollie Bowen recall her clerical parents discussing difficulties faced by impecunious clergy.



and board at Unley Park School for two years.<sup>146</sup> In 1902 the Old Scholars diverted their annual prizes into a £10 annual scholarship, to confer a lasting benefit on an outside candidate selected as 'she who most required their help'.<sup>147</sup> A local Old Scholar, Miss Stuckey, became particularly interested, later donating the Muchelney Scholarship of £21, awarded annually to a senior pupil for study at the University.<sup>148</sup> The name of the scholar was reported at Speech Day and her future academic career was followed with pride.

Most pupils did not require financial assistance as their families enjoyed either accumulated wealth or had incomes which could support their children at fee paying schools in addition to substantial houses and a comfortable life style. An analysis of family circumstance of the Old Scholars' list in 1896/7/8 gives valuable insight into the background of Unley Park clientele. Many fathers were proprietors of commercial enterprises - soft drinks, music imports, exporting concerns and general businesses, but they were less frequent than farmers or station managers, a reflection of the importance of the land in the South Australian economy. As the mining industry also commanded a prominent place, a mine Superintendent could afford to send his daughter to board, though his employees could not. However, a local ironworker afforded day fees. Lawyers, journalists, civil servants and purveyors of services chose an Unley Park education, as did men with risk capital, stockbrokers, agents and bankers. Widows or abandoned mothers hoped that a Thornber education would ensure their daughters an optimistic future if they found themselves in a similar predicament of needing a livelihood and could undertake satisfactory paid employment. Auctioneers, valuers and brokers were successful in the secondary housing sector and new housing developments in local Hyde Park and Hawthorn guaranteed prosperity for architects, builders, contractors and timber merchants, enabling them to support private education. Overall, parental occupations reflect the financially successful who looked to the school for social and moral training for their daughters so that they could become wives and mothers in the correct stratum, 'making the homes of the community and there becoming the guardians of manners and setting the tone of the best of the State's life.'<sup>149</sup> A testimony appreciated by the Thornbers was the presence of the daughters of Old Scholars.<sup>150</sup>

---

<sup>146</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1894, p. 7; *Church of England Year Book in the Diocese of Adelaide* (1901-02), p. 99.

<sup>147</sup> This was insufficient to cover costs of fees and books and would have needed to be subsidised. The mother of the first winner, Mignon Weston from Forestville, may have been a widow. Old Scholars' Association Minutes, 1902. S.L.G. 41. M.L.S.A.

<sup>148</sup> Miss Julia Stuckey attended The Unley Park School in the 1870s and was a senior member of the Old Scholars' Association from 1899. Left in comfortable circumstances, she was able to afford to fund a University scholar, but she also helped many Sunday School lads and later found that she was in financial difficulties from her beneficence. Recollections of her great niece, Mrs Joan Goodhart, 14th July, 1994.

<sup>149</sup> *Register*, 7th October 1924, p. 4.

<sup>150</sup> See Note 16.

Not all day pupils lived locally. As public transport improved, they arrived daily from Glenelg and Semaphore, distant seaside suburbs, from Upper Sturt and Crafers in the Hills, across town from Hackney and East Adelaide, from the City and the South Road. They came in spite of competition from similar girls' schools - Hardwicke College and Mrs Kelsey's Dryburgh House, Miss Niven's Southfield Grammar School in Parkside and Miss Adamson's in nearby Malvern.<sup>151</sup> Families chose Mrs Thornber's not only for its reputation for thorough teaching, a position shared by other schools, but also for the Thornber reputation and the mannerly and civilised atmosphere which they created.

The Thornbers' objective was to conduct a school of healthy moral tone where the girls cultivated high intellectual and personal standards. In the mould of 'the ideal woman' they aimed to give their protégées a love of goodness, truth and modesty, qualities which they hoped would be characteristic of all Unley Park girls.<sup>152</sup> In 1896, an invited speaker pointed out,

Gone are the days of old maids' schools where the Principal featured embroidery, a little French and a great deal of spelling. Now woman are educated along the lines which were formerly for boys exclusively. In competing, some girls might crowd them out in some branches.<sup>153</sup>

Public pronouncements like this must have encouraged parents to question the direction not only of their daughters' intellectual development, but also their position in the family order and thus possible changes in their future status, particularly after the advent of women's suffrage in South Australia in 1894. In 1901 the Thornbers particularly stressed 'the responsibility of the adoption of the new and larger ideals of the new Commonwealth of Australia', a charge also highlighted at other schools, including the Advanced School.<sup>154</sup> These ideas were reiterated in the final report of the Thornbers in 1906:

It is our earnest prayer for those just leaving our care that they will manifest that true nobility of character which alone brings great blessings, and that they will ever aim at that which is high and pure and of good report. Upon the womanhood of our great land, much, so very much, depends. It would be our greatest reward to see those whom we love and for whom we have laboured contributing their share towards a high ideal in this country.<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>151</sup> Miss Niven advertised 'thorough tuition in all departments and University successes'. *Register*, 18th January, 1893, p. 2. Miss Adamson's Collegiate School, started 1893, soon had 'a reputation for quiet solid work'. Jones and Morrison, *Walford: A History of the School*, p. 10. The three Ralph sisters, pupils at Unley Park were transferred in 1895 to Miss Adamson's as she was a friend of the family. Telephone conversation with Mrs J. Smeaton, Ralph family historian, June, 1993.

<sup>152</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1891, p. 6.

<sup>153</sup> The Honourable J. H. Gordon M.L.C. *Register*, 17th December, 1896, p. 10.

<sup>154</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1901, p. 4.

<sup>155</sup> *Observer*, 15th December, 1906, p. 37.

Their stance was a realistic blend of traditionally held values and a forward-looking adaptation of the 'ideal woman' ideology, encouraging feminine qualities which were increasingly assertive and independent.

The Thornbers believed that the school tone should be 'moveable, bracing and free from sickly sentiment, sincerely but unostentatiously, religious.'<sup>156</sup> Although they were Anglicans who regularly attended the Church of England service, they accepted pupils from a variety of religious traditions.<sup>157</sup> The Rector of St Michael's, Reverend F. Samwell, then the Reverend A.W. Clampett, attended daily for morning prayers and also took Scripture classes and donated prizes to outstanding pupils.<sup>158</sup> Miss Thornber hoped that the girls would become earnest Christian women. This aim was applauded by the Mayor of Adelaide who confirmed that 'he knew many ladies who were better women and better mothers for the moral and religious training which they received under the influence of the three Christian ladies'. The orthodox tradition of philanthropy of Victorian ladies continued. The girls' yearly social service programme was expressed in action via thoughtful generosity towards others, round which Unley Park traditions developed.<sup>159</sup> As well as their Christmas gifts for the House of Mercy, every Easter the girls brought a governess' cart laden with eggs for personal presentation to the local Home for Incurables.<sup>160</sup> Money imposed as a fine for the use of slang or spilling ink was collected to buy tins of boiled sweets which were taken by foot by the girls as gifts for old people.<sup>161</sup> The Misses Thornber believed that their girls should demonstrate their Christianity in practical ways.

Miss Thornber was 'of the old school' who valued the arts of living, setting a tone of good manners and right conduct, encouraging concern and sensitivity towards others.<sup>162</sup> Her girls were never expected merely to say 'yes' when told to do this and that, they did it 'with pleasure'. The Principals regularly praised girls for their excellent conduct and loving obedience and for their cheerful acceptance of school discipline, imposed as the precursor of self-responsibility. There was no suggestion of senior girls taking a leadership role as was found in the contemporary boys' colleges, in the mode of English Boys' Public Schools.<sup>163</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> *Register*, 14th December, 1899, p. 6.

<sup>157</sup> Methodists (Lathlean and Hollands), Congregationalists (Fowlers and Burgesses), Church Of Christ members (Burfords, Charlicks and Vercos) and Baptists (Ambroses) attended. The Levis and Jacobs were of Jewish faith.

<sup>158</sup> Miss Thornber reported that these were 'loved and appreciated'. *Register*, 20th December, 1890, p. 7.

<sup>159</sup> For a South Australian perspective see E. Scholefield's work, 'The Ladies kindly Visited.'

<sup>160</sup> *Register*, 14th December, 1899, p. 6. In addition, Unley Park girls donated and ran the strawberry stall at their annual Fête. Recollections of Miss May Burgess, *Observer*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4 (Women's Page).

<sup>161</sup> *Advertiser*, 11th May, 1933, p. 10.

<sup>162</sup> *Register*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4.

<sup>163</sup> At Prince Alfred College in the 1890s the headmaster, Mr Chapple, strongly encouraged leadership roles in the classroom and on the sports field though there was no formal recognition of Prefects until 1911.

In reality, the girls were at the will of the principals.<sup>164</sup> However, Miss Thornber was recalled as 'being so nice you couldn't be naughty'.<sup>165</sup> In spite of the old style discipline, 'there was something free and happy about the life of the school' and many of the Old scholars recalled their days there with affection and had delightful recollections.<sup>166</sup>

The Unley Park Old Scholars' Association was formally set up in 1892 with an initial complement of thirty five members, both day girls and boarders, rising to one hundred and thirty eight in 1900 and continuing throughout the Thornber era. Its object was 'to promote the dear old school where we have been educated and spent so many happy hours and to keep up a friendly intercourse with all its scholars past and present'.<sup>167</sup> Old Scholars could maintain their education at Unley Park. Many enrolled as members of the Australasian Home Reading Union, a mode of personal further education especially popular in the ambitious middle class.<sup>168</sup> In 1893, sixteen Old Scholars discussed English classics and read original French works in addition to conversation and translation.<sup>169</sup> This pattern continued until 1901 when the scope was widened, offering a more ambitious intellectual and social programme called the Harpurhey Club, when Old Scholars met to continue their education in literature, French, music and the sciences. Prepared papers of Old Scholars or members of staff were read and discussed with remarkable vigour and enthusiasm.<sup>170</sup> By her personal involvement of the Club's activities Miss Thornber encouraged these young women to build on their Unley Park education, hoping they would continue to appreciate higher learning, especially fine literature and the arts.

In addition, the Old Scholars held a dance in September and provided Speech Day singers. The Association demonstrated its interest in the current school by offering annual prizes, for arithmetic from 1891 and for science from 1892.<sup>171</sup> In 1899 it gave a medal for the best worker and from 1902 funded an annual school scholarship.<sup>172</sup> The Unley Park

---

Ward, *Prince Alfred College*, pp. 73, 120. Methodist Ladies' College had their first prefects in 1916. Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 72.

<sup>164</sup> *Unley Park Magazine*, 1906, p. 1.

<sup>165</sup> Recalled by Mrs Bowen.

<sup>166</sup> Reported from visits to the country by Archdeacon Samwell, Chairman of the 1904 Speech Day. *Register*, 16th December, 1904, p. 3.

<sup>167</sup> Old Scholars' Association Records, S.R.G. 41.

<sup>168</sup> The South Australian Chapter was founded in 1891. *South Australian Education Gazette*, July, 1891, p. 75.

<sup>169</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1893, p. 6.

<sup>170</sup> For instance, in 1901 the Harpurhey programme was March - Question Box evening; June - Pen and ink sketches of great painters and their work, arranged by Miss Overbury, Miss E. Thornber and Miss Shannon; Aug. - Literary evening- some great writer, his works to be illustrated by songs and recitation. Also, undated -Dramatic evening; Scientific evening, produced by Scientific O.S Misses Burgess, Ambrose, and Miss Howchin; December - Speech Day. Old Scholars' Minutes.

<sup>171</sup> These prizes were given as the result of papers set and marked by Old Scholars. Individual Old Scholars also donated prizes. *Register*, 19th December, 1902, p. 8.

<sup>172</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1900, p. 3.

Magazine, initiated in 1900, was set up as a vehicle of communication between Old Scholars and the school with contributions and news from former girls.<sup>173</sup> The Old Scholars group demonstrated their love and affection for Mrs Thornber by placing a memorial stained glass window in the newly erected St Columba's Church, Hawthorn, in 1898. Much to the delight of the principals, in 1905, they arranged a gathering to celebrate the school's jubilee.<sup>174</sup> Old Scholars from all parts of the world kept in touch with the Thornbers on their retirement in 1906. In 1924, on the death of Miss Thornber, her Old Scholars started a fund in her memory. The fund reached £450, enabling the endowment of an entrance bursary for a girl proceeding to the University. The Thornber Bursary was awarded to the top scholar in the Public examinations from a South Australian girls' school and it still remains a prestigious honour in the University Prize List.<sup>175</sup>

The majority of Old Scholars married and raised families, not a few overseas.<sup>176</sup> But some remained unmarried, maintaining their independence by forging self-reliant lives with paid employment outside the home, in the manner of the Misses Thornber. The 1924 obituary notice of Miss Thornber in the *Register* furnishes details of the work taken up by former pupils.<sup>177</sup> Continuing the nurturing tradition of women, two particular areas of paid work which were sought by young women of their class were teaching and nursing. As larger schools developed, Unley Park women rose to responsible positions. A group became Headmistresses - The Misses Henderson with their widowed mother ran Pooltonga from 1906.<sup>178</sup> The Misses Dorothy and Winifred Fleming started and conducted the highly successful Hopetoun Preparatory School. After the demise of Tormore in 1920, the vice-principal, Hilda Tucker, started the Angaston Girls' Grammar School and Dorothy Poole M.A. was Headmistress of Wahroonga Church of England Girls' School (Abbotsleigh) in New South Wales.<sup>179</sup> The Burgess sisters also had notable careers in education, described below. Fannie de Mole had six successful years at Tormore before spending time in Paris

---

<sup>173</sup> In 1901 it was suggested that a special Old Scholars' magazine be developed as the school magazine was so well accepted, but no further resolution was forthcoming. Old Scholars' Minutes. Final edition of the magazine was 20th December, 1906.

<sup>174</sup> 'The Principals had the opportunity of meeting many past scholars and to hear the affectionate remarks of many old friends.' *Register*, 14th December, 1905, p. 7.

<sup>175</sup> The first winner was Margaret Cleland from Walford School, who became a doctor. Paxton, *Ladies of the Province*, p. 11. The Thornber Bursary continues to be won by outstanding scholars.

<sup>176</sup> Mabel Haslam became Mrs Home of Ceylon and Olive Haslam Mrs Richardson of Rangoon.

<sup>177</sup> *Register*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4.

<sup>178</sup> Both Mrs Henderson, as Margaret Poole in 1855, and her girls in the 1890s attended the Thornber School. Warburton, *St Peters*, p. 157.

<sup>179</sup> Miss Poole graduated B.A. from Adelaide in 1902, then spent three years at Newnham College, Cambridge, gaining a Second in the Medieval and Modern Language Tripos. In recognition of her work in Cambridge, Miss Poole was awarded a M.A. from the University of Adelaide in 1907 and may have been the first Adelaide woman to achieve this honour. She returned to Adelaide to teach at the Unley Park School and Tormore. In 1915 she gained a teachers' Certificate and the Diploma of Pedagogy at the University of London, then taught at Melbourne C. E. G. G. School, and was Headmistress of Ballarat Girls' Grammar before Abbotsleigh and Marsden, Bathurst. Milburn, 'Girls' Secondary Education in New South Wales', p. 268.

and establishing her own Institute of French in Adelaide. Irene Lewis B.Sc. worked at Walford, then under the Dalton Plan in Wales and Lois Allen B.A. taught English and French at a modern school in England.<sup>180</sup> The fast developing medical profession attracted enterprising pupils. Phoebe Wheaton nursed at the Wakefield Hospital where Tottie Lawrence was Matron. Olive Verco was acting Matron of the Adelaide Hospital and Mary Shannon a fine Army Sister at Salonika in the First World War. Both Ambrose sisters devoted their lives to Missionary work in India, Lily as a nurse, Ethel as a doctor. Hilda Florey also became a doctor and practised in Melbourne when widowed with two children to support. Her brother, Howard, became a famous medical research scientist, winning the Nobel Prize for his work with penicillin. But some achieved eminence in diverse fields. Tarella Quinn was a published writer.<sup>181</sup> Norah Whittington and Bertha Tucker had careers in the Bank of Adelaide and Muriel Bruce qualified as a landscape gardener in England.

The wide range of positions which were successfully filled by Unley Park girls is testimony to the achievement of the school. The Christian and liberal education appeared to have prepared its protégées appropriately for their future lives both in the home and for further academic training, leading to challenging and responsible paid employment. The Thornbers were practical, thinking women who endorsed the concept of women in paid work. Success in their own lives had been won by determined industry and by adaptation to new ideas. That increasing opportunities for work evolved outside the home in the new century would not dismay the Thornbers. They had predicted that much depended upon womanhood and had groomed their girls with an education which was 'moveable and bracing', which could be adapted to meet a variety of needs. The Thornbers helped to increase the range of life choices open to their pupils. In many varied situations their Old Scholars repaid their enterprise and their faith

Two examples of women who led interesting and productive lives are the Ambrose girls and the Burgess sisters. Lily and Ethel Ambrose clearly demonstrate the value of a Thornber education and offer a direct comparison with their mother, who started at Mr Mugg's School.<sup>182</sup> Orphaned, they were nurtured in their grandfather's household and proved themselves excellent pupils at Unley Park. Lily passed Matriculation in 1891 before training as a nurse and Ethel gained a distinguished 2nd Class, remaining as a governess while she saved to enter the Adelaide Medical course in 1898.<sup>183</sup> As Sunday School teachers at the

---

<sup>180</sup> Irene Lewis was awarded a First Class Honours Physiology degree in 1907. *Register*, 23rd December, 1907, p. 9.

<sup>181</sup> *The Gumtree Brownie* in 1907 and *A Desert Rose*.

<sup>182</sup> He was a retired carpenter. See Note 12.

<sup>183</sup> A description of the schoolgirl confirms this. 'Ethel never gave any trouble, was never in mischief, always presented her work without any fuss and was one of those girls who go through their work without drawing attention to themselves.' One of the pupils in her classes said, 'We loved her. She was inflexible. If she thought a thing was right, it must be done'. Hinton, ed., *Ethel Ambrose*, p. 67.

Mitcham Baptist Church, the girls made early decisions to become missionaries.<sup>184</sup> Only the second woman to graduate M.B.B.Sc., Ethel joined her sister at the Nasrapur Mission near Poona where cholera, plague and leprosy were common.<sup>185</sup> In 1909 they opened a women and children's clinic and hospital in Pandharpur where they continued to battle with disease and famine until 1933, directing their lives by shining faith. Their lives are testimony to the benefits of an organised and ordered education which they received less than twenty years after the opening of the University.

The five Burgess daughters of the Noarlunga storekeeper moved to Malvern to benefit from higher education.<sup>186</sup> The four younger girls attended Mrs Thornber's in the 1880s and 1890s where Amy, May and Annie were fine scholars. Amy stayed at Unley Park as a teacher/governess and was also assistant teacher at Methodist Ladies' College.<sup>187</sup> She became a foundation practitioner at Miss de Lissa's Training Kindergarteners College, where from 1917 she was co-Principal, responsible for training over two hundred Kindergarten teachers.<sup>188</sup> Having matriculated well, May won a scholarship to University where her academic career culminated in an outstanding B.Sc.<sup>189</sup> May returned to Unley Park to teach mathematics and became the first woman demonstrator in the University Chemistry department.<sup>190</sup> From 1909 she taught full time at Tormore, one of the 'three Burgi' to teach mathematics.<sup>191</sup> In 1901 Annie won the Muchelney Scholarship and attended University, graduating in 1907 with B.A. in Literature and Organic Chemistry. She taught at Methodist Ladies' College and Yoothamurra, then in Western Australia. From 1911 the five unmarried girls lived together. Staunch Congregationalists, they adopted wide interests.<sup>192</sup> Their productive lives are excellent examples of successful 'new women' who demonstrated personal autonomy and independence, aided by the domestic and emotional support of a female network. The sisters were a source of energy and inspiration to generations of female

---

<sup>184</sup> Ethel was remembered there by one of her Bible Class members as an ideal teacher with a great knowledge of the Bible. 'God made her a beautiful woman and she added nobility of character'. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>185</sup> *The Hands of a Woman*, ed., South Australian Medical Women's Society, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1994), p. 24.

<sup>186</sup> Interview with the niece of the Misses Burgess, Mrs Nancy Watson (née Burgess), 15th August, 1994.

<sup>187</sup> Miss Amy Burgess was recorded as 'a teacher who has skill and tact, judgement and kindness'. *Register*, 14th December, 1905, p. 5.

<sup>188</sup> Amy was described as 'gentle, softly spoken, ethereal, her qualities of character accentuated by her small, slender stature,' and was thus a true product of the Thornber image. Christopher Dowd, *The Adelaide Kindergarten Teachers' College: A History 1907-1974*, (Adelaide: South Australian College of Education, 1983), pp. 74, 75.

<sup>189</sup> She gained 1st Class Honours in Chemistry and 2nd Class in Physiology, 'an unprecedented and record position'. *Register*, 14th December, 1899, p. 6.

<sup>190</sup> May held the position of part-time demonstrator until 1911. Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 217.

<sup>191</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1909, p. 9. A pupil wrote a fine confirmation of their expertise. Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 83.

<sup>192</sup> The family reserved a prominent pew in the Stowe Memorial Church in the City. Amy recalled to her niece that they enjoyed tennis parties and other social occasions when they were young.

learners, pioneering success in educational fields which were relatively uncharted, but increasingly necessary, to women.

From the beginning of the century in South Australia the Protestant Churches increased opportunities for a premium girls' education. In 1894 Anglican Church Sisters opened a school which developed to offer secondary education. The Methodist Church followed in 1902.<sup>193</sup> In September, 1906, the Thornbers approached Church of England authorities, encouraging them to adopt their Unley Park enterprise as a Church school. Intent on consolidating a network of Church elementary schools, they declined the offer.<sup>194</sup> In 1898, Miss Thornber's colleagues, the Misses Jacob, had bought Tormore School which promoted a wide, liberal and Christian education.<sup>195</sup> At Speech Day in December, 1906 the Misses Thornber announced they were relinquishing the Unley Park School to the care of the Misses Jacob who would work the two schools in conjunction with each other under Miss Caroline's leadership, with boarders housed in North Adelaide.<sup>196</sup>

Miss Catherine was in her seventieth year, Miss Rachel sixty seven and Miss Ellen was fifty five. The Principals may have been concerned by the gradual drop in Unley Park numbers, caused partially by bad seasons in the country but accelerated by girls leaving to attend the substantial Methodist College nearby.<sup>197</sup> One *raison d'être* of the enterprise, to provide a livelihood for the family, had been unequivocally accomplished. The sisters were assured of a comfortable and relatively secure financial future. They had given their energy, their care, their love, and their full powers to make the school a household word in South Australia. Now they wished to retire and devote their time to their Church and charity interests.

The final Speech Day brought accolades and regrets, though Miss Thornber ordered 'no tears' in accordance with her ideas of modesty and propriety. Admitting that she had always striven to make Unley Park 'The first girls' school in South Australia', she exhorted the pupils to maintain this goal.<sup>198</sup> The school had often been fêted with visits from prestigious

---

<sup>193</sup> St Peter's Girls' School, founded in 1894, was predominantly for younger pupils at its inception, but built up a secure secondary potential by 1910. The Methodists set up their carefully planned secondary Ladies' College in 1902, which soon was highly successful.

<sup>194</sup> *The Unley Park Magazine*, 1906, p. 1.

<sup>195</sup> Formerly the Misses McMinn's School in North Adelaide, it developed a fine name for scholastic achievement, encouraging girls to enter the University.

<sup>196</sup> They described the Misses Jacob as 'those for whom they had the highest regard'. *Observer*, 15th December, 1906, p. 37; *Register*, 22nd December, 1906, p. 4.

<sup>197</sup> The early enrolment records of Methodist Ladies' College show that two Unley Park girls were founder pupils in 1902, and that three followed in 1904. These are minimal numbers, as some entries are listed as from 'Private School' and may have been Thornber girls, especially if they lived locally. The impact of the Methodist College is discussed in Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 67; also in Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, pp. 88, 111.

<sup>198</sup> *Observer*, 15th December, 1906, p. 37.



men who matched their prominence with elegant praise, expositions which might be dismissed as 'Speech Day rhetoric'.<sup>199</sup> However, its inclusion in the 1897 Report on Australian education, as the sole female voice preceding competitors of similar size and standing, suggests that the Unley Park School was also held in the highest respect by its professional critics.

The school filled an important place in the history of girls' education in South Australia. Given strong moral leadership in a happy and beautiful setting, Unley Park pupils were introduced to the challenge of academic rigour in both traditional arts subjects and in developing sciences. So they could adapt their programme to meet changing academic requirements without compromising their overall standards, the Principals explored modern education theory. Confirmation of its practice is noted in the development of Froebel's concepts, in the introduction of scientific subjects, in increasing physical activity for girls and by encouraging wide reading and the nurture of individual talents. Thus, they demonstrated their intelligent interpretation of contemporary educational issues and remarkable flexibility in guiding their school. To mark the widespread respect in which the family was held, Park Street was renamed Thornber Street by 1884.<sup>200</sup> Their endeavour to prepare early University undergraduates was recalled via the Thornber Bursary and their contribution to a Christian education honoured by the window in the church where the school regularly worshipped. Their pupils' experience at the progressive school secured the means to equip them as women to take an increasingly constructive place in the wider life of the community. The Thornber school was an example of a pioneer female society whose ideas were a model for the collegiate schools which progressed the fuller determination of women in the twentieth century. During the school's fifty five years under the direction of the Thornbers, it made a significant contribution to the evolution in girls' education which, within its lifetime, had started to transform the opportunities for the development of the full potential of young women, increasing their choices to lead economically independent, responsible and fulfilling lives.

The Thornber sisters continued to maintain the tradition of social service to the needy of the district, helped by Old Scholars from Adelaide and further afield. They sold the

---

<sup>199</sup> These included the Lieutenant Governor, who usually reserved his Speech Day appearances for the prestigious boys' colleges, The Bishop of Adelaide, the Venerable Archdeacon Farr, past Headmaster of St Peter's College, The Hon. J. H. Gordon M.L.C., a neighbour of the school, and Mr Theodore Bruce, Mayor of Unley, later Mayor of Adelaide. They acclaimed the school as 'an excellent seminary of knowledge which was doing much to train the ladies of the colony' (1890); as 'by far the best school of its kind in Adelaide' (1893); and as 'a veritable blessing to many homes in the Commonwealth of Australia.' (1904). In 1899 there was reference to 'the continuing success of this excellent school where the numbers were always up.' *Register* Speech Day Reports.

<sup>200</sup> The directory confirms the name Thornber in 1884. The history of Unley states that the street was renamed, but does not identify the date of renaming. Payne and Cosh, *History of Unley*, p. 172.

schoolhouse in 1911 and built a six roomed house on adjacent land.<sup>201</sup> Miss Catherine died in 1924 and Miss Rachel in 1930, but Miss Ellen lived into her 90s, until 1947. The three sisters were buried in the Mitcham cemetery in the neighbourhood of the many families whose lives they did so much to enrich.

The Unley Park School endured, conducted by the Misses Jacob who in certain respects resembled the Thornbers.<sup>202</sup> Miss Caroline and Miss Annie had started teaching at their mother's school in Mount Gambier, continued in a variety of educational positions and finally acquired a school of their own in 1898. There was also a gentler, non-academic sister, Miss Nellie, who undertook the household management. However, in contrast to the gracious and kindly Miss Thornber, Caroline was formidable in her position as the dominant sister. Miss Jacob was forbidding and resolute, often terrifying to her pupils who did not care to trifle with her.<sup>203</sup> Her height gave her a commanding presence and a halo of white hair framed penetrating eyes which appeared to uncover individual shortcomings. But she was energetic and experienced, determined to provide middle class girls with a rigorous and Christian education and an opportunity to enter the University. Her mission was educating girls to become forthright women who could take a wide and full part in private and public life. A devout Anglican, Miss Jacob valued the spiritual dimension of her work and encouraged ideals of social responsibility towards the less fortunate which had been followed by her predecessors.

Miss Jacob managed the two schools together for four years. They had a similar, clearly enunciated philosophy - to aim at the highest, to develop the whole woman and to nurture the three strands of body, mind and spirit together.<sup>204</sup> Miss Jacob attested that the true end of education was to overcome difficulties via control of the self. Her own life exemplified this as, in order to manage the enterprise, at least twice a week in all weathers, she rode her bicycle five miles to Unley Park.<sup>205</sup> Staff members also interchanged between the two schools and some senior Unley pupils may have been taught certain classes at Tormore.<sup>206</sup>

---

<sup>201</sup> Information held in Unley Museum archives.

<sup>202</sup> Miss Jacob attended University classes with Miss Thornber in the 1880s and then taught at Mrs Woodcock's school in North Adelaide and The Advanced School. Miss Annie taught French at the Unley Park School until 1898 when the sisters acquired the Misses McMinn's Tormore in North Adelaide. Angove, *Tormore*, p. 8.

<sup>203</sup> Mrs Bowen at age ninety seven still recalled Miss Jacob humiliating her in front of the school as a ten year old in 1907.

<sup>204</sup> *Register*, 23rd December, 1907, p. 6.

<sup>205</sup> Angove, *Tormore*, p. 12.

<sup>206</sup> Miss May Burgess also taught at Tormore from 1909. Miss Hamilton, an art specialist, and Miss Toxdale, newly appointed gymnastics specialist from England, also taught at both schools.

Convinced of the importance of Kindergarten education, from 1906 Miss Jacob employed a trainee of Miss Newton, the prominent Sydney kindergartener.<sup>207</sup> After 1907, Unley family names appear on Tormore lists and there were no children in the first class at Unley Park, which suggests they were gradually subsumed into the Tormore environment and that this section of the school was closed. As the number of Unley Park girls gradually decreased, Miss Jacob faced financial difficulties there. She had to maintain the quality of staff to uphold confidence and academic standards, but with falling numbers income declined while overheads failed to show an appreciable difference. All boarders were housed in North Adelaide, which caused the school numbers overall to slip, further diminishing the attraction of new day pupils. The staff/pupil ratios in Table VIII illustrate the severity of the problem.

**Table VIII**

**A Comparison of Unley Park School and Tormore Numbers 1907-1910**

Year	Unley Park School			Tormore		
	Pupils	Staff	p/s ratio	Pupils	Staff	p/s ratio
1907	70	8	1:9	125	8	1:15
1908	60+	8	1:9	140	11	1:13
1909	55+	8	1:8	180	15	1:14
1910	50	7	1:7	150	10	1:15

Source: *Register* Speech Day Reports, 1907-1910.

The Unley Park School, now a very small establishment for all ages, had become an expensive proposition. Without appreciably increasing fees Miss Jacob could no longer maintain a broad academic programme with financial efficiency. Behind the daily life of the school was a debilitating financial problem, which Miss Jacob examined publicly in 1910.<sup>208</sup>

She also deliberated on girls' modern educational requirements. Pointing out that the size of a thriving English High School was over three hundred, which enabled a large sixth form to develop and determine consistent academic standards throughout the school, Miss Jacob encouraged parents to allow girls to stay longer at school.<sup>209</sup> She further elaborated that the higher English fee scale of £16.10 was accepted by parents who were prepared to finance the

<sup>207</sup> Miss B. Thornber, niece of the previous Headmistresses. *Register*, 23rd December, 1907, p. 9.

<sup>208</sup> Miss Jacob had been admitted as a corresponding member of the British Association of Headmistresses in 1910 and she quoted the advice of a fellow Head, Miss Burstall of Manchester High School. *Register*, 17th December, 1910, p. 18.

<sup>209</sup> True to her stated aims Miss Jacob berated the 'too many girls in South Australia who stop short and leave their studies to 'those who are going to be teachers.' *Register*, 23rd December, 1907, p. 9.

best for their daughters.<sup>210</sup> Clearly, Miss Jacob's ultimate aim was to establish a school resembling an English Girls' High School in size, educational quality and style of government.<sup>211</sup> This dream may have hastened the demise of Unley Park as she may have hoped to transfer all pupils to North Adelaide in the same manner as the boarders in 1907. The evidence suggests that she worked towards that end.

Thus, the emphasis on two distinct schools declined from 1908. Indeed, from 1909, the Speech Day was reported as Tormore House School (North Adelaide and Unley Park), although advertisements in the *Register* still maintained separate entities. There was little news of forward development at Unley Park where information concentrated on news of Old Scholars.<sup>212</sup> Pointing out that the moral standard of a school could not be measured by marks, Miss Jacob did not elaborate on examination successes individually, though girls from both schools passed with credit and entered University.<sup>213</sup> During this period, Tormore girls attempting Junior increased, in contrast with a depleted list from Unley Park. Senior candidates entered the same subjects, which suggests that they may have been taught together. By 1909, Tormore employed three graduate teachers, Miss Benham B.Sc. for Science, and Unley Park Old Scholars, Miss Dorothea Poole M.A. for English, Miss May Burgess B.Sc. for Mathematics, in addition to Miss de Mole, Paris Diploma, for French. Examination results reflected their teaching, laying the foundation for Tormore to establish an excellent academic record and a strong attraction for new pupils.<sup>214</sup>

One area of the curriculum which received particular attention was physical education. The two school tennis clubs intermingled freely and a racquet was presented to the winning champion of each school. Competitive tennis matches were started between Old Scholars and respective pupils, also an informal inter-school competition was pioneered with other girls' schools.<sup>215</sup> In 1908, Miss Toxdale, a specialist from England's Dartmouth College where training followed the system of Swedish Drill, was appointed to Tormore to put her

---

<sup>210</sup> Miss Burstall suggested that £16.10 was an appropriate annual fee. *Register*, 17th December, 1910, p. 10.

<sup>211</sup> Indeed, by 1913, Tormore was advertised as a Boarding and Day School for Girls along the lines of English Girls' Grammar Schools. *Register*, 18th January, 1913, p. 4. Miss Jacob hoped ultimately that the Church of England would take over the school giving it the security of tenure which would be assumed by a Council of Governors.

<sup>212</sup> News of Unley Park Old Scholars included the academic successes. *Register*, 23rd December, 1907, p. 9.

<sup>213</sup> *Register* Speech Day Reports, 1907-1910.

<sup>214</sup> Advertisements placed in 1906 clearly stated that 'the curriculum is arranged with a view to a University education.' *Stock and Station Journal*, May 1906, Vol. 11, No 24, p. 15.

<sup>215</sup> In 1907, six matches were played, with both Tormore and Unley Park winning four and losing two. Tormore had an Upper Team and a Lower School team, reflecting greater numbers and support. *Register*, 23rd December, 1907, p. 9. In 1909, the two schools played each other and also Methodist Ladies' College, both at home and away. The results were even, with each school winning on home ground. *Register*, 15th December, 1909, p. 9. They also played the Advanced School and the Misses Brown's.

ideas into practice with Australian girls.<sup>216</sup> Accordingly, she gave two lessons a week to each class in both schools and introduced a variety of games including hockey, basketball and cricket, played on newly constructed grounds in the nearby Parklands.<sup>217</sup> At least a dozen girls learned to swim. In addition, in 1909 a splendid gymnasium, the prototype of its kind in a South Australian girls' school was built at Tormore, where exercises on rope, bars and other gymnastic equipment could be practised. In order to maintain decorum in the more physical exercises, the girls were obliged to tuck their skirts away, which encouraged the designing of a special navy blue sports uniform.<sup>218</sup> That year, a Sports Club was formed and girls were encouraged to participate in rigorous and strenuous activity as a source of increased physical fitness and personal challenge, though there is no record that Unley Park girls participated in these physical activities. This increased opportunity for girls to undertake rigorous exercise helped to dissipate contemporary ideas of feminine fragility, teaching girls to explore and optimise their physical capacity, as had generations of schoolboys at colleges where sport was central to the life of every pupil.

Music had consistently occupied a favoured place with Unley Park girls whose Speech Day presentations displayed a breadth of talent and high standards of achievement. However, at the first combined Prize giving in 1907 only seven examination successes were reported. Under the musical leadership of the Cathedral organist Mr Dunn, a choir of girls from both schools was joined by boys of the Cathedral Choir. It appears that choir boys had become a permanent partner in musical activities, performing at concerts in aid of the Anglican Mission interests which the schools supported. By 1910, music prizes were given for high achievement to girls from IVth form level, with extended prizes for singing, music theory and practice. This suggests that music appeared to be regaining its once prominent place in the overall programme at both schools.

Religious Education and work for the Missions continued to be strongly encouraged, with Old Scholars from both schools forming sewing circles in preparation for the annual Mission sales.<sup>219</sup> Following a visitor from the Mission field in 1907, thirty three Unley Park members set up a branch of the Girls' Guild, whose committee took gifts of jam and cake to the Boys' Brigade. They also entertained girls from the local Orphanage to whom they donated a Christmas tree in 1909. Thus, the tradition of service to others, so carefully laid down by the Thornbers, continued to the end.

---

<sup>216</sup> Following the Swedish Ling system, Madame Bergman-Österburg founded Dartmouth College in 1885 specifically to train teachers in correct body drill. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl*, p. 268.

<sup>217</sup> Basketball is now known as Netball.

<sup>218</sup> Although there is no record of the design, it may have been the origin of the 'Gym.' Tunic which was later adopted by many schools as daily uniform. The new English Headmistress of Methodist Ladies' College, Miss Walker, introduced a hockey uniform in 1907. Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 42.

<sup>219</sup> The Tormore Mission Guild worked hard to support Melanesia, New Guinea, the home mission and aborigines. *Register*, 23rd December, 1907, p. 9.

The 1910 Speech Day started ominously with the confession that the year had been a trying one for both teachers and pupils. In spite of accomplishing much good work, Miss Jacob acknowledged great difficulties and many failures.<sup>220</sup> Spread over a wide age group, there were only fifty pupils at Unley Park. The obvious solution was to close the school and encourage the girls to swell the one hundred and fifty at Tormore. Although there was no hint of this resolution at Speech Day, the doors of the Unley Park School were closed at the end of 1910 after a total of fifty five years. Building on the well established foundations of its eminent senior partner, Tormore continued to flourish as one of the premier girls' schools of its time. It made the transition of ownership from McMinn to Jacob and subsumed the Thornber enterprise with little dislocation, gathering momentum and success, mirroring Unley Park's own development.

Mrs Thornber would have been gratified that her original cottage school foundation helped to shape an enhanced destiny for hundreds of middle class girls and became an influential determinant during an period of accelerated growth towards women's self-determination and greater autonomy.

---

<sup>220</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1910, p. 18.

Illustration III

**DRYBURGH HOUSE**



Mrs Marcus



Mrs Kelsey



Palm Place houses



Dryburgh girls circa 1885

## Chapter 6

### Dryburgh House 1876-1914

'Beauty is truth, truth beauty. That is all ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.'<sup>1</sup>

Dryburgh House, the creation of the widow and daughter of one of Adelaide's foremost citizens of the 1870s, demonstrates the adaptation of the traditional, typically inward looking 'ladies curriculum' into a vibrant and worthwhile educational experience which appealed to an established middle class clientele. Its history illustrates the tensions which existed between orthodox views of the place of women at the close of the nineteenth century and their growing independence as they emerged with the modern educational ideas which schools like Mrs Kelsey's attempted to portray and encourage.

During 1874 Eliza Oliver Kelsey, née Marcus, made a momentous decision. Aged twenty four, the mother of three young children and pregnant, she elected to leave her husband in London and face the arduous sea voyage back to South Australia to rejoin her parents.<sup>2</sup> Her defiant action was an exceptional step for a late Victorian lady to take, but Eliza's 150 cm belied her strength. Born in 1851 in Loughborough, Leicestershire, the eldest of six surviving children, she had already travelled to Australia as a young girl, returning to London as a married woman in 1871. Her well educated parents, Eliza, née Oliver, and the Reverend William Marcus were among the leaders of Adelaide Congregationalists, a significant group who were keen to improve the education and life opportunities of its members. Though her brothers attended the Collegiate School of St Peter, Eliza was probably educated by her talented mother who, in the style of her own education, would have encouraged her children to read, write, paint, draw and express themselves in music.<sup>3</sup> Certainly she had a rich immersion in books which gave her a lifelong interest in ideas. Eliza was particularly interested in art. Thus returning home, after a failed marriage with four children to support, she advertised home classes in Drawing and Painting to help defray family expenses.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A favourite quotation of Mrs Kelsey's, from John Keats, 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, p. 120, l. 23,

<sup>2</sup> Members of her later family maintain that he was a drunkard, but that he reformed when she left him. This is consistent with the evidence that their daughter Caitloch reunited with him in London in 1887 and got on well with him. Interview with descendent Mrs Anne Somerville, May, 1993.

<sup>3</sup> St Peter's College Records, S 161, p. 29, kindly researched by College Archivist, Dr John Tregenza.

<sup>4</sup> *Register*, 12th, 15th, 20th January, 1876, p. 7.



In addition to his work as a prominent Congregational minister, the Reverend William became editor of the *Advertiser* and produced a substantial book on South Australia.<sup>5</sup> He never enjoyed robust health and in August, 1876 was taken ill with typhoid and died within a week, universally mourned.<sup>6</sup> The grieving Harcus family had lost its chief breadwinner. Unexpectedly left bereft of family income, Mrs Harcus obviously realised that the £900 left in the will and the £500 Insurance Bond needed supplementing in order to keep her two unmarried, dependent daughters, in addition to Mrs Kelsey and her young family, in appropriate circumstances.<sup>7</sup> The family house in Palm Place cost £75 a year in rent and living expenses for at least seven needed to be found.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, if the Harcuses had bare financial security, they had the accumulated capital of both intellectual and accomplished talent, as well as a network of voluntaryist Church supporters who sought education for their daughters.<sup>9</sup> In addition to Mrs Harcus' early governing experience in England and her air of respectability, Mrs Kelsey was well read, interested in a wide variety of subjects, an accomplished and obviously resourceful woman of twenty six who had already embarked on an embryo art teaching career.

In a prominent position in the Education columns of the *Register* on Saturday, 2nd September, 1876 appeared the following:

'Mrs W. Harcus, Palm-Place, Hackney intends opening a high Class school for young ladies. A limited number of boarders will be received. The first quarter will begin on October 9th, 1876.<sup>10</sup>

It is unclear whether Mrs Harcus had decided to set up a school before the death of her husband to help her daughter's predicament, or whether it was a joint venture of mother and daughter. This advertisement suggests that Mrs Harcus was the prime founder, especially as it was known as 'Mrs Harcus' School' until 1885, but this nomenclature may only reflect her seniority. As Mrs Kelsey had the social stigma of having left her husband, an impediment in Victorian society, the assurance of a familiar name may have been an important factor in promoting the embryo enterprise.

---

<sup>5</sup> William Harcus ed., *South Australia, its History, Resources and Productions*, (London: Sampson Lowe and Co., 1876). This account of South Australian resources and production was the forerunner of the annual Year Book. The author is indebted for access to family records in the keeping of descendent Evans family, hereafter Evans Collection.

<sup>6</sup> He mentioned headaches while in Melbourne in 1875. Letter, 23.1.76, Kelsey Papers, P.R.G 304/4. M.L.S.A.

<sup>7</sup> Kelsey Papers, P.R.G. 304/5.

<sup>8</sup> 1883 Rate Assessment Books, Peacock's Estate, Hackney. This and much other information about the school was collected by Mrs Elizabeth Warburton as material for her published history of the area, *St. Peters A Suburban Town*, (Adelaide, The Corporation of St Peters, 1983). The collection is now in St. Peters Public Library, hereafter Warburton Collection.

<sup>9</sup> A scroll presented to Reverend Harcus included Congregational names Smith, Philips, Glyde, Bell, Greenway, Wood, Cook, and Hallett, which recurred among Mrs Harcus' school families. Kelsey papers, P.R.G. 304/8.

<sup>10</sup> The advertisement was repeated on Saturday, 9th September, 5th and 7th October.

It is significant to consider the founders' aims for the school. Following the accepted custom of the day, it was delineated by gender, as parents sought schooling for their girls which was sheltered from undesirable moral influences. The establishment could offer strong female social determinants, an extension of the feminine formation which mothers modelled in their homes.<sup>11</sup> What exactly did the words 'High Class' signify? From the first, it appears that the school was founded to attract girls of 'high class', whose paying parents would expect a 'high class school', one with intellectual purpose, a centre of advanced studies. In her difficult situation, Mrs Harcus would have carefully considered the social and educational needs of possible clientele. Economically, the enterprise fulfilled an urgent need of her wider household. The haste in which the school was opened, less than six weeks after Mr Harcus' death, indicated the gravity of the situation. All energies were directed towards planning and organisation in order to launch the venture.<sup>12</sup>

Palm Place had obvious advantages as the site of a school for girls. Less than a mile east of the city centre, with three rows of semi-detached, double storied rented properties, the location was keenly sought after by busy bachelors and families. It adjoined the Collegiate School of St Peter and was within a half mile of the Methodist boys' school, Prince Alfred College. The presence of these two leading educational establishments was a spur to the growth of the residential nature of the area, attracting parents who valued education. Useful transport was available as the main horse drawn Kensington tram route linked the City to these growing suburbs and beyond. Choosing the attractive suburbs round College Town to create fine houses and pleasant gardens, successful middle class families would appreciate a well run girls' school which could guarantee gentility and polite learning for their daughters and assure Mrs Harcus of suitable clientele.

However, already in Palm Place were other small girls' schools, potential competitors.<sup>13</sup> Mrs and Miss Hailes ran their school from 1869 until 1877.<sup>14</sup> Miss Senner conducted her well accepted establishment there from 1869 until 1874 when she went on a visit to Europe, amalgamating her school with the Marvals on North Terrace.<sup>15</sup> Mrs Martin moved to Palm Place to conduct her considerable enterprise in a fourteen roomed house, where her pupils were introduced to 'higher education', with a candidate mentioned in early public examination lists.<sup>16</sup> In 1876, Mrs Martin may not have welcomed the threat of nearby

---

<sup>11</sup> This concept is well explored in Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 40-78.

<sup>12</sup> Miscellaneous letters, Kelsey papers, P.R.G. 304/9/10.

<sup>13</sup> *Register*, 4th January, 1870, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Register*, 12th January, 1870, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Letter, Warburton Collection.

<sup>16</sup> Mrs Martin moved to the house vacated by Miss Senner. *Register*, 13th December, 1874, p. 2. Ella Wilson, Junior, Third class, Credit in French. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1878, p. 71.

competition from Mrs Harcus, but had no recourse to objection in the capitalistic free market which was a hallmark of the growing colony.

Mrs Harcus paid annual rent for a twelve roomed house set in an acre of pleasant garden.<sup>17</sup> It is important to consider how far the domestic nature of the buildings determined and limited the curriculum. Although the school could offer intimate areas for practising music and other accomplishments, it had no custom built classrooms or specialist laboratories as had the neighbouring boys' schools. Discriminating fathers may have made unfavourable comparisons with more richly endowed boys' schools. However, parents would be aware of the homely ambience of the small enterprise and the girls would appreciate that the practical stone walls of Palm Place maintained an equable atmosphere for study.

There are no reliable documents from which to trace the early history of the school but it can be surmised that at first it was small and its atmosphere personal and friendly. Mrs Kelsey's three young children would be in evidence making the employment of a children's help a necessity, involving additional expense but enabling Mrs Harcus and her daughters to attend to school duties.<sup>18</sup> Before their marriages, daughters Edith and Eva must also have helped with the venture, either teaching or running domestic arrangements for the boarders, making a family enterprise conducted by women.<sup>19</sup>

Mrs Harcus advertised a 'ladies' school' which carried the expectation not only of the provision of basic subjects, the 'English Curriculum', but also elements of the traditional 'accomplishments curriculum', including music, art, European languages, as well as social arts and graces, manners and decorum. These refinements were as important as basic academic attributes in the preparation of middle class girls as accomplished, socially confident women, especially for attracting a suitable husband. Mrs Harcus would have to ensure that her school was more socially desirable and her curriculum richer than her discriminating parents could obtain at a rival private establishment.

Where there was a need, Mrs Harcus would invite 'visiting professors' for special subjects. In the initial stages of the school there is only scant evidence of visiting accomplishments' teachers. In 1879 French Conversation classes by a resident French

---

<sup>17</sup> Kensington and Norwood rate lists 1878. Warburton Collection.

<sup>18</sup> Mrs Kelsey lost one child in 1876. Her baby daughter and two remaining sons, Ben and Roland, were under five years in 1876.

<sup>19</sup> Boarders' vacancies were advertised in 1878 and 1881. *Register*, 12th January, 1878, p. 6; *Register*, 20th July, 1881, p. 5.

governess were announced.<sup>20</sup> Mr Balk, self-styled 'professor of languages', sent daughters to Mrs Harcus' school and may also have taken her pupils in German. Mrs Harcus employed the services of a competent musician, Herr Otto Strange.<sup>21</sup> Annually, Mrs Kelsey advertised Saturday morning art classes and in 1884, contrary to the criticism meted out to other girls' schools, her pupils received high praise by demonstrating drawing and painting from nature.<sup>22</sup> Further testimony of Mrs Kelsey's artistic expertise is confirmed by her appointment to give drawing classes three times a week at the newly opened Advanced School for Girls.<sup>23</sup> In their daily round, Mrs Harcus and her daughters would act as role models in the important instruction of the proprieties of polite living.

There is no evidence of the size of the school at this stage, but the family house could not comfortably accommodate more than thirty pupils, the majority of whom would be of elementary age and standard, taught in flexible and impromptu groups. Mrs Kelsey liked young people and had the magic touch of entering their world via story telling. She also inherited her father's capacity for the written word, publishing her tales.<sup>24</sup> Her talented and attractive personality would have helped to create an imaginative and lively atmosphere in which pupils thrived, enabling the school to overcome the challenge of establishment years.

Fuelled by the newly opened University of Adelaide, for a few older girls there was a growing interest in scholastic endeavour. Mrs Kelsey's exposure to the serious academic mission of the Advanced School would alert Mrs Harcus that to keep abreast her school needed to give the opportunity for clever and interested girls to meet the curricular requirements of public examinations. Accordingly, within four years, a Harcus' scholar appeared on Primary Examination lists. Among the twenty one boys' names were nine girls, including in Second Class Augusta Balk, the daughter of Mr Balk whose teaching presumably helped her success.<sup>25</sup> As an educated European, his opinion in academic matters would be valued and his judgement that Mrs Harcus' school had the competence to educate his daughter would demonstrate welcome public confidence. In 1882 Frances A.

---

<sup>20</sup> *Register*, 2nd October, 1879, p. 1. This suggests one of the sisters, but no evidence of their attendance at University classes could be found.

<sup>21</sup> Speech Day Report, *Advertiser*, 19th December, 1884, p. 7. The best musical ability was possibly encouraged as Mrs Harcus' grand-daughter Caitloch was a talented piano pupil.

<sup>22</sup> Classes were in drawing, landscape, flower painting and perspective drawing. *Advertiser*, 20th July, 1878, p. 2; *Advertiser*, 19th December, 1884, p. 7; Criticism of Hardwicke art, *Register*, 17th December, 1884, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Jones, *Nothing seemed Impossible*, p. 50. The Adelaide College of Art was founded in 1857 so there must have been other art teachers available, which suggests that Mrs Kelsey had acquired a convincing reputation for teaching.

<sup>24</sup> They appeared in 1880 in the *South Australian Chronicle* and in 1892 in the *Newcastle Chronicle*. Copies of published stories, *The Dream* and *Our Last Ride*, in Evans Collection.

<sup>25</sup> Credits gained in English, French and German and a pass in Physical Geography. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1881. p. xcvi; *Register*, 12th January, 1878, p. 6.

Keperter recorded a Third class.<sup>26</sup> Clearly, Mrs Marcus' girls were prepared to compete academically with candidates from the increasingly successful Advanced School and other girls' schools and with boys.<sup>27</sup> This spur may have acted as a catalyst. Mrs Marcus would work hard to maintain the highest standards as pupils came to her school by word-of-mouth recommendation and she would be keen to establish suitable credentials to build numbers and guarantee her family livelihood.

Mrs Martin dispensed with her school in 1885. The gathering success of Mrs Marcus' venture enabled her to accumulate useful financial capital, giving her confidence to expand and take over the adjacent school's building and goodwill.<sup>28</sup> This forward looking approach reveals a mature political grasp of the realities of the market, including a shrewd appraisal of the threat if a stronger competitor moved in. Acceptance of additional pupils put the enterprise on a more secure base, giving a greater chance to diversify and meet the needs of a wider clientele. The continuing welfare of the school was also helped by the general economic confidence and buoyant South Australian economy of the early 1880s.

The expanded enterprise became known as Dryburgh House School.<sup>29</sup> Having established her good name in the community, Mrs Marcus shrewdly added a romantic flavour to conjure up the picture of rolling green acres, a pleasant image for the ambitious middle class in comparatively arid South Australia. Now aged over sixty, she officially withdrew from the school during the next year, heralding the succession of thirty five year old Mrs Kelsey as Headmistress.<sup>30</sup>

Dryburgh House or 'Mrs Kelsey's' continued to develop and widen in scope into a increasingly professional and progressive enterprise, directed for and by women. Mrs Kelsey accomplished this in addition to bringing up her own family without the known support of their father, still a merchant in London. She nurtured her two boys, Ben and Roland, her musical daughter Caitloch and also her niece Bertha.<sup>31</sup> The family was strengthened by the presence of grandmother who looked after the children in their mother's

---

<sup>26</sup> *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1883, p. clii. She was the daughter of Congregationalist Mrs Lavington Glyde, an example of the benefits of Church networks in attracting pupils to the school. Among other listed names is Charlotte E. A. Wright (Advanced School), who later become the first woman B.A. graduate; also Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 36.

<sup>27</sup> These include Hardwicke College, Mrs Bickford's, the Misses McMinn's, Madame Marval's and, closer to home, Mrs Martin's.

<sup>28</sup> *Register*, 3rd. October, 1885, p. 1. There was also an opportunity to purchase items from advertised educational equipment. *Register*, 29th September, 1885, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Dryburgh's famed writer, Sir Walter Scott, was a popular novelist of the late Victorians.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs Marcus was still a force both in the upbringing of Mrs Kelsey's family and in community work. Obituary notice, *Register*, 13th March, 1902, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Bertha was her eldest brother's motherless child who had been sent back from England to receive the benefits of a family environment.

absence and was on hand to be a source of advice and support.<sup>32</sup> Mrs Kelsey charged day tuition fees of twelve guineas per annum and forty guinea boarding fees. These were calculated to make boarding self-supporting, covering food, maids and other house staff which Mrs Kelsey's establishment could enjoy throughout the year.<sup>33</sup> In 1900, Mrs Kelsey was able to extend the school property by acquiring houses and land adjoining the original school. She advertised thirty rooms by 1905, with five bathrooms in addition and a large enclosed playground.<sup>34</sup> It appears that the Dryburgh House enterprise afforded an agreeable livelihood for the family in pleasant surroundings but was not a highly lucrative concern, especially as Mrs Kelsey had to maintain a stylish standard of elegance to impress her discerning clientele.<sup>35</sup>

Mrs Kelsey's education and interests were predominantly in literature and the arts. She perceived that her school parents sought feminine formation in a pleasant setting along the lines of an orthodox 'ladies' school'. On leaving school few of their daughters would continue with any form of systematic further education beyond music or art, or have the need to enter the paid workforce. Their most likely future was to make a successful marriage within their middle class circle after a period of preparatory home life.<sup>36</sup> An 1880s photograph of nine Dryburgh young women confirms the style of senior pupils and governess, Grace Kepert, continuing thus at her *alma mater*.<sup>37</sup> Gracefully posed with elaborate Victorian dress and time-consuming coiffure they appear relaxed, reflecting a cultured lifestyle.<sup>38</sup> To suit this style of girl, Mrs Kelsey shaped her school to highlight literature and accomplishments, moral education and the arts of living. However, she continued to encourage the few girls who wanted to sit academic examinations. Table IX shows Dryburgh successes.

---

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Roland, 13th November, 1881, to his mother while on a voyage. Kelsey Papers, P.R.G. 304/7. In 1887 she accompanied Caitloch 'Home' to England on the *Guthrie* to visit her daughters, now Mrs Edith Holmes of London and Mrs Eva Daggatt of Newcastle. R 87/121, Newspaper Index E-K, p. 568. M.L.S.A.

<sup>33</sup> We have no evidence that Mr Kelsey ever helped financially in any way. Both Mrs Kelsey's sisters were married in comfortable circumstances in England and may have shared their good fortune by helping with some generous 'extras', like her trip 'Home' in 1898. Her fare back was at least partially covered by carrying out chaperone duties, overseeing the activities of the spirited Miss Maisie Smith on the *Arcadia*. Joan Willington, ed., *Maisie Her Life and Letters, 1898 to 1902*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1992), p. 30. Occasions like Caitloch's wedding in 1899 would require careful budgeting. Report, *The Critic*, 21st December, 1899. Evans Collection.

<sup>34</sup> Copy of 1905 prospectus, Warburton Collection.

<sup>35</sup> Willington, *Maisie*, p. 50.

<sup>36</sup> They would have opportunities for social intermingling with like families and experience in household management in preparation for marriage.

<sup>37</sup> They are three Wood sisters and five school friends. Photograph kindly lent by Mrs J. Rischbieth, granddaughter of Old Scholar Carrie Wood. Miss Kepert later ran a very successful 'prep' school at 12 Balliol Street, St. Peters 'whose high reputation assured an abundant supply of scholars'. Warburton, *St Peters*, p. 40.

<sup>38</sup> M. G. Fawcett wrote of 'endeavouring to form in every girl's mind a worthy ideal of womanhood.' 'Speech and Silence', *Contemporary Review*, 48 (1885), pp. 326-31, quoted in Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 235.

**Table IX**

**Dryburgh Public Examinations 1880-1891**

Year	Senior Passes		Junior Passes	
	No		No	
1880	0		1	1En 1G
1882	0		1	1En 1Fr* 1G
1888	0		2	2En 2 Ma 2Phy
1889	1	1En* 1Fr 1 Ma 1Phy 1G	0	
1891	0		1	1En 1Fr 1Ma 1Bo

Source: *University of Adelaide Calendars*, 1880-1891.

Key: No: Number of candidates achieving certificates. Subjects: En: English; Fr: French; Ma: Mathematics; Phy: Physics; Bo: Botany; G: Geography. \* Individual Credit.

**Table X**

**A Comparison of Public Examination Certificates 1890-1891**

Year	A.S.G.		Dryburgh		Other Girls		All Boys	
	Sen	Jun	Sen	Jun	Sen	Jun	Sen	Jun
1890	10	11	0	0	4	5	23	25
1891	12	7	0	1	9	8	28	36

Source: *University of Adelaide Calendars*, 1890, 1891; *Register Speech Day Reports*.

The results confirm that Dryburgh passes were comparable to similar private girls' schools, though sparse compared with the Advanced School. However, in 1891, when the Advanced School had attendance of over one hundred and twenty of post elementary age, the Dryburgh roll showed only fifty nine of all ages, which suggests that this small enrolment would have contributed to the scarcity.<sup>39</sup> Notwithstanding, from 1888 names of a few Dryburgh girls appeared on Senior lists, also on Junior, entered at Class 5, as demonstrated in Table XI.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1891, p. 7. At that time, Dryburgh had only four staff. M. J. Whitfield, *The Free Education Bill, a Historical Sketch*, (Adelaide: Hussey and Gill, 1891), Chapter 3. P.R.G. 550/21/13. M.L.S.A..

<sup>40</sup> The Junior was renamed the Primary from 1881.

**Table XI**

**Dryburgh Public Examinations 1893-1912**

Year	Senior Passes		Junior Passes <sup>41</sup>	
	No		No	
1893	0		2	2En* 2Fr* 1Gm 1La 1Ma 1G
1895	2	2En* 2Fr* 1Gm 1La 1Bo 1G	0	
1897	1	1En 1Fr 1Ma 1Bo 1G	0	
1898	1	1En 1Fr 1Gm 1Bo 1Phy	2	2Fr 2Ma 2Bo
1899	1	1En 1Fr 1Bo	0	
1900	2	2En 2Fr 1La 2Ma 2Bo* 1G*	0	
1901	1	1En 1Hi 1Bo 1Phy 1G.	2	1En 1Hi 2Fr 2Ar 2Bo
1902	1	1En 1Fr 1Ar 1Bo 1G	3	14 subjects
1903	0		3	12 subjects, 1*
1904	4	2En 3Hi 1Gm 4P 4Bo 4G	7	23 subjects, 1*
1905	3	2 En 2Fr 1Ar 1Bo 1G	3	15 subjects, 2*
1906	1	1En 1Hi 1Fr 1Ar 1Ge 1Bo 1G	4	9 subjects
1907	1	1Hi 1Fr 1Ar 1Ge 1Tr 1G	0	
1908	2	1En 1Hi 2Fr 2Ge 2G	2	9 subjects
1909	1	1En 1Hi 1Fr 1P 1G	3	15 subjects, 1*
1910	2	n/a	4	22 subjects
1911	1	1En 1Hi 1Fr 1Ge 1P 1G	2	7 subjects

Source: *Register Speech Day Reports. University of Adelaide Calendars, 1893-1899. Manual of Public Examination Board, 1900-1912.*

Key: En: English; Hi: English History; Fr: French; G: German; La: Latin; M: Mathematics; Ar: Arithmetic; Ge: Geometry; Trig: Trigonometry; Bo: Botany; Phy: Physics; P: Physiology; G: Geography; \* Individual Credits.

Table XI shows that Dryburgh passes were consistently obtained in the arts subjects, especially English (Mrs Kelsey's strength), French and Geography. However, from 1888 passes were recorded in Mathematics at both Junior and Senior levels and in Physics, a boys' speciality. Mrs Kelsey must have made arrangements for her pupils to study privately or with a visiting 'professor'. Competence in Science at Dryburgh continued with the achievement of a 3rd class at Senior level in 1897.<sup>42</sup> Latin, another popular choice in boys'

<sup>41</sup> As numbers of entrants grew recognition of official lists became more difficult as school name was not included in single subject or over age candidature.

<sup>42</sup> Studying under Miss Benham, Gertrude Jude passed in Mathematics, Botany and Physiology. *University of Adelaide Calendar, 1898, p. 405.*



schools was passed in 1893 and at Senior in 1895, demonstrating that Mrs Kelsey met parental wishes and did not hesitate to teach subjects considered to be in the masculine domain.<sup>43</sup>

It is significant to note that Mrs Kelsey gave prominence to the results of University examinations, announcing them with great pride each Speech Day. This reveals a contradiction, or at least an ambivalence, to her often stated holistic philosophy of education. In September 1893, Mrs Kelsey accepted a rare honour for a woman, that of reading her paper, *The Education of Australian Girls*, at the Adelaide Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science. Here she argued the Arnoldian ideal, 'that the highest aim of education is to build true character, to draw forth the inherent characteristics and possibilities of the individual.' Further, 'Education is the perfecting not only of the mental, but also of the moral, physical, social and emotional parts of our natures.'<sup>44</sup> Mrs Kelsey obviously aimed to put the 'whole person' philosophy into practice in her school as her prospectus clearly states that the chief object of the school was 'to provide a liberal education for every girl.' This was further illuminated at a Speech Day address.

Education is the development of the manifold capacities of a child by means of a variety of studies and exercises, mental as well as physical. Maths is prescribed for mental discipline, languages for enlargement of vision and for knowledge of Men and books; drawing, needlework, clay modelling for developing technical skill; music and painting for cultivation of the aesthetic senses. Literature and History are the humanising portion of education; for the body, physical exercise and dancing.<sup>45</sup>

Mrs Kelsey continued, 'Our curriculum is arranged so that all parts of a girl's mind may have equal exercise and that a systematic co-ordination of subjects of study may be carried out throughout all the classes.' If the emphasis of her philosophy was to educate the whole person, it appears a contradiction to highlight the very few students each year who demonstrated academic promise. However, Mrs Kelsey was aware of the prestige which the examinations brought. The *Register* published examination successes with names of schools attended and it was important that the school achieve well in the public arena. Clearly, the Headmistress was in a dilemma, torn between her own educational philosophy and the requirement to impress current and potential parents by emulating rival schools in academic prestige. Another conflicting factor was her desire for girls to be given similar educational chances as boys. A further important element impinged - the prevailing intellectual climate of the majority of her school families, many whom did not fully appreciate the significance of the opportunities for personal enrichment and growth which

---

<sup>43</sup> Latin was taught by Mr A. W. Gosnell, M.A., a 'visiting professor', who also ran a Tuition School and a boys' preparatory school nearby. *Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>44</sup> E.O. Kelsey, *The Education of Australian Girls*, (Adelaide: Burden and Bonython, 1893), p. 4. This ideal was an expression of the educational ideas of classical Greece.

<sup>45</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1903, p. 6.

entrance to the University would give. However, it appears that few Dryburgh scholars attended University. Gertrude Jude graduated B.Sc. in 1901, much to the delight of Mrs Kelsey, who followed her academic success at the annual Speech Day.<sup>46</sup> But, by 1902 she confidently stated, 'the prestige of a school containing about one hundred girls of varying ages does not entirely depend on the few successes of the senior and junior candidates.'<sup>47</sup>

Thus, even though girls of academic aspirations could be specially coached for examinations, one of Mrs Kelsey's main missions was to lay a universal foundation of civilised and liberal thought. She admired the beliefs of Ruskin and Arnold and adopted the latter's ideals, especially 'the search for principles underlying facts, principles of order which will allow for a coherent account of the world.'<sup>48</sup> Arnold particularly argued for the perfectibility of man, a belief in a state of perfection developed by stimulating attention in different areas of being, in conduct, intellect and knowledge, beauty, in social life and manners. In Arnoldian terms, 'True human perfection developed all sides of our humanity', so Mrs Kelsey sought to expose her girls to the highest culture in the search for perfection as her educational aim.<sup>49</sup>

Following these ideals, the Headmistress was particularly interested in literature. A prolific reader, she attended extension lectures at the University.<sup>50</sup> Mrs Kelsey was also an author, writing in a variety of genres - children's tales, observant sketches on board the boat 'home', addresses to scholarly groups, a short story, *Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty*, and learned papers in education.<sup>51</sup> Further considering Arnold's ideas, Mrs Kelsey encouraged the development of creativity and the development of moral sensitivity. By exposing her pupils to a wide variety of literary and cultural experiences she aimed to develop a taste for the highest in human endeavour, encouraging them to strive for lifelong learning. In essence, Mrs Kelsey adapted the best of the 'ladies' curriculum with accomplishments' to

---

<sup>46</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1901, p. 4. Edith Gardner graduated B.A. in 1906. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1908, p. 34.

<sup>47</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1902, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> I. Palmer, *Matthew Arnold, Culture, Society and Education*, (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1979), pp. 2-3.

<sup>49</sup> M Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, ed. R.H. Super, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), p. xi.

<sup>50</sup> The Kelsey library includes volumes by Tennyson, Scott, Browning, Dickens and Hardy. Evans Collection. Lectures by Professor W. Mitchell on 'Maternalism', by Professor G. Henderson on 'Leaders of the Middle Ages', a series of lectures by Professor J. Reid on 'Shakespeare's Romantic Plays', and Professor E. Stirling on 'Colour in Nature' given at the University of Adelaide in 1903. Details in pamphlet form. P.R.G. 304/3, M.L.S.A.

<sup>51</sup> 'The Story of the Firelight' (dedicated to nephews and neices), handwritten in black notebook, 1891. P.R.G. 304/1/1; 'Some characters in *The Tempest*', 1892; Talk to Adelaide half-hour Reading Club, 1893; *Education of Australian Girls*, 1893. 'The Influences of National Characteristics on the Art of a Colony', monograph, 1893. P.R.G. 304/1/2. 'The True Basis of Australian Education,' *Australasian Schoolmaster*, August, 1899. P.R.G. 304/1/3. 'Conchology', handwritten monograph, Perth, 1909. P.R.G. 304/1/4. 'The Bible as a Literary Movement', Monograph 1909-1911. P.R.G. 304/1/5. *Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty*, (Adelaide: Wigg and Sons, 1901), 23 pp.

enable her pupils to reach out for themselves in their future with expanded and enriched horizons.

Accordingly, Dryburgh offered a comprehensive approach to music and art. In addition to their benefit as suitable accomplishments, these subjects were increasingly taught with academic seriousness. In 1897 Mrs Kelsey proudly read and published the congratulatory letter from Herr Reinman, Principal of the Adelaide College of Music, which complimented her on 'her efficient system of pianoforte teaching'.<sup>52</sup> Annually, girls achieved successes in music examinations set by the local University Board and by Trinity College, London. Each Speech Day an ambitious music programme was mounted, demonstrating a catholic taste in music and an increasing degree of dexterity.<sup>53</sup> Miss Hack A.R.C.M. trained singing classes who presented a cantata, 'The April Shower', in 1898.<sup>54</sup> This early exposure encouraged many pupils to maintain their interest in and appreciation of music throughout their lives.<sup>55</sup> As changes occurred in the acceptability of middle class women working outside the home the possibility increased of girls using their musical skills in a professional capacity. In addition to Caitloch Kelsey's studies in Germany, accompanist Topsy Doenau and violinist Daisy Kennedy studied in Europe which enabled them to offer music professionally.<sup>56</sup>

Art continued to be Mrs Kelsey's special forte. Following the theoretical framework of Ruskin and Morris, her search was for 'truth and beauty' as a moral force. Accordingly art was a popular and important subject in the Dryburgh curriculum. Promising pupils won prizes each year for oils, water colour, drawing and for work in intricate crafts. An influential member of the Art Teachers' Association, Mrs Kelsey deprecated copying, but applauded originality, creativity and exactness.<sup>57</sup> Attracted by this emphasis on creative self expression, families who were particularly interested in Art, for instance, the Gwynnes, Churches and Ashtons, sent their daughters to Dryburgh.<sup>58</sup> Pupils were prepared for the South Australian School of Art examinations from their inception in 1888. Table XII

---

<sup>52</sup> *Register*, 18h December, 1897, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> Random examples of musical items are 'Minuet' by Paderewski (1895), 'Grillen' by Schumann (1900), and Spanish dance 'Cachucha' (performed by Dorothy Evans, Gold Medallist in 1904 University Junior Music Exam).

<sup>54</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1898, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Information given by descendants - the son of Ita Gwynne, the niece of the Chibnall girls and the daughter of Albinia Short.

<sup>56</sup> Warburton, *St Peters*, p. 132. Daisy Kennedy won an international musical reputation, making her debut in Vienna in 1911, marrying famed Russian pianist Benno Moiseiwitch in 1914. *Register*, 15th December, 1911, p. 8. Phillips, *Not Saints but Girls*, p. 98.

<sup>57</sup> Mrs Kelsey was a member of the South Australian Art Teachers' Association to whom she delivered addresses, 'Cultivation of the Fine Arts', 11th October 1892, and on 'The Fine Arts and Literature', 26th October, 1892. *Register*, 22nd December, 1893, p. 7.

<sup>58</sup> James Ashton was the Art master at Prince Alfred College. His brother, Will, was a professional artist in Sydney and together they taught at their progressive Ashton School of Arts. Majorie Church, Art prizewinner from 1900, was Dux of the school in 1904. Her younger sister followed from 1903. Ita Gwynne won Art prizes from Form 11 in 1898.

demonstrates the known examination successes gained at Dryburgh under a range of teachers.

**Table XII**

**Dryburgh Art Examination Successes 1891-1906**

<b>Examination</b>	
<b>Year</b>	
<b>1891</b>	Drawing: 5 Pass
<b>1893</b>	Drawing: 10 Pass
<b>1894</b>	Drawing: May: 9 Pass, December: 6 Fail
<b>1896</b>	Drawing: 1 Excellent, 8 Good, 11 Pass
<b>1897</b>	None mentioned
<b>1898</b>	Free Drawing: 1 1st Grade, 3 Pass
<b>1900</b>	Free Drawing: 5 Pass; Practical Geometry: 6 Pass
<b>1901</b>	Drawing: 2 Credit, 5 Pass
<b>1902</b>	Drawing: 1 Excellent, 5 Good, 6 Pass
<b>1903</b>	None mentioned
<b>1904</b>	None mentioned
<b>1905</b>	Model: 1 Good, 2 Pass; Free drawing: 1Excellent, 1 Good
<b>1906</b>	Model: 1Pass; Free drawing: 1Excellent, 1Good, 1Pass

Source: *Register* Speech Day reports, 1891-1906.

Using the model of London's South Kensington School, these examinations rewarded technical skill and exactness, the foundations of utilitarian and industrial education, rather than creativity and self-expression.<sup>59</sup> They 'removed inventiveness and emphasised the measurable', centring round plane geometry, perspective, model drawing and solid geometry, thorough but unimaginative elements of art education. Mrs Kelsey's acceptance of strictures which appeared to override her personal philosophy of the values learned in art, exemplifies the challenge she faced of satisfying community and parental wishes while blending them with her well articulated personal beliefs. However, she was able to put her theory into practice in lower school classes which encouraged more free expression and original design work.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> N. E. Weston, 'The Professional Training of Artists in South Australia 1861-1963, with Special Reference to South Australian Model'. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1991, pp. 176-187.

<sup>60</sup> Mention is made in Speech Day Reports of oil painting with Miss Laughton, clay work and technical needlework with older pupils, also nature painting, paper weaving and woodwork in the lower school.

The 1890s saw a flowering of South Australian women artists.<sup>61</sup> The reasons are complex but they centre round the increasing curiosity of young women to explore and record situations of domestic and social relevance. The South Australian Society of the Arts was reinstated in 1892 with the acceptance of women on its Council, which added further respectability to the contribution of women to the artistic life of Adelaide. In addition, there was a growing community acceptance of girls furthering their orthodox schoolgirl interests at the South Australian Art school. If need dictated, learned artistic skills could be used to gain professional recognition, widening the choices of women's occupations.<sup>62</sup> When she left Dryburgh in 1903, Art prizewinner Marjorie Church attended the School of Design and was an exhibiting member of the Adelaide Drawing and Sketch Club. Her work for exhibition became sought after throughout Australia and she led a successful life as a professional painter.<sup>63</sup>

Another area which Dryburgh strongly encouraged was correct elocution. In 1884, Mrs Marcus' girls recited in English, French and German and read a scene from the *Tempest*.<sup>64</sup> Eleven years later, Mrs Kelsey stated that she constantly battled against the 'Australian twang' which she warned was developing. She pointed out that in Greek times, a proper method of speaking in public was as necessary a part of education as reading and writing.<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, she insisted on frequent repetitions of a drama or verses of poetry, starting at a young age 'where the habits of a lifetime are formed.' Speech Day in 1902 was marked with second form unison recitation, with enunciation a distinct feature, followed by a presentation of Tennyson's *Fairy Queen*.<sup>66</sup> Mrs Kelsey recognised that a girl's voice reflected her education and worked hard to optimise vocal presentation.

As an independent mother Mrs Kelsey had to support her family. In 1897 she sent her daughter, Caitloch, to Frankfurt to further her musical talent at the Music School of Clara Schumann.<sup>67</sup> Returning to Adelaide, Caitloch taught advanced pupils at Dryburgh where her superior qualifications allowed her to command a twelve guinea fee.<sup>68</sup> Her mother made

---

<sup>61</sup> J. Hylton, 'South Australian Women Artists', Exhibition programme, Art Gallery of South Australia, 1994, p. i.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>63</sup> Among her noted works on permanent display in the Art Gallery of South Australia are *Landscape, Farm by the Sea*. c. 1939; *Mrs Daisy Bates O.B.E.*, late 1940s; and *Beach Playground*, c. 1951. In 1918 she married the brother of schoolfriend and fellow artist, Ita Gwynne.

<sup>64</sup> *Advertiser*, 19th December, 1884, p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1895, p. 7.

<sup>66</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1902, p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> This was an enterprising and unusual step for a young girl to take at a time of arduous travel. At Clara Schumann's school she studied Theory with Humperdinck. Mrs Kelsey would have realised that her superior musical qualifications would be a valuable insurance for her daughter.

<sup>68</sup> This was the same fee for private lessons as was annually charged for academic tuition. 1905 Prospectus, p. 8. Further evidence of her success came as her students proudly advertised her tuition. For instance,

sure that she could support herself, but no reference was made to her school parents to plan for a similar eventuality in the futures of her charges. Mrs Kelsey knew she was treading in difficult territory and chose to lead by demonstrating her own and her family's example. Even though many school parents were unwilling to consider the possibility for their daughters of a position in the world of paid work which might encourage independence and autonomy, Mrs Kelsey championed the cause of thoughtful, comprehensive education of girls similar to that given to boys, explaining,

I also fear that fathers and mothers still think that girls do not require the same amount of training as boys. My answer to this is "If a girl has been trained to think and to reason, she will bring more thinking and reasoning faculties to bear in quickly learning to manage a house, to train her own children and she will, at the same time, be a companion and helpmeet for her husband, should it be her lot to marry, as a mere domestic drudge would never be."<sup>69</sup>

However, she pointed out that not all women marry, asking,

Are these women to be cramped within such narrow limits of Education on the 'chance of being married?' No! The whole civilised world of to-day is giving an emphatic protest against such an imposition. I cannot help thinking that her real emancipation will come when every woman has her lawful work to do. That women are as capable as men are, given equal training, Miss Fawcett and her sister wranglers have proved. I believe that women's true emancipation must be founded on economic principles. If every woman, no matter what her rank, be trained in some business or profession by which she can sustain herself, if necessary, the days will soon be over when girls will look forward to marriage as the great aim and object of their existence, or, as is often the case, as a means of livelihood.<sup>70</sup>

Mrs Kelsey addressed these words to the 1893 Advancement of Science symposium where her audience was made up of professionals. No similar advice was given to parents and friends at a Speech Day. Parents would not have appreciated such ideas which challenged one of their core values. Secure in economic and political power, the majority of Dryburgh's middle class parents would continue to support the maintenance of a conventional family pattern. But Mrs Kelsey foresaw that women were destined to play an increasingly active role in the vast changes which were taking place. 'We live in an age of transition', she argued, 'as women are emerging from the traditional "sacred obscurity."' She predicted that women would flood into nursing and teaching, 'pressing for posts in the telegraph and other government departments.'<sup>71</sup> By considering a change to the ideology of the class on which her livelihood depended the Headmistress was forced to tread warily and to introduce alternative, apparently radical ideas of the increasing autonomy of women with

---

Leonie Torr styled herself 'pupil of Miss Kelsey of the Frankfurt Conservatorium of Music' in her promotion as a music teacher in the 1898 Way College Prospectus. Information from Dr. R. Petersen.

<sup>69</sup> Kelsey, *The Education of Australian Girls*, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 7. Her thesis follows the arguments advanced in Britain on the 'new woman' by Maria Grey, Emily Davies, Millicent Fawcett, Frances Cobbe and Elizabeth Wordsworth, among others. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 254; Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 144.

<sup>71</sup> Kelsey, *The Education of Australian Girls*, p. 6; also quoted in Mackinnon, 'An Age of Transition for Women', in *Election 1893-1983: Come Out History Essays*, (Adelaide: Constitutional Museum, 1981), p. 185.

delicate discretion. Mrs Kelsey had a respected, hard won place in that society and was wise enough to temper her professional judgement with realism. With family and friends to consider, she was too shrewd to shake the economic basis of her school. Too radical a questioning of the conventional position might have prejudiced her reputation, hence her livelihood. She had to chart her educational path by propitiously balancing her educational philosophy, expectations of her clientele and the wider needs of society.<sup>72</sup>

Mrs Kelsey introduced her girls to healthy competition. Similar to boys' and some girls' schools, term reports confirm that Mrs Kelsey employed a competitive reporting style giving percentage marks as well as position and number in each class.<sup>73</sup> This was a direct transference of practices pioneered in reforming English Girls' High schools and a distinct departure from the non-competitive nature of orthodox 'ladies' schools'.<sup>74</sup> Although she did not teach all subjects, Mrs Kelsey herself wrote the reports, which suggests that she wished to keep abreast with every pupil's work and be the main communicator with parents.

Prizes and certificates were awarded each Speech Day. In order to underline the air of respectability and propriety of the age, a Reverend or learned gentleman presided.<sup>75</sup> Though failing to offer her girls an encouraging female model, Mrs Kelsey demonstrated her social standing by inviting some of the colony's most important men, who included Chief Justice Sir Samuel Way, 'long an admirer.'<sup>76</sup> Chairmen also distributed the prizes, elegant leather bound copies of Mrs Kelsey's favourite literature with the school's name embossed on the cover.<sup>77</sup> Although Mrs Kelsey gave these to reward excellence or qualities of application, she commiserated with those who failed to win acclaim, spurring them on to work harder reminding that 'the noblest and best lessons are learned by failures'.<sup>78</sup> While she had no time for drones, she appreciated that the less successful showed clever girls humility.

While discussing qualities which she admired in girls Mrs Kelsey's views changed over the years. In earlier times she exhorted humility, 'so that they might become fitted for the

---

<sup>72</sup> Mrs Kelsey signed the 1894 Suffrage petition, (twice), as did her son Harold. G.R.G. 92/5.

<sup>73</sup> 1904 Report of Jean Chibnall, kindly lent by her niece, Mrs L. Curnow of Wirrabara.

<sup>74</sup> Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 46. However, modern psychological theory confirms that most girls thrive using co-operative rather than competitive learning styles.

<sup>75</sup> The tradition of inviting prominent men reflected the self-effacing attitude expected in public from Victorian women. This custom has proved hard to break, even in different social conditions, a century later.

<sup>76</sup> The Reverend Dr Jefferis, Reverend Canon Sunter, Reverend Mr Kenny and Dr Torr, Headmaster of Way College, each took the presiding chair. Reverend R. Kenny M. A. was the rector of All Souls', St. Peters from 1887-1899. D.K. Rowney, *A Hundred years of All Souls*, (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1983), p. 32. Dr Jeffries was a long time Congregational friend of the Marcus family. *Register*, 18th December, 1897, p. 4.

<sup>77</sup> The Scripture Prize of Albinia Short, now belonging to her daughter Mrs Swan of Woodside, is a leather embossed selection of Browning's Poems. Handed down to descendants, school prizes still have a treasured place in many Adelaide bookcases.

<sup>78</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1900, p. 3; *Register*, 18th December, 1896, p. 7.

life of self-abnegation which is so many good women's chief characteristic and charm.' Gradually moderating these opinions, she described two particularly estimable pupils as 'sweet, gentle, womanly girls, as well as hard-working, enthusiastic seekers of knowledge.'<sup>79</sup> Further, she highlighted senior pupils 'whose moral tone and womanly gentleness influenced their fellows for good.' By confirming these late Victorian qualities of self-negation and meekness, popular concepts of the 'Ideal woman' which impressed fee-paying fathers, she appeared to concur with the perpetuation of women's dependency, a prevailing notion of many contemporary South Australian men in the patriarchal society. However, Mrs Kelsey's independent position at Dryburgh posed an enduring dilemma, one which was shared by many 'ladies who taught'.<sup>80</sup> Parents expected a ladylike role model, yet they deprecated the economic necessity of her situation as earning had the potential to threaten status. It appears that Mrs Kelsey managed to blend admired qualities of self-negation and self effacement with subtle assertion and determination. Her position required that she successfully integrate ladylike gentleness with commercial acumen, while retaining her femininity and impressing it on her charges.<sup>81</sup>

The Headmistress was always grateful to her members of staff and governesses and gave praise when due. From 1898, Miss Benham B.Sc., enthused by University studies, introduced Science throughout the school.<sup>82</sup> In the same year Miss Vivian, an experienced teacher who had conducted her own school, took Mrs Kelsey's classes while she was in England. It was an innovation at Dryburgh to have women of such proficiency, as only eight years earlier 'men had the upper hand and masters and other gentlemen were invited to examine the Upper school.'<sup>83</sup> Gradually the influence of better qualified women, including graduates, impinged on the school. Many were Advanced School Old Scholars, whose apparently easy absorption into the private school domain confirms the socialising mission which the Advanced School stressed in addition to its academic quest and reflects the homogenous nature of acceptable social norms of behaviour in this strata of Adelaide society.<sup>84</sup> Their example strengthened Dryburgh's overall rigour as Mrs Buring Day, Miss Cooke, Miss Scott and Miss Hume, B.A., teacher of Mathematics, added their academic input. In addition to providing positive intellectual stimulus, they introduced independent, academic feminine role models of significance to their pupils.<sup>85</sup> In 1905 there were four resident members of staff, including neice Bertha Harcus, a dancing and elocution specialist,

---

<sup>79</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1898, p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> This is well expounded in Pedersen, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses', pp. 138-146.

<sup>81</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1900, p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> 'These studies are even started in the Kindergarten where Nature lessons prepare the way for botany, physiology and physical geography.' *Register*, 18th December, 1899, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1891, p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 139-140; Also in Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', p. 119.



two visiting academic staff, four visitors for special subjects and the peripatetic Herr Hugo Leschen who oversaw the gymnastics programme.<sup>86</sup>

Miss Benham's career highlights some of the staffing difficulties which faced the smaller girls' schools. After successful years at Dryburgh between 1895 and 1900, she shared a part time position as the first woman demonstrator at Adelaide University in 1901, while concurrently teaching classes at the Advanced School for Girls, Mrs Thornber's and Tormore, leading academic girls' schools of the day. Miss Benham may have decided to specialise in the more senior work in Science and was prepared to move to schools with a greater number of older pupils.<sup>87</sup> As the smaller schools sent fewer girls for public examinations, trained women graduates could choose to teach in the schools which had larger classes and more chance of academic honours and scholastic acclaim.

In addition to losing valued staff members, each year Mrs Kelsey lost one or two intelligent students to the Advanced School, seventeen in total between 1894 and 1906, which may have signalled a measure of dissatisfaction with Dryburgh.<sup>88</sup> She would not have been pleased when two of the five Gardner sisters left to further their studies there in 1903, especially as Mary Gardner came near the top of the Matriculation English examination, without a mention of her foundation at Dryburgh.<sup>89</sup> The more that bright girls and better qualified staff departed for other schools the less was Dryburgh able to compete. In *One Foot on the Ladder* Alison Mackinnon praises Mrs Kelsey for her attempt to provide girls with the means of gaining economic independence via their entrance to the Advanced School.<sup>90</sup> But Mrs Kelsey would have thought that Dryburgh gave equal chance of advancement and would have been vexed when girls transferred there without obvious financial need, which could be subvented at the Advanced School by winning a bursary.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> 1905 Prospectus, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 205. In 1911 she went thence as owner/Headmistress to the Malvern Collegiate School for Girls, now Walford School. Jones and Morrison, *Walford: A History of the School*, p. 15.

<sup>88</sup> In 1891, prizewinner Rosamund Benham, cousin of Science teacher Miss Benham, left Dryburgh to take the Senior public at the Advanced School. After graduating in medicine in 1902, she became a well known feminist writer. Mackinnon, *New Women*, pp. 72-80. Other entrants to the Advanced School included three sets of two sisters, three daughters of Anglican priests and the daughters of a stockbroker and wine merchant in a difficult financial position, one of whom won a bursary. Three left in 1903 and four in 1904, which may flag a sense of unease with the school. Advanced School for Girls Enrolment Register, held by archivist, Mr B. Pearce.

<sup>89</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1902, p. 9; *University of Adelaide Manual of Public Examinations*, 1903, p. 56. Mr Gardner had rapid shifts in financial affairs which may have prompted this move on economic grounds. Mary won an entrance scholarship to University. *University of Adelaide Handbook*, 1904, p. 218.

<sup>90</sup> Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 103.

<sup>91</sup> Possible explanation for the transfer of the Haynes girls (daughters of clergy), Churchward (Father deceased), Cleland and Gardner girls (business variations).

There is no direct evidence of how academic decisions in the school were made. As owner, Mrs Kelsey took full responsibility for school outcomes. Of particular accountability were her staff, employees under her direct control, beholden to her for their livelihood.<sup>92</sup> As Mrs Kelsey bore the financial risk it is realistic to assume that she made major decisions. How far advice and counsel was sought from staff members is unknown, but their small numbers would encourage a cohesive approach in school matters, enhancing the likelihood of intimacy.<sup>93</sup> During the early years of the school, it is probable that the command of the Head was unchallenged, but as the nature of the curriculum became more specialised, Mrs Kelsey may have experienced a reduction in her academic authority. For instance, with specialist scientific knowledge, Miss Benham would have had the opportunity to shape both the method of teaching and the content. The power to undermine the Head's authority in the classroom gave potential for disagreement and tension so a clear understanding of the philosophy and wishes of the owner became increasingly necessary. Mrs Kelsey had firm ideas and gained a respected voice in education circles in Adelaide and beyond, so it would be unlikely that individuals would deliberately contravene her wishes and jeopardise their livelihood. There is no indication of a rapid turnover of staff members, flagging dissatisfaction and tension. On the contrary, the fact that staff members donated prizes, confirms stability and long spells of service. The pervading atmosphere at Dryburgh appears to have been harmonious.

The school may have benefited from the debate and discussion of the Collegiate Schools' Association, formed in 1881 by Heads and teachers from both girls' and boys' schools.<sup>94</sup> Mrs Kelsey became a member in 1885, twice giving papers to general meetings, Miss Vivian in 1887 and Miss Scott in 1901.<sup>95</sup> In addition to 'rousing the general public to take a deeper and more intelligent interest in educational matters via public addresses, circulation of pamphlets and books', its business concerned the daily practice of education, including public examinations syllabi and choice of texts, teaching methods and development of curriculum.<sup>96</sup> Discussion and deliberation of topical educational issues apparently took place in a respectful and congenial atmosphere with little discernible tension between the

---

<sup>92</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1897, p. 4. Also note 80.

<sup>93</sup> In 1900 reference is made to the welcome which would be given to Miss Scott 'an old friend of Mrs Kelsey's.' *Register*, 19th December, 1900, p. 3. Respectful familiarity was also exemplified in 1905 on the bidding of a fond farewell to Miss Isa Cooke who had taught at Dryburgh for ten years, not only as 'a loyal and conscientious teacher', but as 'a personal friend.' *Register*, 21st December, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>94</sup> The rules of this Association describe its aims as follows - 'The objects of this Association shall be to encourage higher education in the colony, to improve the methods employed in it, and to establish and maintain friendly and beneficial relations amongst those engaged in teaching in the Collegiate schools.' Jones and Morrison, *Walford: A History of the School*, p. 10. A similar Teachers' Association in New South Wales was founded in 1892, but was confined to women. Milburn, 'Girls' Secondary Education in New South Wales', p. 12.

<sup>95</sup> In March, 1895 to the Collegiate Schools' Association on English Literature and in 1903 to the Teachers' Guild a talk called 'The True Basis for Education'. Minutes of Association, V 1224. M.L.S.A.

<sup>96</sup> Committee meeting discussion 25th March, 1892. *Ibid.*

sexes. The 1894 agreement concerning term dates and the number of school terms to parallel other Australian colonies reflects the results of sensible co-operation between members.<sup>97</sup> In 1892 the Collegiate Schools' Association decided to amalgamate with the Public School Teachers' Association to form the Teachers' Guild of South Australia, which affiliated with the British Teachers' Guild, but the Collegiate Schools' Association continued to meet until 1905 to discuss its relevant matters.

During her 1898 educational trip to England, Mrs Kelsey became interested in the ideas of Charlotte Mason, founder of the Parents' National Education Union.<sup>98</sup> Central to its charter was the belief in the benefits of parental interest and guidance in education. The Union advocated Froebelism or the 'enthusiasm of childhood' as the basis of education, recognising the importance of sympathetic links between parents and teachers. It also championed teacher training and the wider familiarisation of parents with the principles of pedagogy. Mrs Kelsey wrote enthusiastically about the philosophy and aims of the Union.<sup>99</sup> In addition, she supported the idea of a P.N.E.U. branch in Adelaide.<sup>100</sup>

Many P.N.E.U. ideas fitted well into Mrs Kelsey's personal educational philosophy, so it not surprising that she championed its cause. A logical development of this interest might have been the formation of a Dryburgh Parent-Teacher Association, or lectures on educational topics for parents. However, memoirs written at the turn of the century suggest that middle class Adelaide fathers were too preoccupied with business and the club and mothers with Church and social engagements and sartorial niceties to take a constructive interest in matters concerning education.<sup>101</sup> They rewarded Mrs Kelsey financially for overseeing those responsibilities and had faith and confidence in her judgement.

As Dryburgh's standing matured, Mrs Kelsey's approach to parents became bolder. In 1903 she was almost castigatory at Speech Day, asking 'all parents and guardians to co-operate with me in the matter of giving firm refusal to requests from their daughters to discontinue certain subjects of study too soon.'<sup>102</sup> In a defiant tone she continued

---

<sup>97</sup> Minutes of Association, October, 1892. Jones and Morrison, *Walford: A History of the School*, p. 10.

<sup>98</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1898, p. 4. *Australasian Schoolmaster*, August, 1899, p. 27. Newspaper cutting, Evans Collection.

<sup>99</sup> Three page article in the prestigious Melbourne education periodical *Australasian Schoolmaster*, August, 1899; Also printed in the *Bacchus Marsh Express*, 21st April, 1900 and mentioned in the *Maryborough Standard*, 18th August, 1899. Newspaper cuttings, Evans Collection.

<sup>100</sup> A report of her paper to the Collegiate Association in 1898 states her advice that if a branch should be set up in Adelaide it should emanate from the parents. No follow-up could be traced.

<sup>101</sup> These activities were of constant interest to the middle class circle. Described in detail in Joan K. Willington, *Maisie*, pp. 244-246.

<sup>102</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1903, p. 6.

I believe that such requests are almost unheard of in boys' schools at an early age and I know they are not allowed in Government schools. I ask myself 'Why do parents allow their daughters who attend private schools to do this? and wonder if they think mental discipline is not necessary for girls or whether they have more confidence in the organising abilities of Headmasters than in Headmistresses.

These were strong words indeed, especially when followed up by reiteration of her basic contention: 'If we wish women's brains to be as well balanced as are those of men, then the girls should receive the early mental exercise as boys do.' Mrs Kelsey felt she needed to remind her parents continually of this tenet at important reported public occasions. It appeared that increasingly over the years Mrs Kelsey was not prepared to have her parents dictate their daughters' educational programme. Unlike the earlier ladies' schools where the Headmistress could be dictated to by the demands of influential parents, Mrs Kelsey's reputation stood high, enabling her to direct her school with increasing confidence and panache.<sup>103</sup> She was well able to argue her case and undoubtedly impressed parents with well chosen words and a deal of charm.

Photographs of an afternoon entertainment in the grounds at Palm Place show visiting Dryburgh mothers with flamboyant hats resplendent in long dresses in fine materials, their daughters in simpler gowns demonstrating the Australian March and drill exercises.<sup>104</sup> The style and ornamentation of dress reflect care and time on upkeep suggesting the convenience of domestic help. The sartorial impracticality in the hot November climate confirms that gatherings of this nature were still very much influenced by European fashions, as indeed were taste, behaviour and manners.<sup>105</sup> No fathers were present to witness the displays. This suggests strict adherence to contemporary proprieties, or the continuance of an inferior status of school activities accorded to daughters in the family.<sup>106</sup>

The consideration of ladies' dress is important as its style has the capacity to shape behaviour.<sup>107</sup> These elegant dresses must have proved restrictive during the controlled regimen of exercise typically conducted at Dryburgh and in other girls' schools.<sup>108</sup> In general, free movement for girls was frowned upon and a photograph of the 1898 Palm

---

<sup>103</sup> See also Pedersen, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses', p. 146. Her reputation was confirmed by Dryburgh numbers growing from fifty nine in 1892 to over one hundred in 1901. *Register*, 19th December, 1901, p. 4.

<sup>104</sup> Marcus Scrapbook, Evans Collection. Mothers wore heavy rich materials which distinguished them from girls wearing muslins and fine cottons which confirmed their image of virtuous innocence. Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 413.

<sup>105</sup> They certainly deserved 'tea served by Bricknells'. Caption beside photograph, Evans Collection.

<sup>106</sup> A similar function at a boys' schools would have been regularly attended by fathers, accompanied by mothers displaying sartorial splendour. Family attendance mentioned in St Peter's Speech Day Reports.

<sup>107</sup> This phenomenon is well explored in J. and P. Phillips, 'History from Below'; Also Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 412, 413.

<sup>108</sup> However, Dryburgh pupils did not take part in Mr Leschen's schools' demonstrations in 1897 and 1900. Petersen, 'Varieties of P.E. at Way College', p. 11.

Place playground gives the overall impression of a very inactive and sedentary atmosphere.<sup>109</sup> However, by 1905 it appears that Dryburgh was among the innovators of a more active approach to school sport as, in the confined playground area between the houses, the girls played hockey, the newly popular game of British upper class girls' schools.<sup>110</sup> With its potential for social interaction with the opposite sex, tennis was a favourite leisure activity and from the 1890s Dryburgh pupils could play on a leased court nearby. The innovation of more energetic exercise no doubt pleased the girls as it allowed them to express their youthful spirits, even if they found that their long skirts impeded movement. Glad to be active, they may not have complained. When they found skirts got in the way of cycle wheels spirited young girls tucked them out of harm's way.<sup>111</sup> This seeming impropriety was more than compensated for by the greater independence and lessening of personal confinement which bicycles afforded.<sup>112</sup>

The school had few requirements concerning uniformity of everyday dress. The girls attended school in a variety of full length skirts and dresses. However, this led to sartorial competition, as exemplified by the recollection,

I had to wear high, stiff necked collars and ties, while other girls were allowed open-necked dresses. We were envious of three of these who were very attractive. One had a quite low cut frock with a sailor collar in which she looked most charming.<sup>113</sup>

The only compulsory item was a hat badge with Dryburgh House School to distinguish its scholars from those at other schools.<sup>114</sup> This identifying feature could also act as a means of control. Poor behaviour of Dryburgh girls could be observed and reported to Mrs Kelsey. In keeping with middle class parental expectations, she required her girls to observe the proprieties and to be ladylike.

Who were these students whose youthful vitality was being shaped into refinement by Mrs Kelsey? Evidence shows that came from a range of middle class backgrounds, mostly from homes where the father was breadwinner, but in 8% of the forty families examined,

---

<sup>109</sup> Photograph 35382, M.L.S.A.

<sup>110</sup> Photograph from the album of Ita Gwynne, now held by her son Mr. L. Hughes. Hockey was originally introduced in Adelaide by the three daughters of the wealthy Arthur Waterhouse family who had been sent 'home' in the 1890s to be educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College. On their return they formed an impromptu team of their friends who played on the South Parklands. In 1901 from the daughters of some of the leading families, they created an East Terrace team which included the Misses Waterhouse, Luxemore, Law Smith, Cussen, Ayers, Horn and Mann. Photograph B 10203, M.L.S.A..

<sup>111</sup> Bicycles became a popular and efficient means of transport from the start of the century. Constance Jean, Lady Bonython, *I'm No Lady, 1891-1977, memoirs of Jean Warren*, ed C. Warren Bonython, (Adelaide: C.W. Bonython, 1971), p. 23.

<sup>112</sup> This aspect of the increasing independence of girls is discussed in Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 249.

<sup>113</sup> Bonython ed., *I'm No Lady*, p. 22.

<sup>114</sup> Details of uniform discussed at an oral interview with Miss Catherine Sunter, daughter of Old Scholar, Kate Gardner, 20th May, 1993.

the mother is listed as 'widow'.<sup>115</sup> The majority of fathers were well educated professionals, (lawyer, doctor, minister of religion, schoolteacher, engineer, newspaper proprietor), comfortably well off, secure members of the middle class. These numbered 46% of the sample. A further 10% could be considered in this strata. Prominent in business, commerce or stockbroking, they were in a more precarious position as they were subject to the economic vicissitudes of the market. Similarly at risk were the 15% in 'trade' (wine merchant, general merchant, ironmonger, proprietor of furniture store, distillery manager). Some 10% are noted as skilled artisans (coachbuilder, miner, telephonist, metallurgist), who may have been considered not yet fully middle class, but who had hopes of their offspring attaining that ranking through education. Another 10% made their living on the land.

Mrs Kelsey's school attracted the stepdaughter of the Chief Justice, and the daughters of the Headmaster of Way College, the City engineer, the owner of Adelaide's main store, Marshall's, and the late Headmaster of St Peter's College.<sup>116</sup> Another prominent father was L.W. Stanton, deputy Director of Education.<sup>117</sup> Girls from the Bush were from stations or reflected South Australia's growing mining industry.

Dryburgh names are echoed on Honour Boards at the two nearby boys' colleges, particularly St Peter's.<sup>118</sup> College families would appreciate the convenience of a nearby girls' school whose ambience and standards stood up to their scrutiny. No doubt to accommodate a family preference for the Church of England, the most socially acceptable denomination, it appears that Mrs Kelsey, the daughter of a Congregational minister, increasingly worshipped at the nearby Anglican church with her boarders.<sup>119</sup> As Dryburgh was grooming girls to take their place as wives of the sons and future mothers of the descendants of these discriminating families, she gave careful attention to these matters.<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> A partial list of pupils has been compiled by following up names of prizewinners in Speech Day reports in *Adelaide Directories*. Information has also been sought descendants.

<sup>116</sup> Shylie Blue, Leone Torr, Edith Rutt, Janie Marshall, Olive Williams.

<sup>117</sup> The Advanced School entrance register confirms that Rachel Stanton left Dryburgh to enter the Advanced School in 1896 when her father accepted the prominent education position.

<sup>118</sup> These include Haynes, Gooden, Robertson, Greenway, Moyes, Winterbottom, Gardner and Ramsay-Smith.

<sup>119</sup> Although Mrs Kelsey had strong Congregational links which suggests continued attendance at Clayton Church, Norwood, also close by, within reasonable walking distance, was the Church of England All Souls, St. Peters, which may have been the choice of Anglican sisters of St. Peter's boys. Page 7 of the prospectus confirms a pew fee of 4/- a term, suggesting a strong Anglican connection. In addition, Mrs Kelsey ran a fête to gather money in support of the new Sisters' school in North Adelaide in 1894. Phillips, *Not Saints but Girls*, p. 53. At least one old scholar, Ita Gwynne, was a lifelong member of the Cathedral congregation.

<sup>120</sup> After years of relative importance beyond their numbers in the 1870s and 1880s, many Congregationalists defected to the more socially acceptable Anglican fold. See Van Dissel, 'The Adelaide Gentry' in Richards, ed., *Flinders History*, p. 364. Mrs Kelsey may have had her pragmatic reasons for this shift. Her descendants are Anglican.

The names of many of Adelaide's old and well established families appear in Dryburgh prize lists.<sup>121</sup> Further, the calibre of parents who selected Dryburgh House for their daughters was discreetly advertised in a Speech Day account which elaborated not only the colourful gowns of Mrs Kelsey and three members of staff, but also the dress of Lady Way and Lady Coles, parents selected for high social rank.<sup>122</sup> In order to maintain class expectations, Mrs Kelsey accepted her pupils with care. However, William Harris, a carpenter, was bailiff for properties in Palm Place. With a big red beard, he could not read or write, announcing himself as "William 'Owarth 'Arris". He wanted his two daughters to be educated at Dryburgh House. Mrs Kelsey deliberated, but finally took them.<sup>123</sup> The economic motive was also a consideration.

Mrs Kelsey was sympathetic to unfortunate young people. She accepted friends' orphaned daughters, who later recalled that the emotional support given to them ensured that boarding was more like joining a family than a tightly run institution.<sup>124</sup> Although there is no evidence of the school formally offering scholarships or bursaries to needy or deserving students, by offering deductions for sisters in the school and reducing the fees of the daughters of clergy as recognition of the financial stringencies of that profession, she mirrored the practice demonstrated at St Peter's and other prominent foundations.<sup>125</sup>

The majority of Mrs Kelsey's students came from the nearby suburbs from where they could walk or use the newly popular bicycle.<sup>126</sup> As transport improved with electrification of tramlines from the start of the century, girls came from further afield. The five mile journey of one pupil from Lower Mitcham where at least two comparable schools, The Misses Thornbers' and Miss Adamson's Malvern Collegiate School for Girls were available nearby, suggests that Mrs Kelsey's had special appeal.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> These include Seppelt, Bonython, Coles, Cleland, Goode, Brookmann, Short and Moulden.

<sup>122</sup> *Critic*, 21st December, 1899. Fragment, Evans Collection.

<sup>123</sup> Many years later she agreed that 'they did quite well in life.' Family reminiscence recalled by grandson Mr L. A. R. Evans, Warburton Collection.

<sup>124</sup> One was Ritan Nesbit, who then finished her education in Melbourne. Telephone conversation with her daughter, Mrs Max Hart, May, 1993. Another was Doris Owen Dowland, the Mannum Postmaster's daughter, who had been left motherless at age four. She boarded with Mrs Kelsey until 1903, when she went to her relations on the other side of town who were able to send her to the newly established Methodist Ladies' College. Telephone conversation with her daughter, Mrs Concloris, June, 1993.

<sup>125</sup> 1905 Prospectus, p. 8. She allowed a sister's reduction of 10% for the first, 15% for the second. Among other established schools, St Peter's was fortunate to have endowments for scholarships. Hood, *St Peter's College*, pp. 58-60. Great Britain Board of Education Special Report on the System of Education in South Australia, 1901, pp. 492-493.

<sup>126</sup> Early photographs show groups of cheerful girls proudly clustered round a shining machine. Photograph album held by daughter of Dolly Willcox, Mrs Mary Wildash.

<sup>127</sup> Motherless Harriet Catchlove. Telephone conversation with her son, Mr Savers, June, 1993.

Many of Dryburgh's thirty boarders undertook a long journey from the outback. A pupil came from Eyre Patch Homestead on the West Australian Nullarbor and another travelled South from Blinman in the Flinders Ranges, part of the way by camel.<sup>128</sup> Even journeys of girls from Mount Gambier and the Riverland would be slow and unpredictable.<sup>129</sup>

The experience of the Chibnall girls from Finness reflects the experience of many country families. The girls were taught at home by their mother who had been a governess before marriage.<sup>130</sup> When the fourth baby came along she 'bundled them off to school in Adelaide'. The girls were gifted musically and were able to take advantage of the wider opportunities at Dryburgh. The Chibnalls recalled long walks to the Botanic Gardens and visits to the theatre to see matinée performances of Shakespeare. They remembered that Mrs Kelsey believed in exercise and that she walked with them twice to church on Sundays.<sup>131</sup> They loved the school and appreciated its care and many opportunities. On leaving Dryburgh, they returned home where they contributed to the cultural life of their community. In common with many women of their class in their generation, neither girls married.<sup>132</sup> But they were widely known as well educated and accomplished women, alert and lively even in old age. Their few years as boarders at Dryburgh enlarged their vision of life and their appreciation of humanistic values.

The lasting impression of education in the humanities was also demonstrated in the later lives of other pupils.<sup>133</sup> A Broken Hill boarder recalled that at Dryburgh she had learned to love poetry, art, and music.<sup>134</sup> She learned the piano and violin, accomplishments which she continued on returning home to look after her six younger siblings on her mother's early death. Later she married an engineer and had an adventurous life in New Guinea. As one of the only two white women in a mining community, she taught reading and manners to native children along with her own family. She attributed her wide interests during her ninety years of life to the spur she had received during Adelaide schooldays. A classmate recalled with clarity the artistic stimulus which she had received during her Dryburgh years.<sup>135</sup> A devoutly religious woman of strong personality, she became a generous worker for charity.

---

<sup>128</sup> Jessie Graham, Graham family collection. P.R.G. 937, M.L.S.A. She may have travelled by horse to Eucla on the South Australian border and caught a boat from there, probably a three day's journey. Georgia Henry, whose father opened a copper mine, came from Blinman. Telephone conversation with her daughter-in-law, Mrs J. B. Day, June, 1993.

<sup>129</sup> This and details following are taken from unpublished Chibnall memoirs, kindly gathered in note form by their niece, Mrs Helen Jennings.

<sup>130</sup> Mrs Chibnall found to her delight that the girls were ahead of their classmates in basic subjects.

<sup>131</sup> The actual church has not been verified, probably All Souls, St Peters.

<sup>132</sup> The memoirs state 'as many of the young men from the area went to the first World War and did not return.'

<sup>133</sup> In her memoir, Jean Warren paid tribute to her Headmistress for teaching her the richness of the stories of Greece and Rome. Bonython, ed., *I'm No Lady*, p. 22.

<sup>134</sup> Dora Bryant. Telephone conversation, with her son, April, 1993.

<sup>135</sup> Ita Gwynn, daughter of a well established legal family.



Her contribution throughout her life to Church work, especially in sewing beautiful vestments, was largely attributed Mrs Kelsey's powerful influence to encourage Truth and Beauty. Mrs Kelsey would have been delighted that her aim of 'developing inborn characteristics and faculties' was realised in different ways.<sup>136</sup> She deplored the notion that some girls 'thought that they had finished their education when they left school', which she believed was a consequence of the examination system.<sup>137</sup> Indeed, she constantly looked forward, entreating her girls to continue their education and personal development when they left Dryburgh, rejoicing in their later achievements and in the continued artistic and creative growth.<sup>138</sup>

In addition to inspiring a love of humanistic values, Mrs Kelsey aimed 'to give a three fold training viz mental, physical and technical.' In her characteristically forward looking fashion, she asked, 'are their eyes being trained to see, their fingers to manipulate in such a manner that they will eventually become self-reliant, capable young women?'<sup>139</sup> Accordingly, in 1902 she arranged for girls to attend weekly classes at the School of Mines for dressmaking and cookery. Though publicised proudly in the school prospectus, classes in cookery and dressmaking had to be paid for as an 'extra'.<sup>140</sup> Mrs Kelsey awarded prizes at the end of the year in order to promote these utilitarian subjects.<sup>141</sup>

For Dryburgh families, to introduce cookery meant a challenge to customary assumptions. In *Family Fortunes*, Leonore Davidoff and Cathy Hall submit that the employment of servants was one of the marks of Victorian social improvement.<sup>142</sup> Penelope Baker argues that one South Australian family in three could afford a living-in servant, a 'slavey', and more affluent families employed housemaids, cooks and groundstaff.<sup>143</sup> At the turn of the century, Dryburgh clientele came from the social strata who would have assumed that paid domestic help in the house was an accepted part of living. That families who enjoyed this relief from daily household drudgery were accepting of the notion that

---

<sup>136</sup> *Register*, 13th December, 1904, p. 8.

<sup>137</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1895, p. 7.

<sup>138</sup> Joanna Priest recalled that her mother, Mu Jefferis, was fortunate at Dryburgh 'to have had a deep appreciation of the arts from Mrs Kelsey' who was a great inspiration her, thereby to Priest and to generations of dancers in South Australia. M. A. Denton, *Joanna Priest: Her Place in Adelaide's History*, (Adelaide: Joanna Priest, 1993), p. 9.

<sup>139</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1902, p. 9.

<sup>140</sup> In order to reassure diffident parents, she was careful to point out that the School of Mines was within easy walking distance of the school and that the girls were accompanied by a governess. To reimburse specialist teachers, charges were 10/- if under twelve in a class, 6/8 if twelve or more. 1905 Prospectus, p. 5.

<sup>141</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1902, p. 9.

<sup>142</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 388-396.

<sup>143</sup> P. Baker, 'Position of Women in South Australia', B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1977, pp. 78-81. The affluent Gilbert family employed a staff of nine for their family of ten children. Gilbert papers, P.R.G. 266/34. M.L.S.A.

their daughters learned the skills which they paid others lowly wages to perform needs enquiry. There was no suggestion that the cookery encompassed *ordon bleu* or that a supervisory or overseeing role was envisaged. In reality, Mrs Kelsey hoped that the girls should be 'able and efficient women' when they had their own homes.

Mrs Kelsey's ideas were eminently practical, showing an understanding of the increasingly self-dependent adult roles which her pupils might be required to play on a country property or in times of city depression. She may have appreciated an inadequacy of her own training in domestic skills as she was brought up when living-in servants were plentiful and cheap.<sup>144</sup> Possibly she appreciated that domestic labour would become less available and more expensive as opportunities for women's employment broadened and that women would be increasingly doing their own housework, aided by modern appliances.<sup>145</sup> That she aimed to make girls independent in their domestic arrangements is further upheld by the evidence that she required boarders 'to devote from one to two hours every Saturday morning to mending their clothes', a distinct shift over twenty years from leisurely art lessons.<sup>146</sup> In addition, 'Fancy and Plain Needlework were taught once a week from 2 till 3.30 o'clock', which prompted a pupil to recall:

Our sewing lessons were to sew for the poor. If we had any old clothes we would take them and we were taught to mend them and they were sent to the Mission. Some did fancy work.<sup>147</sup>

As reflected in many parts of the Western world, a more realistic and practical emphasis for young women was in the process of development.<sup>148</sup> The impression of leisure and accomplishment which Dryburgh girls created in the 1880s was altering. Mrs Kelsey's approach helped to train her girls to consider the practicalities of managing a well-run home with declining domestic help, thereby adapting their ideas to optimise their response to altered social and economic circumstances.

---

<sup>144</sup> However, a few New South Wales girls' schools had introduced limited cookery and Domestic economy classes in the 1890s. Miss Louisa Macdonald M.A., principal of Women's College, University of Sydney, discussed the possibility of Domestic Economy as a University subject in her paper 'On Domestic Economy as a Subject for the University Junior Examination', *The Australian Teacher*, No. 24, May, 1897, p. 7. Quoted in Milburn, 'Girls' Secondary Education in New South Wales', p. 74.

<sup>145</sup> Grimshaw, Lake, McGrath, Quartly eds., *Creating a Nation*, pp. 166-167. Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 32-33.

<sup>146</sup> This was under the supervision of a governess. 1905 Prospectus, p. 10.

<sup>147</sup> Hyams et al., *Learning and Other Things*, p. 172.

<sup>148</sup> Discussed in a wider context in Reiger, pp. 56-82. This is confirmed by the description of Dryburgh's Gardner girls as 'women of intelligence and energy who were superb banquet cooks.' Warburton, *St Peters*, p. 42.

Many pupils developed a deep affection for Dryburgh which they maintained on leaving school via the Old Scholars' Association.<sup>149</sup> Formed in 1901 with one hundred and twenty five members, it was concerned with the current school, annually presenting a competitive essay prize. The Association also gave opportunity to maintain friendships and to extend education informally. Indeed, an impression of the extent of the unstructured time enjoyed by many contemporary young women of their class may be gauged by their input to the Association's activities. In 1902 mention was made of the high standard which Old Scholars reached in their work on display for competitions held in art needlework, painting, essay writing and in nature.<sup>150</sup> Mrs Kelsey took a great interest, fostering links with the school and offering her experience to chair meetings. She was pleased that Old Scholars read interesting papers, 'the excellence of which shows that the writers had learned the real lesson of school life "the lesson of knowing how to learn," for they certainly have not stood still since they left school.' The Old Scholars also formed a Tennis Club which regularly challenged the school. In these ways the friendships and bonding which girls had forged at school were maintained and strengthened via the formal auspices of the Association. Old Scholars demonstrated loyalty to the school by regularly attending Association meetings, confirmed in 1910 by the evidence that many of the seventy five present had attended the school not long after its foundation.<sup>151</sup> Gradually, the nature of meetings changed and gatherings of a more informal nature took place in Old Scholars' homes. These reunions were noted to the 1930s when schooldays had faded into memory, when discussion probably centred round children and grandchildren.

If they lived nearby, it was likely that daughters of Old Scholars would attend Dryburgh but it is difficult to confirm examples of mother/daughter relationships because of the change of family name on marriage. There is evidence that the Wood family of the 1880s sent at least one daughter, Marjorie Henderson, to the school in the early years of the century and that Dora Horwood was her cousin.<sup>152</sup> The Hendersons were related to the Scott Young girls.<sup>153</sup> Marriages took place between members of school families. For instance, 1890s Dryburgh pupils from the Tolmer, Warburton and Short families intermarried, as did the Marshalls and the Mouldens. Relationships of this nature were a consequence of the size and social configuration of that particular district of Adelaide as much as any particular attribute of the school, but they demonstrate the cohesion of the middle class group who patronised a school like Mrs Kelsey's over the generations.

---

<sup>149</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1901, p. 4.

<sup>150</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1902, p. 9.

<sup>151</sup> *Presbyterian Banner*, August, 1910, p. 4.

<sup>152</sup> Telephone conversation with family member, Mrs J. Rischbeith, August, 1993.

<sup>153</sup> Relationships traced using evidence from Warburton, *St Peters*; and during discussion with descendants.

In later years, Old Scholars spoke of a recurring theme in Dryburgh schoolgirl lives - the neighbouring St Peter's boys. Some recalled climbing the fence to talk to them and others remembered written notes, considered 'a frightful crime'.<sup>154</sup> In 1907 Senior boys were allowed to give a formal dance if a list of invited partners was furnished to the somewhat dubious Headmaster.<sup>155</sup> However, the occasion went off successfully, which allayed his fears and encouraged a healthy interest in the opposite sex, as a poem about a popular Dryburgh pupil illustrates.<sup>156</sup>

The overall feel of Dryburgh House is of a small, friendly community where girls were loved and encouraged, but not indulged. Descendants of Old Scholars recall their mother's contention that it 'Catered for "the cream of Society"' and that it was considered by some as 'the school of the time'.<sup>157</sup> This affection for the school and for Mrs Kelsey was constantly reiterated and the school appears to have been a happy and worthwhile experience for the majority of Dryburgh girls. The school was sought after by some less affluent families. From 1901 annual winners of six South Australian bursaries were able to choose any school in the state. The majority went to the Advanced School, but Mrs Kelsey's was one of the few private schools recorded as a choice for these scholars, which suggests affirmation of its educational programme.<sup>158</sup> Speech Day custom allowed Chairmen to heap praise on Headmistresses and their schools. However, few exceeded the accolades of Reverend Dr Jefferis who 'was sure that all would agree with him that the education given by Mrs Kelsey and her staff was not behind that delivered in any similar institution in the colony'.<sup>159</sup> There were frequent references to the high regard in which the school was held in the community. In 1905, the *Register* pointed out 'that Dryburgh House School is one of the most reputable of Adelaide's educational institutions for girls'.<sup>160</sup> The ghost of Mrs Marcus must have smiled.<sup>161</sup>

1905 was a watershed in the school's history. Forced to recuperate in hospital after an operation, Mrs Kelsey described her impressions of the daily work of the nurses, observing their contribution to this respectable and increasingly attractive area of employment for middle class girls.

---

<sup>154</sup> Anecdote of Ethel Scarfe recalled by son, Mr J. Scarfe. Interview, August, 1993.

<sup>155</sup> Bonython, ed., *I'm No Lady*, p. 21.

<sup>156</sup> Photograph and complimentary poem about Dolly Willcox, in mementos held by daughter, Mrs Wildash.

<sup>157</sup> Descendants of Rita Nesbit and Edith Ashton.

<sup>158</sup> Other chosen non-government schools were Tormore, Methodist Ladies' College and Cabra. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 193.

<sup>159</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1898, p. 4.

<sup>160</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>161</sup> Mrs Marcus died 12.3.02. Family bible, Evans collection.

What more noble work has the world for her women than this? Whatever may be written about the "unsexing of women" in the present day, there is always that band of women who are pure minded without being ignorant, who are "ministering angels" not only with pity but with love, but also with knowledge and with skill. Thus we who have passed through their hands can testify to their boundless power for good and their Christlike work.<sup>162</sup>

Clearly, she admired their strength, humour and competence, tempered with humility and a sense of service to others, personal qualities which she encouraged at Dryburgh. Mrs Kelsey received affirmation that the skills of thoughtful and civilised living which she had constantly promoted would benefit her pupils not only in the familiar domestic sphere, but also in positions of honourable employment which she hoped would become increasingly accepted by her school clientele.

The 1905 Speech Day report underlined promising examination results, but Mrs Kelsey reaffirmed her views on the narrowness of an examination requirement which resulted in 'cramming' and on the misconceived notion that an examination was the object and termination of education. The Headmistress appreciated the girls' success of winning two of the six South Australian prizes in a competitive essay on the aims of the League of the Empire. Mrs Kelsey particularly mentioned the girls' pleasure in the league's correspondence scheme, where Dryburgh affiliated with Pembroke School, Norwich as she worked hard to establish this link. She also encouraged her girls to correspond with similar pupils throughout the Empire, a lasting gesture which demonstrated the outgoing nature of her educational ideas.<sup>163</sup>

On 19th October, 1906 *The Advertiser* reported unwelcome news, regretting that,

Mrs Kelsey has been compelled through failing health to retire from the management of Dryburgh House School, which she has carried on with great success for twenty years during which time many scholastic distinctions have been won by her pupils. Mrs Kelsey remarks that she has taught for 30 years and has loved her work and loved her girls and that the wrench of separation will be a great one.<sup>164</sup>

There is no record of the method Mrs Kelsey used to dispose of the school. She may have invited a known enterprising specialist teacher of the cut of Miss Benham to assume the responsibility, but she might have had neither the capital nor the confidence at that stage to branch out on her own as she did eight years later. It is likely that a discreet advertisement was promulgated along the lines of similar later announcements.<sup>165</sup> In late October, the *Register* reported that Mrs Kelsey had arranged for the transfer of her school to Mr D.

---

<sup>162</sup> "The Modern Nurse", *Advertiser*, 19th June, 1905. Fragment, Evans Collection.

<sup>163</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1905, p. 4. Miss George at the Advanced School was also enthusiastic about the scheme.

<sup>164</sup> *Advertiser*, 19th October, 1906, p. 4.

<sup>165</sup> No advertisement for Dryburgh has been located, but an advertisement indicating the customary form appears in the *Register*, 1st November, 1913, p. 3.

Murray Coghill M.A. and Mrs Coghill of Box Hill, Victoria in whose 'capability, worth and high tone' she appeared to have great faith.<sup>166</sup> There are no records of the financial basis on which the Coghills acquired the goodwill of Dryburgh. The buildings were leased and the lease could easily be changed. It must be assumed that a satisfactory understanding was reached and that Mrs Kelsey was satisfied both professionally and financially.<sup>167</sup> Certainly, Mrs Kelsey was welcoming to the new Head and his wife and urged the parents to look forward with confidence to their arrival and to their contribution to the welfare of the school.<sup>168</sup>

Mrs Kelsey's educational philosophy was the strength behind the school. Advocating a firm foundation, she deprecated an over-emphasis on learning by heart which had been the hallmark of the poorly qualified teachers of earlier girls' schools. A prime aim of her pedagogy was to teach girls to think for themselves.<sup>169</sup> Mrs Kelsey insisted that girls should be taught how to learn, which could be achieved by their exposure to a well balanced variety of subjects. Keeping abreast of current educational theory, the progressive Mrs Kelsey's visit to English Girls' High schools confirmed that this wide educational curriculum which allowed for different capabilities and tastes, was comparable to the foremost English models. Her understanding of the balance of mental, aesthetic, physical and spiritual dimensions in educational thought, her appreciation of the benefits of sound education and training from childhood, her early introduction of well taught Science and her early introduction of technical subjects confirm her alert and intelligent grasp of contemporary educational philosophy and practice.

The story of Dryburgh under its founder proprietors is an example of a dynamic family enterprise. By blending their professional and personal lives, the personalities of Mrs Marcus and Mrs Kelsey were the vital heartbeat of the school. Their education, intelligent understanding of forces which shaped it, and their skilful charting of the direction of the school ensured that Dryburgh adapted to the social and academic needs of its clientele, Without compromising their educational or moral beliefs, they successfully reproduced the dominant culture in its dimensions of class and gender, especially elements of the ideal female type which were critical in capitalist and patriarchal relationships.<sup>170</sup> Dryburgh encouraged this feminine formation, gradually developing the image to ensure that pupils

---

<sup>166</sup> *Register*, 20th October, 1906, p. 6; *Advertiser*, 19th October, 1906, p. 4.

<sup>167</sup> The Coghills may have borrowed capital for the enterprise, which might have started their financial difficulties.

<sup>168</sup> *Advertiser*, 19th October, 1906, p. 4.

<sup>169</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1891, p. 6.

<sup>170</sup> M. Theobald suggests they were dependent, chaste, domesticated, and cultured. Theobald, "Mere Accomplishments?", p. 85.

became 'fearless, highly cultured, sympathetic women'.<sup>171</sup> Within pragmatic limits, Mrs Kelsey gently steered her clientele into acceptance of social and economic change, especially alerting them to notions of girls' increasing self-dependence and to reorientations in the employment of middle class girls. However, Dryburgh's contribution to the encouragement of liberal creativity and to the education and appreciation of the arts is its lasting memorial.

Donald Murray Robertson Coghill was born in Sydney in 1871.<sup>172</sup> He was a capable scholar who started studying Medicine, but because of the early death of his father, he was obliged to change to the Faculty of Arts where he graduated with Honours, to which he added a Masters degree in Melbourne. In the early 1890s he taught at the South Melbourne College and then at University High where he had control of the boy boarders. For four years Mr Coghill was the Head of Glenthorpe College, Ascot Vale before assuming the Headship of New College, Box Hill in 1899.

Photographs of the day show him to be of a little more than medium height, rather stout, square-faced and moustached. He cut an impressive figure with an air of determination and a no-nonsense severity, but without the harshness. Mr Coghill was a Presbyterian, though not a devout churchgoer. His great passions were work, where he seemed to be genuinely interested in the theory and practice of education, and military and naval history. He went to Box Hill with the highest references, but had mixed fortunes as a proprietor.<sup>173</sup> He maintained a healthy roll, infused *esprit de corps* among his pupils and gained Matriculation results comparable to those of previous good years. His wife Gertrude, who had studied at Melbourne University, had responsibility of the boarders and taught music at the school, for a fee.<sup>174</sup>

The passing of the Victorian Teachers' and Schools' Regulation Act in 1905 spelt the death knell to many small privately owned schools. Mr Coghill's school of eighty scholars faced serious competition from larger establishments which could offer specialist tuition and a wider curriculum. Although Mr Coghill had no qualms in defending his school's position, he could foresee difficulties ahead and decided to make other plans. There was a certain restlessness in Mr Coghill's career. He had not yet found the ideal situation.

---

<sup>171</sup> Kelsey, 'The Education of Australian Girls', p. 10.

<sup>172</sup> Details of Mr Coghill's early life from D. Cotter, *Farmers, Ringmasters and Builders; A History of Kingswood School*, (Box Hill, Victoria: Kingswood College Limited, 1985), pp. 35-41. New College was later renamed Box Hill Grammar School.

<sup>173</sup> These included 'a good schoolmaster, a student of English and an upright and sensible man', 'rare ability', 'few equals', 'all the culture, energy and enthusiasm necessary for leadership.'

<sup>174</sup> F. Millar, *More than just a School*, (Box Hill, Victoria: Kingswood College Limited, 1990), p. 16. There is also a suggestion of a Miss Coghill at the school though no evidence of her at Dryburgh, but a Miss E. Coghill became Head of Hurstone Teaching College for Women in Sydney in 1903. When it closed in 1906, she went to Sydney Teachers' Training College. Kyle, *Her Natural Destiny*, p. 154.

In Sydney, Mr Coghill had known the Reverend A.J. Wade, minister of the prestigious Presbyterian Church on North Terrace, Adelaide. Wade must have given a favourable report of his friend's capabilities and potential. Mrs Kelsey would have been impressed by Mr Coghill's love of English and his concern to educate the whole person.<sup>175</sup> Any disquiet felt about the suitability of the leadership of the school falling to a man would have been dispelled by the assurance of Mrs Coghill. By 1906 baby Marie had been born, which may have reminded Mrs Kelsey of her similar position thirty years earlier.

The first Coghill Speech Day report in 1906 started with acclamation of the new principals, who appear to have taken over the school towards the end of the academic year.<sup>176</sup> Mr Coghill may have felt a certain discomfort in a school which previously had been completely managed by women as he could not boast any experience in girls' education. Therefore he wisely established the assurance that Mrs Coghill played a significant role in the school.

Employing educational ideas which had been vociferously debated in Victoria, Mr Coghill immediately assumed a business-like tone of efficiency, a 'new broom' sweeping away any vestige of old-fashioned practice. From the outset he declared that 'the whole working of the school will be reorganised and brought more into accord with modern ideas and methods.' He planned to endorse the Froebel system and to highlight the Kindergarten department, a sensible and practical approach as encouragement of the younger children ultimately safeguarded numbers throughout the school. Confirming that higher classes would continue to follow the programme required for public examinations, he also offered a wider study of literature and the arts to those girls who did not wish to be constrained by examination work. Following contemporary practice at many English girls' high schools, he proposed to limit academic teaching to mornings only, in order to reserve afternoons for preparation and for cultural 'extras'.<sup>177</sup> Thus, by comparing Dryburgh with acceptable English practice he reassured parents that the school continued to offer a recognised programme of academic endeavour and accomplishments. Mr Coghill's initial approach reflected his modern thrust of efficiency. His balance of examination work and wider activities was safe, sensible and non-threatening. However, from the first, his manner lacked Kelsey flair and charm.

---

<sup>175</sup> Cotter, *Farmers, Ringmasters and Builders*, p. 36.

<sup>176</sup> *Register*, 15th December, 1906, p. 5.

<sup>177</sup> The custom of morning academic classes started in the 1850s at the North London Collegiate School where Miss Buss allowed girls to undertake afternoon social duties which were expected at home. Miss Jacob at Tormore School advertised 'Hours 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. with Preparation between 2 p.m. and 4 p.m.' *Register*, 1st November, 1913, p. 3. The 'extras' were individual lessons in music, singing, painting, drawing, sewing and dancing.



Reports of Speech Days, which expounded personal philosophy, reflected the personality and characteristics of the Head. In 1908 Mr Coghill was referred to as Principal and also as Headmaster, with no reference to Mrs Coghill and the annual report overall reflected an increasingly masculine flavour.<sup>178</sup> The guest speaker's address defined education in terms of 'he and him', not the more appropriate 'she and her', which was hardly flattering to the girls. Mr Coghill reported that pupils had displayed a greater earnestness, 'but he expected greater efforts to be made.'

Mr Coghill made pertinent mention of two innovations at the school - the establishment of a flourishing branch of the Girls' Realm Guild of Service and his encouragement of a variety of speakers.<sup>179</sup> These overtly religious activities would certainly have appealed to the more conscientious and well-meaning parents and to a limited group of girls. Perhaps more attractive for most pupils was the mention of swimming and gymnastics, although Mr Coghill reminded that 'they will give very great benefit to themselves,' a comparatively joyless summation. The exciting and stimulating impression given by school reports in Mrs Kelsey's day had given way to a more mundane, pedestrian feeling. Imperceptibly, the flavour had changed. There were new names of Scottish ancestry on the roll, who may have been drawn to the image of greater academic seriousness which the school now projected.<sup>180</sup> New staff names also appeared.<sup>181</sup> The curriculum remained as comprehensive as a small school could reasonably offer and included the 'technical subjects' of plain and art needlework. At least one Scripture prize was presented to each class and illuminated school certificates were presented for excellence in particular academic subjects.<sup>182</sup> Both candidates had passed Senior and one scholar in six subjects at the Primary level, confirming that the quantifiable academic standard was at least being maintained, if not surpassed.

The school may have become more competent, but in the process it appeared to have sacrificed some of its allure. Glamour had been displaced by efficiency. For instance, words written to introduce the music programme suggest the lack of a certain charisma, projecting the proprietors as rather colourless personalities. There appears to be little

---

<sup>178</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1908, p. 7.

<sup>179</sup> Examples were given of the travelling secretary of the World Student Christian Union and the consequent setting up of a branch in the school. Further, of a speaker who gave an account of life among the Parsees of India and of the visitor from New Guinea who described the way of life of the natives.

<sup>180</sup> These included prizewinners Mary Maclaren (Dux), W. and M. McNeill and V. McEachern.

<sup>181</sup> Miss Carruthers B.A. (English), Miss C. Wyatt (Singing), Miss Macpherson (Painting) and Miss Holder (Drawing).

<sup>182</sup> In English, Physiology, Languages and Mathematics.

imagination, certainly no mention made of Mrs Coghill's gown.<sup>183</sup> The parents who now supported the school may have been less interested in the social aspects of education.

Over the years, the buildings in Palm Place had suited the school well, but the Coghills did not renew the lease when it fell due.<sup>184</sup> Instead, they decided to 'seek a more modern establishment' and secured suitable enlarged buildings half a mile away in Winchester Street, East Adelaide.<sup>185</sup>

The move to new premises on May 25th, 1909 was a significant event in the history of the school, when the South Australian Governor performed the opening ceremony.<sup>186</sup> Unexpectedly, he declared the new buildings not as Dryburgh House but as the Presbyterian Ladies' College. The event was described with enthusiasm.

The College, surmounted by the Union Jack gaily floating from its flagstaff on the tower and brightly decorated with flowers, made a pleasing sight. With its battlemented towers standing "foursquare to all the winds that blow" it seemed thoroughly typical of that sturdiness of character that marked our covenanting ancestors.<sup>187</sup>

In Scotland, the church had emulated the State in its desire to educate the people. As Presbyterians were members of the Established church it received public money to maintain schools. However, with no similar arrangement allowed after 1851 in South Australia, the Presbyterians had to finance schemes for educating children of the faithful.<sup>188</sup> Though upholding highest academic standards Presbyterians did not happily dig deep into their pockets to establish schools. Instead, they sent their own to government or other educational institutions and concentrated on providing a Church-wide system of religious education in well-run Sunday schools and Bible classes. In the 1880s the Church Assembly debated the provision of Church schools with few tangible results. Presbyterian Colleges for girls, set up in Melbourne in 1875 and in Sydney in 1888, had originally been led by men who had proved to be leaders in their field. It must be conjectured whether Reverend

---

<sup>183</sup> The following programme was submitted by the pupils; the singing parts were sustained. The dresses were remarkably well designed and appropriate' (Author's emphasis). Parents may not have been so interested in the social aspects of education.

<sup>184</sup> E. Warburton writes of the significance of the Palm Place Houses, suggesting that if all the residents and all the students who attended Dryburgh House gathered on the Adelaide Oval, they would represent a veritable majority of middle class Adelaide society. Warburton, *St Peters*, p. 111.

<sup>185</sup> *Register*, 16th December, 1909, p. 7. St Peters Council Records show Coghill: Lot 202, Council valuation £2300. Rates £100 per annum (£25 for school). The block measured 150 ft. by 75 ft. and was the middle block of three between 2nd and 3rd Avenues, on the North side. It is likely that Mr Coghill would have secured the property on a mortgage. The property is now nos.13, 11A and 11B Winchester Street, St Peters.

<sup>186</sup> His Excellency Admiral Sir Day Bosanquet and his family attended.

<sup>187</sup> *Presbyterian Banner*, July, 1909, p. 1.

<sup>188</sup> Scrimgeour, *Some Scots were Here*, p. 187. The Reverend Ralph Drummond of Angas Street, Adelaide, the first minister of the Church of Scotland in the colony, opened his school in October, 1839 and the first Presbyterian congregation met in the school room until 1843.

Wade had embryo plans for imitating these successful schools in Adelaide when he encouraged his friend to take over Dryburgh House in 1906.

It appears that Mr Coghill sought the help of his respected friend, who proposed an Assembly motion to name the school Presbyterian Ladies' College.<sup>189</sup> In order to watch over church interests, an advisory Council was appointed, comprising three Ministers and three Elders, who were to assist Mr Coghill, who was named as Principal with his wife vice-Principal. No mention of financial help was made. It appeared that both parties gained from this loose arrangement. Members of Assembly were pleased that they now had a Presbyterian school, in name and in spirit, one which gave special attention to Religious education.<sup>190</sup> Mr Coghill may have been relieved to think that any pressing difficulty could be passed over to become a Church responsibility. Thus, for the first time since 1876, decisions concerning the school were other than the direct responsibility of the Owner/Head, one of the prime principles of a private school. There is no evidence of whether the parents as clients were party to the decision, or of the pupils' thoughts on the matter. The brilliant occasion where the attributes of the establishment were proclaimed for all to admire was transitory. Of more permanent nature were the long term effects.

With its attention to serious endeavour and industry, the school appeared to reflect an obvious Presbyterian integrity. However, characteristically, the South Australian Presbyterian Church was slow to appreciate the specific needs of women in education and the all male committee of advice had the potential to impose an unsympathetic and heavy hand on the forward looking requirements of girls, especially in a period of changing ideology with respect to their growth towards increased independence and autonomy. Nevertheless, building on the pattern of earlier days, Presbyterian Ladies' College progressed. Indeed, Mr Coghill believed that the change had been beneficial. The following December he announced increased numbers and that interest in various studies throughout the school was keener and more general than before.<sup>191</sup> While extolling the very encouraging public examination results in 1910 the Headmaster warned that passing was not the total aim of education, quoting Tennyson, 'Oh, yet we trust that somehow good will be the final goal of all.'

Mr Coghill praised the interest in physical education proclaiming the encouraging remarks passed by the Director General of Education during a college visit. As a new

---

<sup>189</sup> Motion submitted by Reverend. A. J. Wade and seconded by Reverend A. C. Sutherland: 'The Assembly take into consideration a scheme for the higher education of girls in connection with the Presbyterian Church of South Australia, and that Dryburgh House School, with Mr. D. Murray Coghill M.A. as Principal and Mrs Coghill as Vice-Principal, be recognised and declared to be the 'Presbyterian Ladies' College of South Australia' and that the Moderator be visitor.' This motion was carried with acclaim. Minutes of Presbyterian General Assembly, 5th May, 1909. Scrimgeour, *Some Scots were Here*, p. 189.

<sup>190</sup> *Presbyterian Banner*, July 1909, p. 8.

<sup>191</sup> *Register*, 16th December, 1910, p. 10.

scheme for national defence had made gymnastic training compulsory for boys, Mr Coghill was pleased that the girls also had reached such heights in gymnastics, tennis and hockey.<sup>192</sup> No mention was made of Mrs Coghill, but two worthy male visitors added to the Presbyterian spirit of the gathering.

Under the new regime, there appears to have been a continuation of solid academic pursuits, including examination success, and opportunities for a variety of music, sport and dramatic activities including the now well established Christian Union and Scripture classes.<sup>193</sup> New staff were announced for 1912 - Miss Ironside (Master of Arts from Aberdeen University), Miss Grigg, Miss Baldwin (M.A. of Melbourne University), in addition to Miss Macdonald, 'a certificated trained teacher from the New Zealand Educational Department.' These relatively rapid changes among staff signalled smouldering discontent. Confirming this was a somewhat bald, terse statement of Mr Coghill asserting,

Though extremely fond of my work as a teacher, I find that in a school of this nature there are aspects which render my work less congenial than I would wish, so I have decided to direct my energies in another direction.

There is no clear picture of the underlying motives which prompted this declaration but we may conjecture at differences of viewpoint which may have occurred behind closed doors. To a principal who was used to independence and academic autonomy, working with a committee who represented a powerful ideological viewpoint could have been limiting to personal professional aspirations. Although earnest and well meaning, the members representing the Church tradition may have been over zealous in their adherence to religiosity and good works and have failed to interpret a successful translation of these values into the school lives of their young and vigorous clientele. By comparison, the thriving Tormore School in North Adelaide expressed a more realistic and attractive approach.<sup>194</sup> Indeed, at least four names which had appeared in the Dryburgh lists only a few years before, were now prominent prize winners at this important private school run by women.<sup>195</sup> Though allegedly numbers were maintained, it appears that the parents who had been devotees of Mrs Kelsey were no longer sending their daughters to the school which had been renowned for its liberal holistic approach. A different clientele was emerging.

---

<sup>192</sup> Note was made of the school securing a ground of about four acres close by. The two visitors were Professor Darnley Naylor, who was interested in many aspects of Education, and Mr R. Barbour M.A., a visiting member of the Scottish Agricultural Commission. *Register*, 16th December, 1909, p. 7.

<sup>193</sup> Each Speech Day both music and drama and often calisthenics were a regular feature, popularly acclaimed. *Register*, 15th December, 1911, p. 9.

<sup>194</sup> At its Speech Day celebration of that year was a rendering of the old song "Men were deceivers ever", whose intended humour would appeal to the younger generation. *Register*, 15th December, 1911, p. 11.

<sup>195</sup> Jaunay, Twopeny, Colville and Ramsay-Smith.

The school also faced increased competition from two significant girls' schools which had Church backing, St Peter's Girls' School and Methodist Ladies' College, whose existence was less precarious than a private school where financial and economic risk was the responsibility of an individual. Both schools had a distinct religious ethos reflected in their every day life. The Presbyterians were a minority Church whose affiliation was declining and even Mr Coghill's continuing ties with the Church of England via Reverend W. Murphy at All Souls' and his earnest attempt to educate his charges in many aspects of Christian service, failed to stem the drift to these modern, attractive and apparently more secure establishments.

Mrs Coghill took over the school in 1912.<sup>196</sup> Confirming the maintenance of numbers, the Moderator referred to plans that other quarters had been obtained to cope with the class work, but with no further explanation. Rather pompously, he reminded the girls that their college stood for an education of the highest type. He hoped that girls who passed out from the Presbyterian and other colleges to their numerous country homes would carry with them an atmosphere of refinement. The Moderator's message reflected the tried and increasingly outworn ideology of a past era. The Principal tried to lift the tone with her theme of school achievement. In her short report, Mrs Coghill mentioned the six successes in the public examinations including three mentions in the Honours list and a creditable 100% pass in the drawing exams with thirty one honours.<sup>197</sup> The Principal told her audience of a new asphalt tennis court and of the several school sports teams which had showed much improvement when playing against other girls' schools.

However, the short account of proceedings at the packed St. Peters' Town Hall covered less space in the *Register* than the neighbouring arresting advertisement for 'Arnott's Famous Arrowroot Biscuits.' It appeared that the Committee had decided to limit the expenditure for the account and by doing so had not fully exploited the promotional possibilities of the widely read newspaper.

Indeed, the overall health of the school may have been gauged from the tone and frequency of advertisements placed in the *Banner* and the *Register*. From the college's inception the Presbyterian monthly ran a prominent front page advertisement which was soon relocated to the second page. From 1912 it became appreciably smaller. In 1914 the minimal advertisement no longer appeared in its usual spot. In its place was a telling blank. In December, 1913 there was no evidence of a Speech Day report. Could Mrs Coghill no longer afford even minimal public recognition? Had the Council fallen out with both

---

<sup>196</sup> *Register*, 13th December, 1912, p. 9.

<sup>197</sup> Dryburgh girls expressed themselves well via the medium of art. A contemporary autograph book of the day now belonging to Miss Helen Sunter, daughter of Rita Gardner, demonstrates numerous exquisite sketches and wash paintings which show great attention to detail and charming originality.

Coghills? What had happened to the girls, the staff, the art passes, the new asphalt court, to the flag which so proudly watched over girlish fun? What had become of Presbyterian Ladies' College, Dryburgh House, which had merited acclaim from the Governor only a few years before?

The Presbyterian Assembly minutes offer some explanation of the demise of the school. At a special meeting of the Law and Finance Committee in August, 1913, the members confirmed their wish to have an education institution of its own and they were instructed to negotiate with Mrs Coghill to purchase the property at a price not exceeding £2000. Interested parties were invited to donate towards an Educational Fund which, however, failed to raise the appropriate amount. While confirming its desire to own a girls' school, the Committee then recommended that negotiations be abandoned and that recognition of Dryburgh House as the Presbyterian Ladies' College be withdrawn.<sup>198</sup> It appears, therefore, that the school was advertised until the result of the call of funds was at least informally known. There was no happy financial resolution for the Coghills as presumably they shouldered the total financial burden and received no recompense for the goodwill of the enterprise.

Their later exploits partially clarify the situation.<sup>199</sup> Having resigned from the Principalship, Mr Coghill joined the Education Department in 1912 as an assistant teacher at Adelaide High School.<sup>200</sup> With his superior qualifications and experience he quickly gained promotion and was on War Service leave in 1916 serving with the A.I.F.<sup>201</sup> On his return to Adelaide in 1919 he regained his position as Head teacher at Woodville.<sup>202</sup> When the school became a Class 2 school in 1920 he was known as Headmaster, a position which he held until the *Gazette* announced his death on 29th November, 1922, aged fifty one. In the bureaucratic style of the publication, there is no obituary notice or appreciation of his work, but his rise through the levels of the Department is evidence that he was a competent and responsible servant of education. In retrospect, his life appears sad and unfulfilled. His total teaching career was somewhat disjointed and spasmodic with no evidence of continuous service or the satisfaction of seeing the growth and development of his scholastic endeavours. There is no evidence of Mrs Coghill's life after 1912. Baby Marie had

---

<sup>198</sup> Scrimgeour, *Some Scots were Here*, p. 189.

<sup>199</sup> Cotter suggests that Mr Coghill unsuccessfully applied for the professorship of Modern History and English at the Military College, Duntroon - a position for which he would have been well suited. Cotter, *Farmers, Ringmasters and Builders*, p. 38.

<sup>200</sup> This was a co-educational school of over five hundred students, so his annual salary was £240. *South Australian Education Gazette*, 1912, p. 25. In 1915 he was Assistant in charge of the Unley High School for three months. C. Campbell, *State High School, Unley, 1910-1985*, (Adelaide: Craig Campbell, 1985), p. 11. He was further promoted to the larger Class 3 Woodville High School at a salary of £325. *South Australian Education Gazette*, 1915, p. 95.

<sup>201</sup> War-historian, noted that he fought with distinction 'despite his age.' Cotter, p. 38.

<sup>202</sup> In 1919 his salary of £350 was augmented by War savings of £230. *South Australian Education Gazette*, 1919, p. 47.

appeared on the prize list as a young pupil at her parents' school.<sup>203</sup> In 1982 she was living in London.

The story of the once flourishing and happy school ended with some mystery and left many questions unanswered. Its demise may be attributed to many factors. One must have been the increasing competition from both newly established church girls' schools in addition to the wider opportunities afforded in girls' secondary education at government schools. Better travel opportunities gave comfortable access to schools in the City, North Adelaide and beyond where a number of acceptable girls' schools were offering a similar or wider curriculum.<sup>204</sup> With schools of matching social and educational standing in direct competition, parents had the option of choosing very carefully to ensure that their daughters were influenced by the best moral and social authority, in addition to highly qualified and recommended academic teachers.

Private schools were dependent upon a constant supply of pupils. When this declined the economic basis of the enterprise faltered and difficulties resulted. Annually, the Chairman made a feature of stressing that the college population was being maintained but this assurance was not sustained when the number of prize winners decreased and the tone of annual reports ceased to reflect an optimistic and forward looking approach. The demise of Mr Coghill in 1911 requires further analysis. The Coghills may have been extended by the initial payment for the goodwill of the school in 1906 and have over-stretched their financial resources in the more substantial property on Winchester Street. Their financial embarrassment may have forced Mr Coghill's decision to enter the Education Department as a salary earner. This could also have been a subtle way of decreasing the number of staff while retaining his advice in the background as a support in his wife's conduct of the school. A further dimension which must be considered with the economic factor is the Coghills unpropitious liaison with the Presbyterian church, itself at a time of uncertainty and decline, whose philosophy may not have been in full accord with the clientele which Mrs Kelsey's Dryburgh had attracted. Related to this were the personalities of the Coghills, who did not appear to have the panache and style which Dryburgh parents expected in the position of educational leaders. As newcomers, they also had the drawback of not fully appreciating the subtleties of the distinct Adelaide culture. In addition, Mrs Coghill was not helped by the uncertainty caused by the developments in Europe with the approaching hostility with Germany.

---

<sup>203</sup> *Register*, 13th December, 1912, p. 9.

<sup>204</sup> This included an increase in electrified trams and the greater availability to more affluent families of a family car. Nearer potential competitors were Tormore, Creveen, Miss Martin's, St Peter's Girls' School and The Wilderness School; also Malvern Collegiate School for Girls and Methodist Ladies' College in Unley.

The circumstances surrounding the once thriving and confident enterprise changed rapidly and the sudden end to what had been one of Adelaide's leading schools for girls must have meant dislocation for families and staff alike. Unlike its adaptation to change which was carefully managed until 1906, the school failed to adjust to deteriorating circumstances. Similar to any business venture, the success of a private school depended on the owner's drive, enterprise and skilful adaptation to the requirements of its clientele. Mrs Marcus and Mrs Kelsey managed to steer the enterprise successfully in their contemporary climate, a feat which was not maintained with such confidence or understanding by their successors. In a competitive market, the school failed, victim both of strong external pressures and of its own internal misinterpretation of optimum educational strategies to suit its supporters.

But the life of its younger pupils continued in other educational establishments and there were many Old Scholars and friends of Dryburgh House School and Presbyterian Ladies' College who relished its influence and cherished its memory.<sup>205</sup>

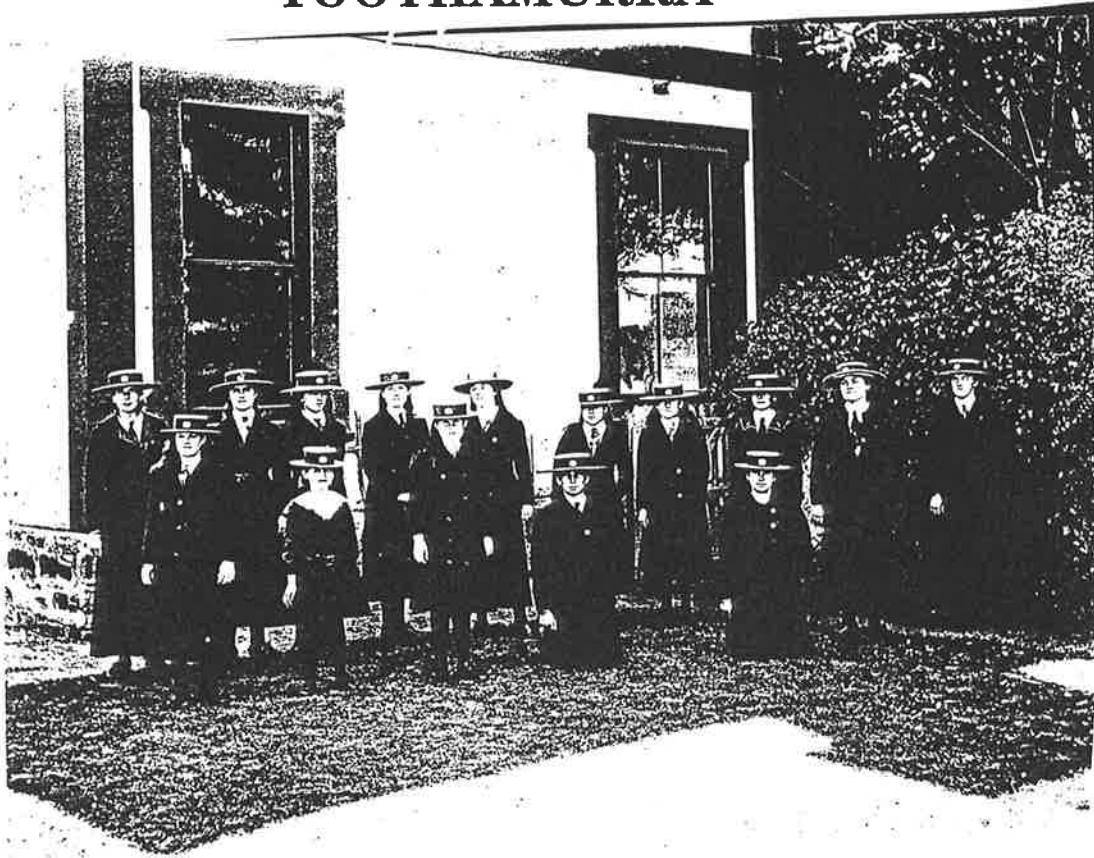
---

<sup>205</sup> The Presbyterian church carefully planned a successor to this initial experiment, the Presbyterian Girls' College, which opened on twenty acres at Glen Osmond in 1922 under the direction of a male Principal, Reverend H. T. Postle, M.A. *Register*, 21st January, 1922, p. 3. Now called Seymour College, it has proved a highly successful school



Illustration IV

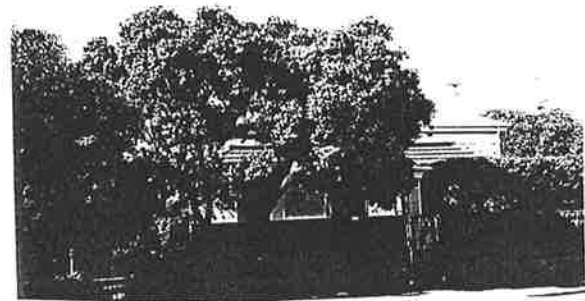
**YOOTHAMURRA**



Yoothamurra boarders 1915



No. 12



No. 14

Bristol Street Houses



No. 10

## Chapter 7

### Yoothamurra School, Glenelg

Who hath desired the Sea? - the sight of salt water unbounded -  
The heave and the halt and the hurl and the crash of the comber wind-hounded?<sup>1</sup>

The story of the selective girls' school, Yoothamurra, its founding, progress and growth during the formative years of the 1890s and eventual demise in the 1920s, exemplifies the challenges and changes in educational thought and practice which faced contemporary principals. Yoothamurra's sometimes stormy history embraces successful initial years before a major row between the two Principals forced their school to split and two establishments to develop side by side.

Glenelg was the birthplace of the colony of South Australia. From its original destination for landing emigrant vessels, it evolved into a seaside village of marine villas. The fine climate and sea air encouraged the area as a resort and as a pleasant retreat for affluent landowners and entrepreneurs whose wealth from copper and successful commercial enterprises financed grand seafront houses. From 1873, 'Day Trips' by train from Adelaide to the beach were popular with all classes, encouraging the growth of hotels and an increase in local commerce and shopkeeping.<sup>2</sup> By 1890 Glenelg was a predominantly middle class community of over three thousand with established roads, parks, shops and places of entertainment. It boasted mains water and gas, a modern state school, private boys' schools, an Institute and well designed houses built of Adelaide Hills sandstone.<sup>3</sup> With its healthy environment and potential local clientele, the proposition of running a girls' school appeared to augur well.

The story of the two founding principals, Mrs Kingston and Miss Dow, will be traced in order to establish their personalities. Mrs Kathleen Pittar Kingston, née Stanton, lived in Bristol Street, one street back from the seafront. She came from an educated background. From 1865 her father, the Reverend Lionel W. Stanton M.A., was the Anglican rector of St

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Kipling, *The Five Nations* (1903), 'The Sea and the Hills'.

<sup>2</sup> Tom Brown, *Glenelg, 1836-1972: growth and function of an Urban Village*, (St Peters, South Australia: T. J. Strehlow, 1973), p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> The Model School was opened 28th February, 1881. D. Perry, *The Place of Waters*, (Adelaide: Corporation of the City of Glenelg and the National Trust of South Australia, 1985), p. 97.

Mary's, Koorunga, part of the copper mining town of Burra.<sup>4</sup> As the English origins of the Stantons suggest that they were well born and cultured, it is likely that daughters Kathleen, Phoebe and Esther were educated at home.<sup>5</sup> Their later years confirm that they were well acquainted with art, music and literature. Possibly to meet an economic need, at least one of the girls assumed employment responsibilities.<sup>6</sup> In 1873 the Stantons relocated and the following year the Reverend Stanton returned to England. It appears that he may have been ordered back 'home' by his bishop, possibly following an indiscretion. He left a female household in the newly acquired Blanche Villa, Broadway, Glenelg.<sup>7</sup> In this imposing two storied building set in large grounds they opened a 'Seaside School of First Class Education'. Assisted by her daughters and by 'Competent Masters', and by the Bishop who continued to support the family by allowing them to use his name as a reference for their school, Mrs Stanton conducted a flourishing girls' school. She advertised in the Burra papers, stating that 'young ladies were received for a number of years and carefully trained for the teaching profession.'<sup>8</sup>

With no apparent social disadvantage caused by family circumstances, the Stanton girls' exposure to Adelaide society gave them an enhanced chance of meeting a wide range of potential husbands. Miss Kathleen was described by one of her ex-pupils as 'a beautiful young woman with blonde hair and clear skin, "the Belle of the Ball" at Government House.'<sup>9</sup> Her success in society was crowned by her fashionable wedding in September, 1879 to a lawyer practising in Port Adelaide, Mr Strickland Gough Kingston, (Paddy), half brother of Sir George Kingston, later Premier of South Australia. From 1887 the Kingstons, now with daughters Dorothy and Molly, lived at No 10 Bristol Street, Glenelg, an elegant stone house of six rooms and fifty feet frontage. Demonstrating that the Victorian ideal of marriage and female domesticity was not always matched by reality, Mr Kingston

---

<sup>4</sup> *Church of England Year Book of South Australia*, 1866, Appendix A, p. 171. In addition, with two masters in 1866 he advertised the Burra Burra Grammar School. *Register*, 4th January, 1866, p.1.

<sup>5</sup> The Stantons had known Dickens in England and the artist Frith. Memoir of Mrs Andrews (née McIntyre), held privately. The Crofton sisters, Old Scholars of Mrs Kingston's, understood that Mrs Stanton, née Pittar, brought a measure of wealth to the family. Interview, The Misses Crofton, October, 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Esther Stanton taught at St Andrew's School, Walkerville for three years from 1870, where she was 'enthusiastic and strict, highly educated and sincerely religious.' F. Halcomb, *St Andrew's, Walkerville, 1847-1914*, (Adelaide: Vardon and Sons, 1914), p. 43. Miss Stanton's Educational Establishment is mentioned in Burra in 1875. Microfiche, Burra Public School records, State Records of South Australia.

<sup>7</sup> This is an unusual situation for an Anglican priest as the father appears to have abandoned his family to be the vicar of Coombe Keynes, Dorset. Marriage announcement, *Register*, 29th September, 1879, p. 7. School advertisement, *Register*, 17th January, 1874, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> This is a good example of the use of personal networks to attract clientele. *The Northern Mail*, 12th January, 1877, p. 2; *Register*, 17th January, 1874, p. 2. Information from the Dow Saga suggests that Mary Dow attended Blanche Villa as a pupil and that she learned to teach there. Details of the early Dow history taken from Graham Harry Dow's undated and unpublished work, 'The Saga of the Dows in South Australia', held privately in Montfries Collection by Graham Montfries, John Dow's grandson, Mary's nephew. Hereafter, *Saga*.

<sup>9</sup> Recalled by the Misses Crofton who attended Mrs Kingston's school in the 1920s. Interview, the Misses Crofton.

departed, leaving his family behind and the house listed under his wife's name.<sup>10</sup> There, in order to maintain her independence, her family's standard of living and the education of her daughters, Mrs Kingston opened her house as a school in 1890, a gesture which may have provided opposition, indeed direct competition, to her mother and sisters but was a necessity after desertion.<sup>11</sup>

The circumstances of Miss Dow were very different. Mary Dow was the daughter of John Dow, an 1855 immigrant, the third son of Scottish tenant farmers. Her mother, Johanna Maria Ahern from Limerick, Ireland, was selected for emigration as a domestic servant in 1856. Mrs Dow was remembered as pale skinned, domineering and very determined, qualities which recurred in her children, most particularly in Mary Martha, born 1860.<sup>12</sup> It appears that she went up in the world by marrying Mr Dow, an industrious farmer. Mrs Dow gradually changed her speaking voice from Irish brogue to cultured English and insisted that her children spoke well as she had grandiose ideas for them.<sup>13</sup> In 1872 Mr Dow's quick temper led to a row with his partner, so he retreated to Burra where he was employed as Inspector of Nuisances at the mine.<sup>14</sup> The Dows occupied a large house and acquired cultured friends, including the prominent Sandland and McBride families. Having developed Anglican connections, they also knew the Stantons.<sup>15</sup>

As the eldest child, Mary was unlikely to have had a governess and her education was probably undertaken by her parents. Notes in the *Saga* suggest that Mary attended Mrs Kingston's School.<sup>16</sup> What is more likely is that Mary went to Blanche Villa, boarding under the eye of Mrs Stanton, to receive the type of education which was unavailable in Burra. At Blanche Villa Mary would renew her association with the Stanton girls and mix with a wide variety of suitable young people. The offer of 'training for the profession' might have proved a happy resolution for her future, especially as she may have taught her brothers and sisters.<sup>17</sup> The death of Mr Dow in 1886 confirmed her need to earn. The

---

<sup>10</sup> Of rateable value £45, the house was built for George White in 1883. Records in Glenelg Council Vaults. Mr Kingston left to practise in Port Augusta three hundred miles distant. *South Australian Directories*, 1886-1892. There is no direct evidence of a reason for his untimely departure but he died in 1897, reputedly from alcoholism.

<sup>11</sup> The exact date is unclear, possibly 1890. Mrs Kingston may have extended her girls' home education by inviting other relatives or neighbours as companions for her daughters, which strengthened the enterprise.

<sup>12</sup> Mary Martha, their first child, was born at Yarwood near the 99 mile post, Burra, on 10th July, 1860. *Saga*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> The *Saga* refers to 1872, *South Australian Directories* state later, but they were often in arrears, particularly with country details.

<sup>15</sup> The burial of Mr Dow in 1886 was conducted from St Mary's Church which suggests that the family had become Anglicans. *Burra Record*, 15th June, 1886, p. 3

<sup>16</sup> This is an error on the author's part as the school was not opened until 1890.

<sup>17</sup> Advertisement in the *Critic* states that Blanche Villa offered 'training for the profession.' (of teaching?) In a later advertisement for her school, Miss Dow claimed that she had 'special training in the wants of little ones', which may have been acquired in the 1870s under Mrs Stanton. She may have had a hand in educating

family of nine had been in comfortable rather than wealthy circumstances, with few inherited assets and little saved capital to employ in the event of misfortune.

Thus crossed the paths of two women in their early thirties, full of energy and initiative. In 1890 Mrs Kingston opened a school to educate her daughters and invited Miss Dow to help in the enterprise. Miss Dow may not have brought many financial assets to the endeavour, but she could contribute teaching experience, coupled with the inherited qualities of her mother's determination and ideas of propriety and her father's capacity for hard work. Like many precedents, the venture must have started in a modest way with the young Kingston girls and local friends, but by the end of 1892 it had progressed and was named Yoothamurra.<sup>18</sup>

The main source of information about the school until 1902 is the annual Speech Day report in the *Register*. These accounts were probably written by one or other proprietor partly as an advertising tool, so tend to be flowery and possibly exaggerated, obscuring any negative aspects. The first report in 1892 painted a confident and colourful picture of a flourishing educational enterprise.<sup>19</sup> A crowd of over two hundred assembled in the large schoolroom with the pupils, 'who presented a very pretty sight, the girls in white frocks sitting together in a gallery'. The Principals' report was read by the Mayor of Glenelg, Mr R. Smith, and prizes were given in a wide range of subjects and interests. Included in the prize winners were relatives of the Principals - daughters Dorothy and Mollie Kingston, sister Mabel Dow, and niece Dulcie Stanton, confirming that the school helped to provide for the immediate families' needs and was also supported by relatives. Small boys were accepted in the lower classes and top pupils had reached the Lower Fourth class, which suggests they were thirteen or fourteen years old.<sup>20</sup> Numbers had increased during the year from forty to seventy.

In order to accommodate this demand, during 1892 Mrs Kingston acquired the pleasant stone family property next door, which she enlarged by building a substantial schoolroom 100' by 100', to give a more suitable teaching space than the domestic rooms.<sup>21</sup> While increasing in size, the school was also expanding its scope. Latin, French and German were

---

her younger siblings as Mabel, born late 1870s and Joan, born early 1880s, would have needed help with lessons.

<sup>18</sup> Aboriginal derivations vary. In Boandik dialect, *Yoothamurra* - good; *Murra* - stone. G. H. Manning, *Place Names of South Australia*, (Adelaide: Manning, 1990), p. 217. A second derivation is hand or finger, A. W. Reed, *Aboriginal Words of Australia*, (Sydney: A. W. Reed, 1977), p. 207. Therefore, good stone or good hand.

<sup>19</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1892, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, in 1892 Douglas Scott received a prize in Class 2.

<sup>21</sup> The exact date is not clear, probably 1890. The Speech Day Report of 1892 suggests that the school had been in existence for some time. *Register*, 19th December, 1892, p. 3. At this period, there is no indication of the school in *South Australian Directories*.

taught in an 'extra' class to a few able pupils, but the Principals envisaged including a foreign language as a compulsory subject at the top of the school.<sup>22</sup> They advised that in future the study of mathematics would include Euclid and algebra. In order to encompass these developments an afternoon lesson for upper classes was recommended, especially as the Principals hoped to prepare older students for the University public examinations. All staff were women, except for a male language master. As well as private music lessons, whose results were demonstrated in public, they also planned to offer art and music at University examination standard when their pupils progressed to the appropriate level. A needlework class was offered as it was considered as a 'distinctly necessary branch of a girl's education.' The Principals recommended 'the self-evident truth "Sound body, Sound mind"' and professed an interest in physical development, but exercise does not appear to have been compulsory. In line with similar girls' schools, a callisthenics class was set up 'with the noticeable effect of straightening limbs and diminishing awkwardness.'<sup>23</sup> Encouraging middle class proprieties, they also offered a class in the socially acceptable accomplishment of dancing.<sup>24</sup>

To encourage the importance of regular attendance at school, the Principals gave a prize to every pupil who attended throughout the year without missing a day, testimony of their acknowledgment that a structured curriculum needed to be complemented by steady and regular learning. Their approach to prizes appears enlightened as, unlike other schools, they did not allow the same clever pupil to win an Examination Prize and a Class Prize, awarding one or other to the runner-up.

This initial report painted an encouraging picture of a growing community. Already differentiated into distinct sections and classes, the school appeared to offer a wide and graded curriculum. The younger children developed through a range of manual and intellectual activities and mention was made of their enjoyment of school. Older pupils to Upper Fourth were challenged by modern languages, Latin and mathematics, presumably taught in aggregated classes for some subjects. The musical offering at Speech Day indicated a similar repertoire to that in other girls' schools, but Yoothamurra's presentation of a scene from Shakespeare was relatively unusual, flagging the importance of speech and personal presentation to their clientele. The Principals' grasp of a curriculum which paid attention to mental, artistic, musical and physical balance appears sound and in keeping with the best practice of the day. Their comprehensive approach would have encouraged a more

---

<sup>22</sup> Included with these few able pupils would have been the Kingston girls and the Dow sister. Dorothy Kingston passed Junior in 1897 and the Principal would have ensured that she had adequate preparation.

<sup>23</sup> In this study, Dryburgh had a similar programme at this stage, but Mrs Thornber's and Hardwicke offered in addition to a more ambitious calisthenics programme, swimming and competitive tennis to older girls, later cricket.

<sup>24</sup> Miss Wivell gave a Saturday morning class, presumably as an 'extra.'

liberal education than would have been found at the local elementary school where schooling from that year was free. That Yoothamurra's numbers increased in spite of this government initiative, especially in difficult economic times, suggests a clientele of comfortably placed families who would expect the school to offer broad opportunities and a training in the proprieties.<sup>25</sup> With pragmatic Principals and industrious staff members Yoothamurra appeared to be set firmly on a discernible and confident path.

On subsequent public occasions the Mayor referred to the Principals as 'ladies of ability and enthusiasm'. Such commendation would reach a wide circle of potential parents who would also appreciate the promulgated policy of 'approved discipline combined with affectionate interest'.<sup>26</sup> Continued growth at the school was confirmed in 1894 when the annual demonstration was held at the larger setting of the Glenelg Town Hall, with an ambitious musical programme which included solos, a double piano duet and an operetta. Names of the schoolgirl cast were mentioned, alerting parents to the type of pupil which the school attracted. Prominent was Hilda Whittington, a near neighbour of the school, who hailed from a talented musical family.<sup>27</sup>

The final years of the century saw further consolidation. The Principals stated liberal educational aims which promoted 'culture of spirit, mind and body to make a perfect whole via an efficient standard of education by steady advancement'.<sup>28</sup> They espoused a high moral tone in their school with a joyous *esprit de corps*. By 1897, organised in distinct Kindergarten, Preparatory and Advanced classes, numbers exceeded ninety. However, this was not a large population to support older girls in the provision of a wide range of subjects which needed specialist knowledge. In order to help the finances of the enterprise, Miss Dow took a few girls as boarders in the smaller of the houses.

From its earliest days Yoothamurra made a feature of catering for younger pupils. Miss Dow's 'special training' may have given specific impetus in this area and suitable teachers for younger children may have been easy to find. In addition to 'the ordinary branches of an English Education', initial training encompassed music and manual work in crafts in which the children took a great interest.<sup>29</sup> Classes were graded and reference was made to

---

<sup>25</sup> Of 28 families investigated by tracing prizewinners, 34% were professional/managerial, 28% brokers, 12% agents, 12% merchants, 7% brewers, 4% farmer, 4% widow. *Register* Speech Day Reports, 1892-1902, *South Australian Directories*.

<sup>26</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1893, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1894, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> *Register*, 22nd December, 1897, p. 6.

<sup>29</sup> No further information is given, but similar schools, in this study, Mrs Thornber's and Dryburgh, followed the influence of Froebel with plaiting, painting and weaving. *Register*, 22nd December, 1897, p. 3.

the benefits of steady progression through the school.<sup>30</sup> The importance of thorough preparation in younger years was confirmed when the pupils were sent for public examinations as the Upper school matured.<sup>31</sup> In 1894 the first Preliminary examination candidates were successful, the precursors of a continuing pattern. However, the Principals struck an early word of admonition, reminding their audience of pupils and parents,

It must not be forgotten that these examinations are a test and the only available outside test of the work that has been done. While we deprecate anything like 'Cram' and certainly do not consider public examinations the be-all and end-all of school life, we recognise their use in providing a stimulus to both teachers and scholars.<sup>32</sup>

Gradually, examination numbers increased. Twenty two candidates entered public examinations in 1897, though only one passed Junior which suggests that the majority of successes were achieved in art or music.<sup>33</sup> Two years later Yoothamurra recorded the first success at Senior level and achieved passes in Mathematics at this standard in 1900.<sup>34</sup> 1901 was celebrated with one pupil obtaining seven passes at Senior, including Physiology and Botany.<sup>35</sup> Within a decade the school progressed from modest beginnings to the competitive arena of public examinations demonstrating academic purpose in a variety of disciplines.

The Principals publicly praised their staff. They were prudent when making teaching appointments, seeking specialists whose modern qualifications exceeded their own modest expertise, as exemplified by the early appointment of a professional mathematician, Miss Annie Trehy B.Sc. Her career typifies the opportunities for higher teaching which were becoming available to a small but developing band of well qualified women teachers in girls' schools. Miss Trehy was a clever scholar who studied with distinction at the Advanced School for Girls. Entering the University of Adelaide in 1887, she graduated in three years with a B.Sc. degree.<sup>36</sup> Appointed to Yoothamurra in 1892, she was praised for the introduction of shorter methods of working arithmetic. She also set about ensuring that

---

<sup>30</sup> *Register*, 18th December, 1899, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Register*, 22nd December, 1897, p. 3; *Register*, 19th December, 1892, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1896, p. 3. The warning was reiterated by other Heads - Miss Thornber, Mrs Kelsey, Miss Rees George and the Misses Tilly.

<sup>33</sup> Dorothy Kingston passed five subjects in Junior with a Credit in French. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1898, pp. 3, 69.

<sup>34</sup> Euphemia Gibb Drummond passed in Senior English. *Register*, 18th December, 1899, p. 7. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1901, p. 410.

<sup>35</sup> Grace Elizabeth Kennedy was thus the first Yoothamurra girl to matriculate. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1902, p. 46.

<sup>36</sup> Annie Trehy attained third place in First Class in Junior in 1885. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1886, p. ccxi; she topped the Second Class in Senior in 1886. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1887, p. ccviii.; she graduated with a Third Class in Physiology and Geology in 1890. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1892, p. 47.



mathematics was available to all pupils and introduced formal geometry and algebra.<sup>37</sup> Undoubtedly, her specialised knowledge led to the school's first success in Mathematics in Junior Public in 1896.<sup>38</sup> But Miss Trehy reached her zenith with the success of her two candidates, Isobel Kennedy and Ivy Keane, who passed the Senior Examination in 1900, closely followed in the next year by two further successes, including a pass in Trigonometry. Miss Trehy donated a prize for post senior work, upholding to the girls the value which she as a scholar, and by inference the school, placed on academe.<sup>39</sup>

In the early years the study of mathematics at Yoothamurra was a pivotal, yet feared, subject, possibly because it was still universally regarded as a 'male' domain. In 1896, the Mayor particularly singled out the girls who did well in the subject, referring to them the 'example of the lady who had come out above the Senior Wrangler in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos.'<sup>40</sup> The audience's attention in 1900 was again drawn by the mayor to the two Senior mathematical examination successes 'as an encouragement to others in their climb up this hill of difficulty.'<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, with intelligent teaching, Miss Trehy had demonstrated that Yoothamurra girls could achieve. She was clearly a powerful force in the development of academic rigour and non-traditional subjects at the school.<sup>42</sup>

The more familiar study of English could be undertaken by general class mistresses. In addition to mastering aspects of the written language, the study of literature was reported. In higher classes English classics, the works of Shakespeare, Scott, Milton, Coleridge and Wordsworth were studied regularly, but American literature made an appearance via the humorist Washington Irving in 1900. Prizes in English, bound volumes of the worthy works studied, were a regular feature.<sup>43</sup> As the annual Reports made no reference to either history or geography apart from some rudimentary mapping in a lower class, it must be assumed they were encompassed in the wider studies of English, especially in the lower classes. They may have been included in the General Proficiency prizes which were awarded to the top student of each class.

---

<sup>37</sup> *Register*, 22nd December, 1897, p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> *Register*, 21st. December, 1896, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Won by scholar Hilda George, a promising mathematical pupil of the donor, by virtue of being top in yearly work and examinations at Senior level.

<sup>40</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1896, p. 3. The somewhat belated reference is to Philippa Fawcett, daughter of Millicent Garrett Fawcett, who emulated her male contemporaries in 1887. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 208.

<sup>41</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1900, p. 7.

<sup>42</sup> Miss Trehy resigned from the Collegiate Schools Association in 1903. She became Mrs Dodwell, wife of the Government Astronomer and continued her interest in scholarship. Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 37.

<sup>43</sup> In 1900, two interested parents of pupils, Mr Muirhead and Mr McNamara, were donors.

For a small school Yoothamurra had an ambitious offering in languages. Monsieur Bircher, a native French speaker, also took German classes, but in 1896 the school secured the experienced services of Miss Vivian. She came from her own school, the North Adelaide High School for Girls as a respected professional teacher and member of the Collegiate Schools' Association.<sup>44</sup> Miss Vivian may also have been responsible for the Latin class which was mentioned that year. Her expertise was soon rewarded as next year one of her scholars gained a French credit in public examinations. Later, Madame Mouchette, who was constructive in the setting up of the Alliance Française both in Melbourne and Adelaide, coached oral French at Yoothamurra.<sup>45</sup>

It is important to consider the economic basis of this wide spread of subjects to a small number of pupils. Only a few clever and interested scholars would attempt work in languages at the more advanced levels which suggests that their parents may have paid an 'extras' fee so that the school did not suffer economically. This is hinted at in 1900 by the proposition of conversation classes if 'a sufficient number of applicants comes forward' - sufficient for economic reasons? for academic reasons? The possibility of enlarging classes and sharing a teacher with the Stanton's School may have been considered as a prudent measure. Blanche Villa was only two streets distant and had similar educational aspirations. But Mrs Kingston may have been too proud to seek what might have been construed as help or charity.

Prominent elements of 'ladies' accomplishments' at the school were music and art. Although these were taught at all levels as part of the curriculum covered by the term fee, the teaching for examinations came under the 'extras' category which required an additional charge for tuition. The standard of achievement on piano or violin or with voice was developed in individual lessons and by constant practice at home. Family entertainment frequently consisted of informal musical evenings round the piano, so the ability to play and sing was a social grace, an accomplishment which won admiration and prestige. Opportunities for public performance were given at Speech Days whose programmes involved the whole school. Taking careful preparation, they included a wide variety of ambitious presentations - an operetta, a small orchestral adaptation, double duets, solo intermezzos, pianoforte and violin solos and a cantata.<sup>46</sup> The school engaged musicians of

---

<sup>44</sup> She donated a prize for German in 1900. *Register*, 19th December, p. 7. A pupil from her school in 1890 gained a Second class in Senior including in German and Physiology. *University of Adelaide Calendar*, 1891, p. cclxxxii. Miss Vivian opened the Glenelg High School and Kindergarten at Saltram Road, Glenelg by 1903. *South Australian Directories*.

<sup>45</sup> Berthe Mouchette, a French national, taught French and art 'aux écoles de la ville en qualité de professeur de dessin.' Borrow letters P.R.G. 32/165. M.L.S.A.

<sup>46</sup> In 1896 the up-to-date cantata, 'Woman's Land', a parody of the results of the newly acquired Woman's Vote, was performed at Yoothamurra as at other schools.

note, including Mr C.J. Stevens, an Adelaide musician of good reputation.<sup>47</sup> A high proportion of candidates prepared for theory and practical examinations set by the University and London's Trinity College were successful, many passing with Credit.<sup>48</sup> Table XIII demonstrates music examination successes.

**Table XIII**

**Yoothamurra Music Examination Successes 1892-1902**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Subjects</b>
<b>1894</b>	2 Junior (practice)
<b>1895</b>	2 Junior (practice)
<b>1896</b>	9/10, including 1 First Class in Junior (practice and theory)
<b>1897</b>	15/15, 9 First Class ***
<b>1898</b>	4/6 Junior
<b>1899</b>	5/5 Trinity Coll, (2 practice, 98% and 96%), 3 Junior Theory***
<b>1900</b>	'Singing, piano and violin studied with success.'
<b>1901</b>	'Brilliant piano and violin playing, Toy symphony by juniors,' >1 Junior pass
<b>1902</b>	100% pass in examinations Junior(practice) *

Source: *Register* Speech Day reports 1892-1902.

Key: \*Individual Credit

Overall, the reputable standard acquired in music enhanced the school's public standing and allowed girls to further their studies. Margaret Andrews, who attended in 1899, and her contemporaries the Whittington girls went on to study at the Conservatorium, the latter continuing as professional musicians. The establishment of the Elder Conservatorium in the University in 1897 must have provided both an aim and incentive, also a pathway, for the development of girls' music beyond the genteel domestic accomplishments to possible professionalism. These girls were the forerunners of a tradition of musically talented pupils from the school who continued their studies, performing and appreciating music throughout their lives.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> He also taught at Prince Alfred College, Mrs Thornber's and St Peter's College.

<sup>48</sup> The Speech Day report in 1897 rejoiced in the success of the fifteen candidates in the Junior Examination with nine First class placings and three credits in Theory, followed by four successes of the six candidates in the following year. All candidates passed Junior practice in 1902 with one credit.

<sup>49</sup> For instance, Dorothy Begg (née Shannon), 1912-1915, continued her piano lessons at the Conservatorium with weekly lessons from 1917 after being taught by Mr Stevens at Yoothamurra. Interview 12th November, 1993. Dorothy Kingston taught Music with her mother until 1928.

Art was pursued thanks to the leadership and example of Miss Overbury who started teaching at Yoothamurra in 1894.<sup>50</sup> She taught in a number of schools, which suggests that she took examination work in a special art class which was charged as an 'extra'. In 1895, the Principals applauded,

the intelligent and painstaking spirit which characterised nearly all the pupils in the art class and the success which attended the candidates at the art examinations as a natural result of steady persevering work.<sup>51</sup>

Younger pupils' endeavours were also commended by describing the pleasure they derived from drawing and painting and the benefit of manual training in model drawing. Overall, however, it appears that much of the work was controlled and utilitarian. Similar to other schools, it was bound by the rigid confines of examination requirements. As the South Australian College of Art followed the English tradition of moral formation, the creative and self affirming urge to express personal feelings did not appear to be a prime motivator.<sup>52</sup> Even though Miss Overbury's teaching kept abreast of the enlarged scope of the examinations and each year reference was made to 'success in painting and drawing', information about passes is sparse. It appears that, although Yoothamurra gave a similar opportunity in Art as, for instance, Hardwicke or Mrs Thornber's, it appeared to pay greater attention to Music, a realm in which Mrs Kingston was particularly talented.

The Principals tried to convince parents of the benefits of regular exercise and the school provided healthy physical activity.<sup>53</sup> Visiting instructor Hugo Leschen, a stalwart teacher in many private schools, conducted disciplined physical exercises which were encouraged for all pupils and Yoothamurra girls took part in the Jubilee Demonstration of 1897.<sup>54</sup> However, at this stage, there is no evidence of ball or team games or of rapid movement in the fresh air or, surprisingly, of swimming. In this respect the school adhered to traditional ideas of girls' propriety in exercise and restriction of personal movement rather than developing the more progressive approach which, for instance, was pioneered at Hardwicke.

---

<sup>50</sup> The Misses Overbury conducted Ellerslie in Hurtle Square, advertised in the *Register* from 1894 until 1914. They also employed Madame Mouchette.

<sup>51</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1895, p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Moral development was encouraged via the ideas of Arnold and Ruskin to 'train the eye and the hand and hence the mind, in order to develop nobility and truth in pupils', quantified by examination. Weston, 'Professional Training of Artists', pp. 176-187.

<sup>53</sup> *Register*, 22nd December, 1897, p. 6. This included gymnastics and dancing. *Register*, 19th December, 1900, p. 7.

<sup>54</sup> Petersen, 'Varieties of P.E. at Way College', p. 11. This would also have been important public exposure for the school.

A regular visitor for Scripture lessons in the Upper School was Canon Green, the Church of England Rector from nearby St Peter's, the socially acceptable parish church where many school families are likely to have worshipped. There is no evidence of religious teaching at lower levels in the school, though this may have been incorporated within other daily lessons. Although in 1901 Canon Green referred to 'excellent results in the Scripture examination', in contrast to the centrality of religion at Hardwicke and Mrs Thornber's, its few references at Yoothamurra suggest that it occupied a less elevated place in its educational programme.<sup>55</sup>

From 1896 Yoothamurra awarded a Scholarship of three years' free tuition to an able scholar from a public school under fourteen years by examination in open competition.<sup>56</sup> In addition to advice given in the *Register*, details were advertised in the *Education Gazette*, thanks to the patronage of Mrs Kingston's brother, Mr L.W. Stanton.<sup>57</sup> This proved a shrewd political step as the publication reached a wide readership among schools and their Boards of Advice and brought the Yoothamurra's name before an unacquainted public. The scholarship was the only award to a private school to be thus promulgated and provides the sole instance of a private school explicitly seeking recruitment from the government sector. In its embryo state, the school hoped to benefit by attracting clever pupils who would help to foster academic excellence and shed lustre on the establishment. The first winner was Euphemia Drummond of Sturt Street School, daughter of a brewing employee from Unley. In order to get an education which her parents may not have been able to afford at a local girls' school, she was prepared to make the daily journey to Glenelg.<sup>58</sup> Euphemia progressed well academically, passing public examinations in 1898 and 1901. She had a distinguished career as a teacher in the Education Department and was an activist in the Teachers' Union.<sup>59</sup> The 1897 scholar was Grace Kennedy from nearby Glenelg. Her academic career was crowned with prizes, so she fulfilled early academic promise and repaid the school in kind.<sup>60</sup> The award of the scholarship in 1899 to Olive Pearce from Burra suggests that country ties were maintained. Olive would have attended the school as a boarder, but it appears that she may have found the city standard of education challenging as her name fails to appear on later prize lists. There is no evidence to evaluate the performance of the 1900 winner, Myrtle Hayman of Angle Vale or of subsequent winners, though a later

---

<sup>55</sup> *Register*, 20th December, 1901, p. 7

<sup>56</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1896, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> *South Australian Education Gazette*, June, 1896, p. 70. The school employed family patronage by using the good offices of Mr Stanton, who rose through the ranks of the Education Department to hold the position of Inspector General.

<sup>58</sup> Three local schools of sound academic repute were the Unley Park School, Miss Niven's Southfield, Parkside and the newly opened Miss Adamson's Malvern Collegiate School for Girls, Hyde Park.

<sup>59</sup> The author is grateful to Ms. K. Whitehead for this latter information.

<sup>60</sup> She was mentioned in the Prize list of 1901 as winner of four awards. *Register*, 20th December, 1901, p. 7. See note 32.

article in the *Critic* stated that 'successively the Scholarship winners were pursuing their studies at the university.'<sup>61</sup> It is relevant to consider whether the scholarship girls were considered as social 'unequals' or 'swots' and whether they were looked down upon by the wealthier pupils in a school which placed emphasis on social propriety, but there is no evidence to guide the enquiry.

The first reference to study in a scientific area appeared in 1897 with mention made of the excellent work done in Natural Science and the success of the candidate at Junior level. In the following year, a second Junior pass was achieved and a somewhat cursory mention was made of the profit to the pupils of the exact cultivation of observation and true reasoning which science induced. No further information was given and no awards offered until 1902 when the newly formed Old Scholars' Guild donated a science prize.<sup>62</sup> Regrettably for Yoothamurra, it appears that Miss Trehy did not offer science to a level matching her sophisticated mathematical teaching, though she may have acted as an individual coach to guide the sole successes. A likely explanation is that the school was less encouraging of sciences because they required a specialist room and equipment which the small numbers of interested pupils barely merited.

It is also probable that the sciences were unfamiliar territory in which the Principals' knowledge and skill fell short. Their comprehension of the community's increasing interest and reliance on scientific principle in daily life appears limited, resulting in an inability to move successfully from their secure and tried information base of the nineteenth century into the changing paradigms of the twentieth. Whereas familiar educational patterns were adequate for present conditions, the future required forward planning based upon theories for which their own restricted education had left them ill-prepared. As was evident in many girls' schools, this lack of understanding is first glimpsed in the Principals' lack of provision for the sciences which were to play an ever increasing role in determining the outcome of the events of the new century.

The Principals were gratified when a group of previous pupils met together in 1900 to demonstrate their loyalty, expressing a wish to create a distinct group. By 1902 this was formalised into the Old Scholars' Guild which held regular meetings. The members continued to enjoy each others' company and to express their love for their old school, which was publicly confirmed via the annual offer of a prize for an outstanding scholar.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> *Critic*, 1st August, 1906, p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> This was won by Joan Yuill, who was also the winner of another newly established award for Physiology given by Dr Ramsay Smith, City Coroner and Medical Officer of Health. There is no evidence concerning her teacher, possibly Miss Trehy. *Register*, 22nd December, 1902, p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> *Register*, 22nd December, 1900, p. 8.

This formation was a satisfying reflection of the nurturing interest which the Principals and the school took in their pupils.

Thus, the history of the first ten years of the educational enterprise demonstrated a lively, industrious and achieving community. Yoothamurra appeared to exhibit the characteristics of similar contemporary girls' schools, including feminine formation via the accomplishments and successful adult role-models, the public presentation of a serious, academic intent, albeit with limitations, with promising examination success and the demonstration of a strong *esprit de corps* within pupils past and present. The Speech Day summation of the school's educational aims in 1900 reflected its creditable achievement. 'Year by year we realise more fully that education is not merely the assimilation of facts, but also and mainly is a drawing out of the child's best energies, a training to some extent at least of every faculty.'<sup>64</sup>

In one of the few excursions outside the direct school arena, referring to the ultimate end of education, the report continued 'we wish our pupils to feel that the school is for them the gymnasium where their powers are strengthened and braced by practice'. Persisting with this comparatively masculine metaphor, the pupils were further encouraged with the thought that 'always the path of duty is the way to glory.'<sup>65</sup> If criticism can be made regarding the school's impact on the wider South Australian community, its somewhat inward and isolationist approach needs further analysis. On the important public occasion of the Speech Day, whose report was read by a wide public and comparisons drawn with similar schools, there was little evidence that consideration had been given to the ultimate impact of a Yoothamurra education on the girls who received its influence, or of any expectations which the Principals anticipated from a pupil who had been reared under their influence. The reports are marked by their scant reference to the future expectations of Old Scholars or of their moral stances and life patterns which the school might have anticipated them following in the wider world. Indeed, the focus centred round the immediate life of the school with only minimal reference to outside influences.<sup>66</sup> For instance, there is no confirmation of training for the responsibilities of citizenship, especially crucial because of the newly acquired women's franchise in 1894, nor for a caring and humane consideration of social injustice or the development of a sensitive personal conscience. A Yoothamurra education appeared to confirm the contemporary assumptions and ideology espoused by its comfortable middle class families, readily accepting the *status quo* without consideration or challenge to concepts of change. There is no evidence of discussion of philosophic values or

---

<sup>64</sup> *Register*, 19th December, 1900, p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> As an example, no public reference was made to the foundation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 which was to have profound effect on pupils' lives.

the engendering of ideas to inflame youthful idealism. This somewhat unreflective approach in part mirrored the relatively narrow education of the Principals. It suggests a restricted appreciation of more lofty themes and demonstrates their limitations, revealing a potential to thwart the development of the school.

Speech Day reports which appeared as an annual *Register* feature stopped abruptly in 1902. The last report was given solely by Miss Dow who somewhat imperiously referred to 'my teachers' and announced that, in conjunction with principals of other collegiate schools, she had decided to divide the school year into three terms rather than the prevailing quarters.<sup>67</sup> Previous reports had referred to 'the Principals' with no distinction between the two founders. Was Mrs Kingston out of the state? Was she sick? Was something seriously amiss? There was a mystery which proved hard to untangle.

Miss Dow had inherited certain of her father's physical attributes and it can reasonably be argued that a stubborn tenacity was one of her less attractive traits.<sup>68</sup> Mrs Kingston was also a woman of self confidence and resolve, as evidenced in her choice not to return to her mother's nearby school after separating from her husband, preferring to maintain independence and autonomy. Both separately and in tandem, the Principals presented a formidable pair.

The exact position of the two Principals with supposedly equal influence and responsibility needs further examination. Having started a small school on her own and invited Miss Dow to join in the enterprise, Mrs Kingston may have felt increasing resentment if Miss Dow, a woman of steel and determination, assumed greater powers of command and control. There may not have been a clear cut apportion of responsibility at one level, giving consequent scope for power struggles between the two strong-minded women and for conflict in the resolution of the decisions required in school direction and policy. This contrasts markedly with the style of leadership of sisters in family schools, the Misses Tilly of Hardwicke, the Misses Brown of The Wilderness and the Misses Baker of Walford. In these enduring girls' schools potential sources of dissension were minimised as one dominant sister assumed the overall responsibility of ordering the chain of command, while the others had a specific area of authority in the school. A lack of discrete spheres of influence may have been a lasting source of friction between the two Yoothamurra leaders.

---

<sup>67</sup> Miss Dow attended the Collegiate Schools' Association meeting. No evidence could be found to prove that Mrs Kingston was ever a member. Collegiate Schools' Association Minutes, V 1224, M.L.S.A.

<sup>68</sup> The *Saga* refers on more than one occasion to Mr Dow's uncompromising nature and to 'the inherited family trait of the Dow's quick temper.'



One known source of worry and dissension was the resolution of the school property. Council records confirm that Mrs Kingston owned No. 10 Bristol Street in 1890 and acquired No. 12 in 1892. Further, increasing the number of boarders and making room for more day pupils, in 1900 she bought No. 14.<sup>69</sup> This decision may have been unwise as the purchase appears to have stretched the assets of the school inordinately and forced the mortgage of Nos. 10 and 12 during 1902.<sup>70</sup> Miss Dow was listed as part owner of 3/4 acre on the total property in 1901. Rates on the total value of £90 of the combined properties were not paid until June, 1903, further confirming a financial problem.<sup>71</sup> The conclusion which must be drawn from this evidence is that the school proprietors faced financial difficulties which were not resolved amicably. Later observers of the school talk of the Big Row.<sup>72</sup>

Advertisements in the *Register* paint a confused picture. In 1903 Miss Dow was cited as sole Principal, whereas notices of 1904 and 1905 inform that both Miss Dow and Mrs Kingston were Principals, which suggests that either they had some reconciliation or the advertisements were not kept up to date. However, even though the *Critic* advertised the school's academic aims, in January 1906 Mrs Kingston also inserted a prominent advertisement in the *Register* offering pianoforte and theory tuition at Bristol Street, which suggests that she had decided to specialise in music education while maintaining younger day school pupils, helped by her daughter Dorothy.<sup>73</sup> Henceforth, the two distinct entities, Mrs Kingston's School and Yoothamurra, appear to have been conducted side by side. Either they were delineated into a discrete elementary and 'higher' school, or they evolved in direct competition, rivals for clientele, staff and repute.

From 1906 Miss Dow was the sole Principal of the establishment known as Yoothamurra. Pragmatically, she built up clientele at the top of her school, recognising a ready market for boarders. She realised that country families either had to engage a governess or send their girls to town for further education, where they looked for 'finish' and social enhancement. Therefore Miss Dow widely advertised the school in the country via the *Stock and Station Journal* and from 1909 she was one of only two girls' schools to advertise rurally.<sup>74</sup> She

---

<sup>69</sup> Council records show that No. 12 had seven rooms and rateable value of £60 and that No. 14 was of a similar configuration. *Register*, 19th December, 1900, p. 7.

<sup>70</sup> They were mortgaged to the Temperance and General Society and No. 14 to The Mortgage Society of South Australia. Council rates records.

<sup>71</sup> Council rates records.

<sup>72</sup> This was alluded to by many Old Scholars.

<sup>73</sup> The school is described 'with founder Mrs Kingston and assistant Miss Dow', suggesting that Mrs Kingston placed the advertisement, especially as it appeared in a socially prominent publication, the *Critic*, 1st August, 1906. Fragment in Glenelg Archives, 8.0360.4. Music advertisement in *Register*, 27th January, 1906, p. 2; repeated, 28th January, 1907, p. 11.

<sup>74</sup> The other was the Tormore School which specifically advertised its aim of schooling for University entrance in contrast to Yoothamurra's more social attractions.

stressed that boarders were well cared for and that deep drainage was a feature of the house, assurances which helped to allay the fears of solicitous mothers nervous of their daughters' health. In keeping with the more rigorous attitude found in other girls' schools, she emphasised the opportunity for sea bathing and the spacious playground with tennis court.<sup>75</sup> In addition, Miss Dow appealed to interested country parents visiting Adelaide during Show Week, demonstrating a shrewd entrepreneurial streak.<sup>76</sup> In 1912 she advertised the acquisition of 'the commodious house with five acres of grounds at the corner of Pier and Bristol Streets known as Keera', specifically to increase boarding amenities.<sup>77</sup> Miss Dow may have considered that boarders gave more profit than day pupils, but this orientation helped to determine the future of the school as most country parents looked for social refinements rather than concentration on academic achievement. It also fitted her educational style, as rather than scholarship she was better versed in polite behaviour and the proprieties. Yoothamurra's agenda was thus set.

However, the school continued to prepare pupils for University examinations. The small numbers of successes shown in Table XIV suggests that few girls stayed to study at examination level and that they had special private tutors rather than class teaching.<sup>78</sup> This Table compares the passes with Dryburgh, whose academic emphasis during these years was on a general liberal education. Yoothamurra results in the difficult years of 1902 to 1905 dropped below previous standards with only two pupils passing Junior level suggesting that confidence, and also probably numbers in the school, had declined.<sup>79</sup> However, from 1907 the academic results started to improve with three Junior successes and one scholar passing five Senior examinations.<sup>80</sup> The spread of subjects reflected an increased proficiency in mathematics and sciences, with passes at Senior level in Arithmetic, Algebra, Trigonometry, Biology and Physiology. Unlike the Advanced School or Methodist Ladies' College, schools which had as one of their objectives the preparation of scholars for further study at the University, Yoothamurra did not enjoy a large cohort of successful results in any particular year.<sup>81</sup> It appears that girls would be entered for examinations if

---

<sup>75</sup> *Stock and Station Journal*, April, 1909, p. 7. It appears that Miss Dow had acquired the lease of more land for school amenities.

<sup>76</sup> *Stock and Station Journal*, September, 1909, p. 5. Yoothamurra was the only private girls' school to capitalise on this opportunity.

<sup>77</sup> The writer of the *Saga* suggests that Miss Dow was helped in this venture by a Mr McBride, an 'intimate friend', but this notion may be fanciful as there is no other evidence to support any special relationship with this school parent. *Stock and Station Journal*, vii, no. 8, p. 7. Yoothamurra was now described as 'within one minute's walk from the beach.' *Register*, 17th January, 1903, p. 2.

<sup>78</sup> From 1902, the *University Calendar* only published identifying school names beside substantially successful candidates. Additional Yoothamurra candidates may have offered single subjects.

<sup>79</sup> *Manual of Public Examination Board*, 1905, pp. 36,44.

<sup>80</sup> Florence Smyth achieved a Credit in French, probably under Mlle Mouchette's tuition. *Manual of Public Examination Board*, 1908, p. 89.

<sup>81</sup> Twynam, *To grow in Wisdom*, p. 13; Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder*, p. 61.

their parents so wished, but, like Dryburgh during this period, the school did not apply pressure to prepare for academic challenge.

**Table XIV**

**Comparison of Yoothamurra and Dryburgh Examination Results 1899-1907**

Year	Yoothamurra		Dryburgh	
	Senior	Pub	Junior	Pub
1899	1		1	0
1900	2		2	0
1901	1		1	2
1902	0		1	3
1903	1		0	3
1904	0		4	7
1905	0		3	3
1906	0		1	4
1907	1		1	0

Source: *Manual of Public Examinations*, 1899 - 1906.

The story of Yoothamurra at Pier Street from 1912 has been pieced together from the recollections of pupils who attended.<sup>82</sup> Advertising the school 'in a retired part of Glenelg, one minute's walk from the beach and ten minutes from the train', Miss Dow reflected quiet, dignified surroundings conveniently accessible from the City suburbs.<sup>83</sup> The seaside climate was a powerful attraction to city families who feared childhood illnesses and to country parents who sought a gentler environment than found in the arid Outback.<sup>84</sup> The practice of many families from the North of packing up for the hot summer months to stay by the sea, often resulted in girls being sent to a nearby school in February for the start of their elementary years, and to return later as boarders at Yoothamurra.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> The main written evidence available is scant information in one school magazine, advertisements and mention of the school in the memoirs of Old Scholars Constance Spry and Merle Colmer. Other evidence has been gleaned by interview from recollections of living Old Scholars which, at a distance, may be hazy.

<sup>83</sup> Fragment from unnamed periodical, possibly *Quiz*, Partridge House, Glenelg. Other advertisements also stressed Deep Drainage. Next to this advertisement was information that Mrs Kingston taught Music. *South Australian Directory*, 1907, p. 1074; Miss Dow advertised from 1912 with a Telephone Number (Glenelg 215) showing up to date commercial sense. *Register*, January, 1912, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> Consumption, chest complaints, typhoid and scarlet fever were associated with doubtful drainage and polluted air and water.

<sup>85</sup> The memoir of Winifred Spry, (née Budge), b 1901, confirms that her family went to Glenelg every Summer from Farina (300 miles North) to escape the heat. The three sisters started each year at Mrs Kingston's in the lower classes and returned to board at Miss Dow's when they could go no further at their local school. Oral History of Constance Spry, OH1/18. M.L.S.A.

Like the previous schools studied, living in the Boarding House was recalled as a pleasant memory as the girls lived like a big family.<sup>86</sup> The main building could accommodate up to thirty girls in bright, airy bedrooms, three to a room. The boarders enjoyed the attention of their own resident governess, Miss Mudie, who supervised swimming every morning in the summer, a housemaid who served the meals and made the beds and a laundry maid. However, they had to maintain their wardrobe, which meant many hours spent in darning long black stockings which were worn summer and winter, the bane of childish knees.<sup>87</sup> Two magnificent Moreton Bay fig trees were a landmark on the property and pepper trees bordered the drive. In addition, the Boarding House had an extensive kitchen garden, though there is no evidence of the girls tending their own plots.<sup>88</sup>

The boarders got up at 6 a.m. to practise music. Lessons started at 9 a.m. with a break at 11 for milk and biscuit. After a hot lunch, there were further lessons until 3 p.m. when there was time for play, then homework, supper and a hot shower.<sup>89</sup> Boarders of all ages went to bed at 7.30 p.m. which did not suit the older girls who waited until Miss Dow retired and studied by torchlight beneath the bedclothes - hardly a suitable working environment for examination candidates.<sup>90</sup>

A photograph of boarders in 1916 shows fifteen serious faced girls aged from eight to eighteen. In contrast to the more casual appearance of earlier days, they are dressed in uniform dark suits of heavy material and light Fuji silk blouses with school tie or in dark, belted dresses with large light collar and full length navy coat. All have thick dark long stockings and 'sensible' black lace up shoes. A light straw boater with distinctive wide hatband and metal school badge was finished by a gossamer modesty veil which the girls had to pull down to keep away the sun and prying eyes, supposedly to maintain ladylike decorum.<sup>91</sup> With long hair tied back in a business like fashion, the girls appear sedate and sombre for their age. Thus attired, they worshipped at the nearby St Peter's Church of England. On Sunday afternoons they reassembled for a walk in crocodile. The cupboard of

---

<sup>86</sup> Percy, the cook's young son 'who reigned in the kitchen', Sandy, the school dog, and Peter, the white cat, featured as part of the boarding family. Photographs, 1920 Yoothamurra Magazine, p. 20.

<sup>87</sup> Merle Colmer recalled that as a seven year old she was taught to darn beautifully in sewing class and spent many hours darning the knees back into black woollen stockings. Colmer Memoirs, S.R.G. 480/14, M.L.S.A.

<sup>88</sup> Vegetables, eggs, milk and turkey meat were produced on the property for domestic use..

<sup>89</sup> The day girls could have at lunch a fee of 2/6.

<sup>90</sup> Boarders' memories recalled by Mrs Armored Jeffries (née Davies), 1916-1920. Interview, 12th October, 1992. These routines followed the pattern in Britain where, in order to guard against overwork, many boarding schools sent even senior girls to bed early. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl*, p. 87.

<sup>91</sup> A dark velour hat was worn in winter with school hat-band. A specimen badge is still treasured by Merle Hooper (née Colmer), 1922-1926, who confirmed that the initials Y.S.G. stood for Yoothamurra School Glenelg. Interview, Melbourne, December, 1993. She recalled navy blue bloomers of serge showing a compulsory three inches. Colmer memoir.

library books was unlocked after tea, before prayers and early bedtime. In spite of a highly controlled and regimented lifestyle with little personal freedom, the boarders recalled the fun and companionship which they encountered - picnic outings to Long Gully in National Park, visits to orchestral concerts, to the pictures and tea at the local kiosk and an occasional lecture.<sup>92</sup>

Miss Dow's influence was ubiquitous. She was a stickler for the proprieties and at all times demanded the best behaviour required by young ladies of their station. Strict attention was paid to deportment, elocution, manners and personal presentation.<sup>93</sup> She had promised to make 'ladies' out of her charges and sought to impress parents by her insistence on rigorous adherence to polite conventional behaviour. Boarders' letters were strictly supervised and Miss Dow read them before they were posted. She even glanced through incoming mail to intercept inappropriate correspondence.<sup>94</sup> The standing of the school was paramount and unsuitable liaisons were forbidden.

A photograph of the school taken in 1915 confirms that at that stage there were seventy pupils in total, with about twenty girls aged over fifteen. Numbers fluctuated because of uncontrollable outside influences. For instance, in 1914 as a result of the severe South Australian drought and uncertainty of the War, many girls were denied a boarding education or boarders were withdrawn.<sup>95</sup> The result was a drop in their numbers, which weakened the overall economic position of the school and decreased possibilities of enlarging its educational offering.

During the war years the curriculum at Yoothamurra appeared to be adequate, but unchallenging. English was well taught and the school magazine reveals original creative poetic writing.<sup>96</sup> However, the style was modelled on Shelley or Wordsworth rather than on work of an Australian flavour.<sup>97</sup> Construed as factual rather than analytical subjects, history centred round the Kings and Queens of England and geography was general knowledge of the world, rather than a detailed study of Australia and its global relationships.

---

<sup>92</sup> The picnic outing was described as 'a long day of joy.' 1920 Yoothamurra Magazine, p. 22.

<sup>93</sup> Armored Jeffries recalled that Miss Dow insisted that the girls said 'genteel' not 'non-vulgar', 'lavatory' not 'toilet.'

<sup>94</sup> Annoyed by the lack of privacy, clever Hope Crampton (1912-1917) decided to correspond in French, which outwitted Miss Dow. Telephone conversation, September, 1993.

<sup>95</sup> Margaret Miller (Millyard), boarder 1912-1914, was withdrawn at the age of fourteen to return to help on the farm at Springton. Recollection of niece, Mrs W. Robinson of Jamestown. Interview, September, 1994.

<sup>96</sup> English was taught by highly reputed Miss Whitham, who also took Latin. Amoral Jeffries. The first edition of the Yoothamurra Magazine was published in 1920. Writing, p. 22.

<sup>97</sup> There is no evidence that Australian works of Banjo Paterson, C. J. Dennis, or May Gibbs, *Gumnut Babies*, published 1916, were studied.

Much learning by heart was recalled in these subjects.<sup>98</sup> French was well taught but German was not maintained, possibly as a result of the War.<sup>99</sup> General mathematics was taken by class teachers with specialist areas by Miss Burgess B.Sc.<sup>100</sup> As mathematics was not compulsory in the upper classes, girls learned arithmetic but there is no evidence of the study of trigonometry or calculus. Geometry was allied to drawing, as was biology where particular attention was given to botany and physiology.<sup>101</sup> Rudimentary concepts in physics or chemistry may have been explored in younger classes, but without specialised laboratory space or even basic equipment, the older girls were not given the opportunity to develop a wide understanding of scientific principles. Hence, they were disadvantaged in comparison with more forward looking girls' schools and when competing with their brothers at older established foundations whose laboratories were a prominent feature.

However, few families had academic aspirations. The majority of parents, especially those of boarders, were attracted to the school by its reputation as a suitable and socially acceptable school where their daughters would learn the proprieties and the essence of 'being a lady.' A small minority only had ideas of careers for their daughters when they left school. A commonly held concept of the prosperous middle class was that it was 'not the done thing' for girls from a family who could support them at home to seek paid work outside.<sup>102</sup> Most Yoothamurra families would expect their daughters, especially the oldest of a large family, to look after younger siblings and to help entertain within the confines of home. There they would learn to manage a household in preparation for their own marriage, which was the aim and hope of the majority. A similar pattern was recalled at the Wilderness.

Many successful business men and professional men considered it something of a slur on their ability to provide, if their daughters did not join mother at home, when schooldays were over, enter the social round and in a few years marry successfully.<sup>103</sup>

Even though paid positions for girls in banks, in commerce and in fashion were available and openings for training in nursing and teaching were expanding. However, evidence from Yoothamurra Old Scholars confirms that after schooldays it was unusual for girls of their class to learn useful skills like typing or book-keeping which could be put to good use in

---

<sup>98</sup> Dorothy Shannon, boarder 1913-16, can still recite pages of Shakespeare, learned under Miss Bloom, even after seventy five years. Interview, November, 1993.

<sup>99</sup> French was taught by Miss Beevor, daughter of the City Clerk of Adelaide. Yoothamurra girls gained credits in French in 1914 and 1915, a Second on the List in Senior in 1917 in addition to a further credit. Senior credits in 1918 and 1919 filled out a most commendable record. *University of Adelaide Calendars*, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1919.

<sup>100</sup> One of the three 'Burgi' sisters, all graduates, who made a wide contribution to education in South Australia. See Chapter 5.

<sup>101</sup> This was taught by Miss Haycroft B.Sc. See Chapter 4.

<sup>102</sup> 'We stayed home and busied ourselves, doing the housework and having sewing and cooking lessons from Mother in preparation for our own household.' Spry History, p. 18; For English position, Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 6.

<sup>103</sup> Scales, *The Wilderness*, p. 27.

paid work. For their strata, it was acceptable to follow personal interests at classes in art and music, or even dressmaking. Most parents were quite happy that their daughters concentrated on cultural accomplishments rather than striving for what might be considered the unladylike and unnecessary attributes of scholastic endeavour.

Accordingly, art was well taught. Demonstrated in a contemporary autograph book are examples of pencil and pastel drawing, still life, water colour, intricate flower painting and cartoons which confirm interesting and competent teaching.<sup>104</sup> Many girls sat for the examinations of the Royal Drawing Society in London whose achievements resulted in illustrated certificates which served as reminders of an acquired ladylike accomplishment.<sup>105</sup>

The Yoothamurra tradition of musical achievement continued. Music teachers Old Scholar Miss Whittington and Mrs Stephens L.R.A.M. (Singing and Piano), taught at the school.<sup>106</sup> In addition, the Cathedral organist Mr Harold Wylde and Mr Mitchell offered private lessons for examination work.<sup>107</sup> School music prizes were awarded, usually leather-backed volumes. After schooldays, talented students continued musical studies at the Conservatorium to become competent amateur pianists, transferring their skills to the wider community.<sup>108</sup>

According to Anglo-Saxon mores, actresses were not considered respectable and acting was not a suitable Victorian ladies' activity, a remnant of the notion which deprecated unwelcome personal display. However, with a gathering public acceptance of drama, from the 1880s a few innovative British schools like St Leonard's developed a Thespian tradition.<sup>109</sup> By contrast, whereas music, art and learned exercises in elocution were encouraged as a continuation of the 'accomplishments' curriculum', dramatic presentation was a noticeable omission in the education of the arts in South Australian girls' schools.

---

<sup>104</sup> The owner of the book, Mavis Roberts (née Mallan), 1913-1915, continued after schooldays studying at the South Australian Art School, under Marie Tuck and John Goodchild. Interview with daughter, Mrs G. Goode, August, 1993.

<sup>105</sup> A typical Certificate was sent from London in 1920 with details of the candidate's achievements. Collection of Nancy Gurr (née Milne), 1915-1925. Interview, September, 1993.

<sup>106</sup> Mrs Stephens donated a prize which suggests that she took more than individual lessons. Dorothy Shannon. Conveniently near the school was Mrs Kingston, but Miss Dow did not encourage her pupils to learn from her. Nancy Gurr learned from her, finding her a tartar, but she passed Primary and Elementary Music examinations in 1921. Nancy Gurr.

<sup>107</sup> *Register*, 15th January, 1910, p. 3.

<sup>108</sup> For instance, Dorothy Shannon travelled weekly from Bagot's Well to attend the Conservatorium where she studied under William Silva. Dorothy Shannon.

<sup>109</sup> J. M. Grant, K. H. McCutcheon and E. P. Sanders, eds., *St Leonard's School 1877-1927*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 104-122. In 1892 the *St Leonard's Gazette* stated that, in addition to an Old Scholar (Senior) studying Medicine in London and one invited to further her violin studies in Berlin, a Senior was acting in the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl*, p. 97. In 1889 the Edgbaston Grammar School invited Charles Dodgson to their performance of *Alice in Wonderland*. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

However, during the early years of the new century, masques and specially written verse plays were produced in the larger Adelaide schools.<sup>110</sup> By 1914, Yoothamurra gave similar opportunities and presented a Shakespeare play as a regular feature, choosing *King Lear* and *Julius Caesar* because of their importance in the English syllabus.<sup>111</sup>

No mention was made of the possibility of male leads in the person of an obliging brother or local schoolboy. Indeed, the only reference to boys at Yoothamurra was an indiscretion. Local lads skimmed up the drain pipe of the Boarding House and were caught talking to a group of girls. The wrongdoers were severely reprimanded for their misdoings. Miss Dow did not tolerate improprieties which blemished the good name of the school. Her reputation and that of the school was at stake and she could not risk any scandal which might lead to a lack of parental or community confidence.

Mr Leschen continued to direct drill exercises throughout the school and to take a gymnastics class.<sup>112</sup> However, the school also employed Miss Nesbit, an English trained calisthenics teacher who taught tennis on a court constructed on part of the school's five acres.<sup>113</sup> At least one school match was played, but the critiques of players were not encouraging and enthusiasm for the sport was admitted to be in the younger classes. In 1920 a boarders' tennis six appear in a uniform specially designed for sports - dark tunics, white blouses and ties and long black stockings.<sup>114</sup> The court surface was asphalted by 1914 and used for basketball, but the sport remained in embryo stage in 1920 with only a few inter-class games.<sup>115</sup> An organised Sports Day was recalled as a very relaxed afternoon of running races but there is no record of competitive swimming sports, though both sea bathing and swimming were available for a good part of the year.<sup>116</sup> Some desultory rounders and quoits were also played, but from a younger pupil's perspective,

---

<sup>110</sup> This included Methodist Ladies' College. Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 69; Also, at The Advanced School for Girls, Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p. 61.

<sup>111</sup> Dorothy Shannon remembered taking the part of a courtier in this 1914 production at the Glenelg Town Hall. Winifred Spry recalled the latter production. Spry History, p. 16.

<sup>112</sup> There is no further reference to any display, nor were these classes mentioned in any memoirs.

<sup>113</sup> From 1912 Miss Nesbit taught at Methodist Ladies' College where she was interested in basketball and introduced their first Sports Day. Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 65.

<sup>114</sup> The uniform appears constrictive and uncomfortable. 1920 Yoothamurra Magazine, pp. 17, 20. By 1918 Methodist Ladies' College had adopted a hockey uniform of white blouse and navy skirt, with red tie for tennis teams. Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 66. In general, boys' uniforms were of later derivation with the distinguishing feature being the school colour and the distinctive school badge on the boater. Discussion with Prince Alfred Historian, Mr R. Gibbs, January, 1996. Ward, *Prince Alfred College*, pp. 19, 60, 78, 90, 121-122. The origins of uniforms for boys are also mentioned in *Learning to Lead*, Geoffrey Sherington, R.C. Petersen, Ian Brice, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1978), p. 16.

<sup>115</sup> Probably in a seven a side team, similar to modern netball, not the present indoor five a side game. Women's basketball became known as netball in 1970. *Saturday Review, The Australian*, 28/29th January, 1995, p. 7.

<sup>116</sup> Armored Davies.



Sport was a casual affair and friends were challenged for fun, exercise and interest. You did your best but were not under the present day strain of competition. It was all very lady-like and graciously non-competitive'.<sup>117</sup>

Yoothamurra's accent on exercise and sport appeared to be comparatively off-hand and lacked drive or direction, with little modern emphasis.

The more progressive girls' schools increasingly adopted a vigorous approach to exercise. From the 1880s the forward looking Misses Tilly of Hardwicke College encouraged physical training as a means of developing unselfishness and deflecting self centeredness, creating a cricket pitch and a tennis court.<sup>118</sup> By 1906 tennis was a regular feature in the more prominent Adelaide girls' schools. Inter-school matches were arranged, becoming more formalised after the establishment of a girls' Secondary Schools' Tennis Association in 1916 which helped to confirm the acceptance of girls in increased physical exertion and the challenge of competition.<sup>119</sup> Encouraged by its popularity in the British Girls' Public Schools of the style of Cheltenham and St Leonard's, hockey was introduced into South Australian girls' schools during the first years of the century.<sup>120</sup> By 1907 Methodist Ladies' College had an enthusiastic hockey club which played against ladies' teams sporting a specially designed uniform.<sup>121</sup> The college also developed a rowing club in 1911 and the Wilderness introduced one in 1920.<sup>122</sup> A variety of sports were played informally in the school yard at Walford. The obituary of Miss Benham, the second Headmistress, stated 'that she had a faculty to teach children to "play the game"'.<sup>123</sup> Clearly, competitive sporting activities for girls were becoming an accepted part of their wider opportunities at school and familiar sporting metaphors were increasingly applied to girls as they were to boys.

However, Miss Dow's girls were not in the forefront of these innovations. Comparatively, Yoothamurra's 1920 sporting achievements reflect late 19th century practice,

---

<sup>117</sup> These were recalled played by the younger girls by Betty Pickup (née Hart), 1918-1924. Interview, 3rd December, 1993; Merle Colmer memoir.

<sup>118</sup> 1893 Hardwicke prospectus, Raduntz Collection. The annual match between the Old Scholars and the College was an enjoyable afternoon attraction, with the 1895 game reported in the *Register*. Fragment, Raduntz Collection.

<sup>119</sup> In 1906 Methodist Ladies' College teams won tennis matches against Miss Jacob's School, Miss Brown's School and the Pupil teachers' School, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 30. Competing schools in the Tennis Association were Methodist Ladies' College, Girton, St Dominic's, The Wilderness, Walford and St Peter's. Twynham, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 65.

<sup>120</sup> Possibly by the Waterhouse sisters who were educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College.

<sup>121</sup> It is interesting to note the introduction of sports uniform before a regular school uniform, though simple everyday dress was encouraged throughout girls' schools. Twynham, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 66. Boys' school uniforms also evolved from the distinguishing features required by sports teams. Also, G. Sherington, R.C. Petersen, I. Brice, *Learning to Lead*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>122</sup> Twynham, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p. 65. Scales, *The Wilderness*, p. 41.

<sup>123</sup> *Adelaide Chronicle*, 29th April, 1917, quoted in Jones and Morrison, *Walford: A History of the School*, p. 17.

which expected ladies to remain controlled and collected at all times without getting hot and sweaty. They mirror the stage of development of the majority of similar schools of ten or fifteen years earlier when the concept of pushing the body to physical limits via hard exercise might be acceptable for boys, but young ladies, as progenitors of the future Australian race, were not expected to risk internal strain or damage nor show external dishevelment. Yoothamurra's mainly rural parents may have retained traditional attitudes concerning what was ladylike and not welcomed a reorientation in their daughters' activities. Accordingly, Miss Dow did not employ a young and enthusiastic role model for the girls. Miss Nesbit was recalled as 'elderly' and as 'wearing a long tweed skirt.'<sup>124</sup> This example failed to direct youthful energy into sporting challenge with a competitive edge which had developed in parallel sister schools.<sup>125</sup>

It appears that Miss Dow did not believe in pushing girls physically. Neither was there much evidence of her encouraging intellectual rigour. However, if the majority of Yoothamurra's parents were happy with the results of an education which concentrated on gentility and failed to fully challenge the mind, certain girls wished to extend their intellectual experience. Miss Dow disapproved of 'cramming', but a few families insisted that their girls were given help to prepare them for public examinations. From an early age boarder Hope Crampton was passionately interested in ideas. She did not find the school congenial. In 1916 she sat the Senior examination, gaining second place in the state in English Literature, first place in Ancient History and second place in French.<sup>126</sup> Having transferred to Girton where she experienced a more enlightened academic climate, she remarked that 'Mrs Smith, the Girton Headmistress, took it for granted that I would be all right, whereas Miss Dow thought I'd be all wrong.'<sup>127</sup> Subsequently, after a distinguished academic career teaching at the University of Adelaide, Hope looked back at her Yoothamurra days with some misgivings.<sup>128</sup>

A few of her Yootha contemporaries also achieved encouraging examination results which fuelled their visions of opening up career possibilities after school. Armored Jeffries was sent to board in Glenelg after a summer holiday there in 1914. She passed six Junior

---

<sup>124</sup> Nancy Gurr; Betty Pickup.

<sup>125</sup> In 1925 Nancy Gurr found a much more professional standard at Woodlands where she played regularly in competitive teams. Nancy Gurr.

<sup>126</sup> *Manual of Public Examination Board*, 1917, pp. 29-31. In 1917 she left Miss Dow's and entered Mrs Smith's Girton School from where she won the prestigious Tennyson Medal as top student in English for the state. *Manual of Public Examination Board*, 1918, pp. 33-38. With no recognition of foundation work at Yoothamurra, Miss Dow was furious. J. R Davis, *Principles and Pragmatism: A History of Girton, King's College and Pembroke School*, (Adelaide: Hyde Park Press, 1991), p. 9.

<sup>127</sup> Memoir of Hope Crampton; Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 160; Also Davis, *Principles and Pragmatism*, p. 9.

<sup>128</sup> It could be argued that she achieved academic honour *in spite of* the school. Telephone conversation, September, 1994.

subjects in 1918 and was intent on becoming a doctor as her grandparents had left money for her further education. Her father, who was living in Chile, disapproved. After a spell in South America the family returned to a more settled life in Sydney where Armorel trained as a nurse before marriage and raising a family.<sup>129</sup> Margaret Sorrell studied to become a librarian.

Friends of these girls were Miss Dow's nieces, Monica, Nancy and Leila, who had been left in a difficult position on the remarriage of their father. Miss Dow showed them great generosity, providing a home and a Yoothamurra education.<sup>130</sup> They had much to be grateful for as their aunt kept them together, though evidence suggests that they paid for their education in kind as they were at their aunt's beck and call.<sup>131</sup> She kept a strict rein on them, finding the lively trio a challenge. Both Monica and Nancy did well enough academically to sit for public examinations. In the early 1920s they remained at Yoothamurra with teaching duties, though only with 'on the job' training.<sup>132</sup> Monica increased her responsibilities over the years and in 1923 taught at her aunt's Kindergarten in the Masonic Hall.<sup>133</sup>

Numbers increased after the War and a school photograph taken in 1919 shows about ninety pupils of all ages, with a large proportion of younger girls and a few boys.<sup>134</sup> The Kindergarten area of the school continued to be strong, appealing to local middle class families who appreciated a suitable school nearby.<sup>135</sup> Always on the lookout for pupils, Miss Dow organised a governess' cart to pick up distant younger children.<sup>136</sup>

An analysis of the history of the 1915 Kindergarten class reflects some of the difficulties which faced small private schools. At its inception the class had fourteen local children.<sup>137</sup> Each year new day-girls and boarders entered until the class reached thirty in 1921.<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>129</sup> She still has clear recollections of her Yoothamurra days after nearly eighty years.

<sup>130</sup> Miss Dow's second brother, Gerald, had been a senior telephonist in Burra when he married and fathered three girls - Monica, born in 1899, Nancy and Leila born between 1901 and 1905. Left a widower in 1905, he remarried and had a new family of three. *Saga*.

<sup>131</sup> Recalled by Mrs Susan Boothby (née Melville), 1914-1917. Interview, October, 1993.

<sup>132</sup> Betty Pickup. In her opinion, they were comparatively repressed.

<sup>133</sup> Merle Colmer was at Miss Dow's Kindergarten in the Masonic Hall in 1923 and recalled her teacher. Interview 16th December, 1993 in Melbourne.

<sup>134</sup> However, the Boarders' poem in 1920 mentions thirty names, including Miss Dow's nieces. 1920 Yoothamurra Magazine, p. 22.

<sup>135</sup> Ballet supremo Robert Helpmann, who lived opposite, attended Yoothamurra before entering Prince Alfred College. John Bray, later Chief Justice of South Australia, was also a boy in the lowest class, before attending St Peter's College. Armorel Jeffries.

<sup>136</sup> This chargeable service may have been unusual, the precursor of the modern 'school bus'. Nancy Hamilton was picked up at Hamilton Ewell's vineyard by a dog-cart. Mrs Helen Solomon (née Levy), 1915. Sydney telephone conversation, December, 1993. The cart was also used by the nieces for school shopping.

<sup>137</sup> The eight girls and six boys included Stoddarts, Rymills and Crawfords; also Nancy Gurr, who started school with her cousin, Ailsa Jack. Nancy Gurr.

<sup>138</sup> These included daughters of comfortably placed graziers, the McBride sisters from Burra and one of the three O'Brien girls, whose widowed mother ran an Adelaide hotel. See Chapter 4.

However, by Form 5 in 1923, numbers had dropped to fifteen, decreasing to twelve during the course of the year. By 1925, now in the top class, there were only two left. The unpredictability caused by the fluctuation in numbers thwarted long term planning, requiring staff to teach in a variety of areas, often beyond their speciality.<sup>139</sup> This may have compromised the teaching in art and music, which were still part of the regular programme.<sup>140</sup> However, an enduring pupil from this class felt that she got a sound, but not exciting, education passing the Intermediate Examination, formerly the Junior, in 1924 in four subjects.

Although some emphasis was placed on school social service activities with each class adopting a special interest, there appeared to be little discussion about or challenge to the political or economic basis of the community's well-being.<sup>141</sup> To Old Scholars, school life seemed to concentrate round its own daily happenings. Some maintained there was little reference to the world outside the school for which they were ultimately being prepared.<sup>142</sup> No guidance of career possibilities was recalled.

That little thought was given to the girls' futures is somewhat surprising, as Miss Dow was self-dependent for most of her life.<sup>143</sup> She must have realised that some of her old scholars might be in a similar situation and that others might meet with misfortune and be forced to seek economic independence. However, she was proud that some were missionaries and nurses in foreign places.<sup>144</sup> By forwarding the accepted Christian aims of the school which reflected the ideals of their class in Australian society, they undertook honourable work.<sup>145</sup> They were neither demonstrating self-assertion and independence in their own community, nor threatening the accepted ideas of the place of women in their society. Nor were they receiving significant financial reward, thereby depriving others who had a greater need of a necessary livelihood.

---

<sup>139</sup> For instance, Botany, hygiene, French and Latin were taken by one teacher. A 5a report of 1924 includes English subjects and Scripture taught by the same teacher. Under another hand are remarks about arithmetic, algebra, geometry and geography. Gurr Collection.

<sup>140</sup> There were also 'extras' including pianoforte, violin, singing, drawing, painting and elocution. Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Social service included a charity collection for Indian lepers in Form 111. Girls also heard a talk about China given by a hospital Matron, an Old Scholar. The Kindergarten children hosted an annual party for another group of children, possibly less privileged. 1920 Yoothamurra Magazine, pp. 9, 11, 15.

<sup>142</sup> This was an oversight as the first School magazine Editorial in 1920 states, 'News of our old girls comes from India, China and Africa, where they are working as missionaries or nurses, and some as wives and mothers.' 1920 Yoothamurra Magazine, p. 5. The result of this exposure to the girls thus appears to have been minimal.

<sup>143</sup> She was accustomed to women working in her family. *Saga*, p. 22. Her two sisters trained as nurses at the Royal Adelaide Hospital, going overseas in the First World War.

<sup>144</sup> The three Kekwick sisters, daughters of a Mitcham accountant became missionaries. Nancy Gurr.

<sup>145</sup> Editorial, 1920 Magazine, p. 1. There is no evidence of training which nurses received, possibly trained as War nurses. The missionaries may have married fellow workers and been in a joint working situation.

However, the story of Winifred Spry, a boarder from Farina, demonstrates a lack of preparation for the harsher realities of life.<sup>146</sup> Having attended Yoothamurra from 1913 to 1917, she lived at home assisting her mother with a large family. Married at nineteen, Winifred and her husband went to live in Sydney, where they coped with a small salary renting a modest house. After six months her alcoholic husband departed, leaving her penniless. Her parents had been pleased with her marriage and she had too much pride to confess her situation to them. With little experience of the world and no training or skills, she took a menial job in a boot polish factory at a meagre wage in order to support herself. She lived alone in a small rented room. Winifred then moved to a family home as a general help, but unhappy and unfulfilled, she swallowed her pride and wrote to her parents. Her mother wired 'Come Home at Once'. Returning to Adelaide, her parents tried to make her stay at home. Despite opposition, Winifred decided to build an independent and satisfying life for herself, so she entered nursing at the Children's Hospital, the first married woman to be taken for training.<sup>147</sup> She made only an insignificant wage but was able to support herself and maintain personal dignity.<sup>148</sup> In 1928, Winifred further demonstrated her growing independence. Knowing that the current legal position allowed a deserting husband to claim a wife's assets, she initiated divorce proceedings, which were uncontested. As an unencumbered independent woman she had a long successful career nursing in different parts of South Australia. Her story could have ended in disaster in Sydney.

Few employment options were open to girls who were ill-prepared for misfortune. No government aid was available in adversity and help from family and friends or self-reliance offered the only redemption.<sup>149</sup> Winifred's story of hard work and determination demonstrated a solution, but some may not have solved their difficulties so skilfully. The personally limiting aims through which her schooling proclaimed a confining ideology for women proved deficient by not giving her the impetus to seek any form of training which might have alleviated her predicament with less personal suffering. It appears that the school's emphasis on the proprieties and its strict maintenance of polite conventions, an exaggeration of the social attitudes held by its clientele, had become obsolete. The school's inward looking philosophy inadequately prepared Old Scholars for adversity in changing economic and social conditions, including the question of women's dependence on either family and or husband. A gradually accepted feature of early twentieth century Australian life was an increasingly open attitude to the place of middle class women in the paid

---

<sup>146</sup> Spry, p. 18.

<sup>147</sup> However, Matron Rosman insisted that she be known as 'Miss'. Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>148</sup> Living in nurses' quarters, the salary was 5/- a week for the first six months and 7/6 after twelve months, paid monthly. Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>149</sup> This might include widowhood, especially after the War. Widows, however, received more community and family sympathy, backing and financial help. A deserted wife, especially from drink, was poorly received.

workplace, which resulted in widening opportunities for greater personal autonomy and enhanced independence of women in their private lives. However, it appears that Yoothamurra parents were slow to accept this changing role of women. Consequently, the school neglected to fulfil the requirement of training women for wider responsibilities than the familiar domestic role. By maintaining an education which assumed that its Old Scholars would remain economically and emotionally dependent on family ties, it failed to help them to prepare for a possible life of independence and personal autonomy.

Central to Yoothamurra was the owner, Headmistress Miss Dow. Wielding ultimate authority and sanction, she shaped the school without the help of a constituted Council and was responsible for its financial viability and overall success. In schoolgirl parlance, she 'ruled the roost.'<sup>150</sup> Old Scholars differ in their response to her. She was recalled as a fine woman, exact but with a sense of humour, a tough but fair disciplinarian.<sup>151</sup> In younger years she was remembered as firm and kind with a nice voice.<sup>152</sup> Her physical appearance was a source of constant interest. She was remembered as having white skin but a very red face.<sup>153</sup> Naturally of small stature, Miss Dow became stout in her later years which detracted from a commanding figure of elegance. Her dress was conventional but it appeared dowdy and unattractive to her pupils.<sup>154</sup> She wore a chain of school keys round her waist which had the advantage to both staff and pupils of alerting them to her approach.<sup>155</sup>

Miss Dow was disliked by some pupils as she was considered to be a snob. It was popularly believed that she refused to accept the daughters of 'Trade'.<sup>156</sup> Some girls were convinced that two sisters were expelled because of head lice.<sup>157</sup> To the younger children, she was a terrifying figure, a strict disciplinarian who would put them over her knee and smack them if necessary.<sup>158</sup> In summary, Miss Dow was feared rather than liked, respected for her position and power rather than admired as a attractive personality. Some pupils spent

---

<sup>150</sup> Betty Pickup.

<sup>151</sup> Merle Colmer, Nancy Milne.

<sup>152</sup> Dorothy Shannon, who admitted that Miss Dow liked her.

<sup>153</sup> Her mother's inherited Irish colouring had deteriorated in the fierce Australian sun. Old Scholars quoted the rude chant of local schoolboys 'Old Miss Dow, the red-faced cow.'

<sup>154</sup> In the 1920s, with high blood pressure, she wore heavy black shoes and leaned heavily on a stick, 'not the epitome of elegance to critical schoolgirls.' Susan Melville.

<sup>155</sup> Armored Jeffries.

<sup>156</sup> The definition of 'Trade' could not have encompassed a ship's chandler (Amoral Davies' Grandparent), nor the owner of the Farina trading station (Winifred Budge's father). Furthermore, the family of Tottie Measday, who left in 1914, owned a shoe shop in Glenelg, so it is difficult to define the limits of this assertion, unless these examples were considered as 'proprietors', a more acceptable status.

<sup>157</sup> This may have been a schoolgirl misunderstanding. The girls were sisters of Adrian Quist, the Australian tennis star. It is more likely that there were other family reasons for their change of school. Telephone conversation, Muriel Sanderson (née Anderson), 1923-1925, July, 1993.

<sup>158</sup> Betty Pickup and Olive Bey (née O'Brien), 1924-1926, the youngest boarder.

much time and energy discussing her. From their schoolgirl perspective, they believed her to be mean, petty and frightening.<sup>159</sup> On the other hand, parents respected her unchallenged hold on the school and appreciated her stance in upholding the highest standards of polite manners and an impeccable adherence to their collective ideas of propriety. In turn, Miss Dow recognised the behavioural and moral limits which they and the community would expect and exhibited them in her educational practice.<sup>160</sup>

To members of staff, whose livelihood depended on her appraisal and whim, the Headmistress would appear as a virtual dictator. Her reputation of martinet was alleviated only by her ability to be a good spotter of staff talent, but her role in the educational leadership and her encouragement of individual teachers was less positive.<sup>161</sup> Miss Dow took all administrative decisions.<sup>162</sup> In addition to her own position, the livelihoods of her staff and three nieces were a heavy responsibility. After the early economic difficulties, much attention would be given to the important financial aspect of the enterprise. Included in the continuous expenses were salaries of teachers and visiting tutors and weekly wages of boarding staff.<sup>163</sup> As with the other schools in this study, these were calculated carefully and balanced against the income derived from fees. Unfortunately, there is scant evidence of the detailed economics of the enterprise. Old Scholars' recollections of a boarder's fees ranged from nine guineas a term (£36 per annum) to £5 a month (£45 per annum).<sup>164</sup>

The total number of pupils affected the school's income and shaped the year's budget. Sparse new enrolments or withdrawal of pupils could weigh the balance between a successful year and financial difficulty, hence Miss Dow's concern to uphold the all-important image of the school. Unlike external pressures, this was an area under her direct control. Reputation was all and Miss Dow fought hard to maintain an unblemished record. With no premonition of serious drought or the start of the Great War, it may have been unfortunate that Miss Dow acquired the larger property in 1912. The move would have resulted in larger expenses in upkeep which, in concert with the drop of numbers caused by family wartime economies, must have left the school in an increasingly precarious financial

---

<sup>159</sup> Susan Melville.

<sup>160</sup> A description of a visit of relations to Miss Dow at her school is telling. When school parents arrived unexpectedly, her relations were unceremoniously bundled into the pantry while the parents were royally entertained in the drawing room. Letter from brother Gerald to relations, 30/7/17. Montfries collection.

<sup>161</sup> Mavis Mallen; Amorel Jeffries; from memory by Mavis Mallen's daughter; and by Mrs F. O'Brien whose mother, Juanita Radford had been a Kindergarten teacher under Miss Dow in 1918.

<sup>162</sup> Miss Dow had rows with members of staff in front of the girls. Hope Crampton.

<sup>163</sup> Private schools had no formal Industrial Award and each school would negotiate salary conditions with staff. However, in times of difficulty staff were forced to accept cuts in pay with little control over industrial conditions. Juanita Radford, who taught in the Kindergarten after finishing a preparation for teaching in 1918, received a poor salary and had to oblige Miss Dow about when she was paid. Interview, Mrs Faye O'Brien (née Newman), her daughter, October, 1994.

<sup>164</sup> There is no written evidence and these Old Scholar recollections may be inaccurate. For instance, they may not have included tuition fees.

position and forced extreme stringency. The grand house took on an air of sad neglect and the property became run down.<sup>165</sup> Realising that she could not increase fees without running the risk of losing more paying pupils, Miss Dow tried hard to alleviate the situation. She let rooms to visitors in the Christmas holidays.<sup>166</sup> She also allowed girls whose parents were abroad to stay in the Boarding House during the holidays at a fee and took boarders of all ages for short stays.<sup>167</sup>

Times were difficult, especially as increasingly prestigious and secure Church schools like St Peter's Collegiate Girls' School and Methodist Ladies' College took boarders and were also easily accessible to Glenelg pupils as day girls. Competition from rivals had long been a worrying factor, but was accepted as a stimulus for excellence in a free market. However, of particular concern was the aim of the Adelaide diocese of the Church of England to set up a girls' school in Glenelg. Their plans advanced as in nearby Partridge Street, property was donated for school premises in 1922.<sup>168</sup> Fifteen members of a governing Council were elected, including prominent members of the community. A salaried Headmistress was appointed, who envisaged that the school would take pupils from age nine upwards and would prepare girls for University Examinations.<sup>169</sup>

Thus, early in 1923, Miss Dow faced the prospects of an ambitious, modern, professional school starting one street away. This venture had official Church backing, encouraging the confidence of Anglican parents and staff members and attracting patronage from parishioners.<sup>170</sup> Moreover, it had the potential to grow and offer a wide curricular spread including a range of subjects in the sciences and in the commercial area. With careful forward planning, including a qualified and carefully chosen staff, the foundation of Woodlands was a certain winner. Miss Dow's school was the chief loser. Three senior Yoothamurra pupils were on the Foundation Roll of fifty six at Woodlands.<sup>171</sup> Fifteen pupils of all ages followed in 1924 and sixteen in 1925, devastation in a small school of about eighty. Miss Dow was powerless.

---

<sup>165</sup> These included holes in the stair carpets. Susan Melville.

<sup>166</sup> Miss Dow did not let the visitors use the grand inner stair and they were obliged to use the maids' entrance - proof of Miss Dow's mean streak, but more probably a measure to conserve the carpet. Amoral Jeffries.

<sup>167</sup> For instance, Muriel Sanderson, aged seven from Yorke Peninsula, boarded in Miss Dow's room in 1923 when her Glenelg grandmother died suddenly. Telephone conversation, July, 1993.

<sup>168</sup> Unlike a privately owned school like Yoothamurra, the school was to be properly vested in Trustees and a Deed of Trust made between the donors. *Woodlands, 1923-1973*, (Adelaide: Woodlands Glenelg, 1973), p. 15.

<sup>169</sup> *Register*, 13th February, 1923, p. 2. A Kindergarten was opened in 1924; *Woodlands*, p. 23.

<sup>170</sup> Bishop Nutter Thomas was a great supporter of the school, sending his daughter as an early pupil. *Woodlands*, pp. 14, 32.

<sup>171</sup> Yoothamurra pupils, Helen Rishchbeth, aged sixteen, from Glenelg was one of the original thirty eight day-girls, Marjorie Salter, aged sixteen, from Angaston, and Patricia Gurner, aged fifteen, from Reynella, were two of the eighteen foundation boarders. *Woodlands Enrolment Book, 1923*.



In vain, she tried to remedy the situation, advertising Yoothamurra as a Church of England Boarding and Day School for Girls in 1925, although she had no official backing to do so.<sup>172</sup> Alone, Yoothamurra's future was not bright so it is surprising that Miss Dow did not offer to join forces and, for instance, offer the Pier Street house as an additional boarding facility or as a Junior branch of Woodlands. By 1925 there were only two pupils left in Yootha's highest class.

1923 brought worse difficulties. On September 23rd Monica, Miss Dow's eldest niece, died suddenly in mysterious circumstances. Rumours were rife. When interviewed, previous Yoothamurra pupils admitted to knowing that the unfortunate Monica had been pregnant and that she had appealed to her aunt. After a serious row Monica left the Pier Street house, supposedly to visit a friend in the country.<sup>173</sup> Evidence in the resultant coroner's report cites the testimony of four witnesses.<sup>174</sup> Each had a plausible explanation for their part in the unfortunate affair and each appeared to have acted responsibly, passing a physically distressed Monica finally to a doctor, whose surgical procedure came too late to save her life. The death certificate states the cause of death to be from pneumonia and suppression of urine which caused atoxia poisoning. The attending doctor's final statement appears to have been made as a result of an inquiry from the Coroner and was added after official statements. Clearly, there was the suspicion of an abortion but no inquest was sought. The document is a sad reflection of apparently misapplied justice and tragic testimony to the shame and disgrace which attended the unwanted pregnancy of a single girl, a stigma which was to remain for a further fifty years.<sup>175</sup>

Miss Dow was devastated. Not only did she have the shock of having to identify the body of her niece, whom she had brought up and nurtured for twenty years, she also had the difficulty of explaining the death to her family and to the school. She had also lost a valuable teacher. The impact of Monica's death, with rumours and allegations in the community, rocked parental confidence in the school, causing further decline.<sup>176</sup> The unfortunate Miss

---

<sup>172</sup> *Register*, 31st January, 1925, p. 3. *The South Australian Anglican Church Year Book* of 1923, 1924 or 1925 makes no mention of Yoothamurra as a Church School.

<sup>173</sup> A row about this time was vividly remembered by a small pupil who slept in Miss Dow's room and overheard a fierce argument. However, this may have been unrelated and she may have drawn false conclusions after the event. Muriel Anderson, telephone conversation, July, 1993.

<sup>174</sup> These were Miss Mary Dow, Schoolmistress of Glenelg, Mr A. E. Ross, farmer of Waikerie and Glenelg, Mrs A. E. Sphoer of Goodwood, Matron of 'Nerve Hospital', and Dr P. Steele Scott, medical practitioner, of Unley. Coroner's Inquest No. 343, 24.9.1923. South Australian State Archives.

<sup>175</sup> Evidence from the report suggests that Monica had been administered a poison at the 'Hospital' in order to cause an abortion, which caused her to lose her life. All four called to testify disclaimed any knowledge that she was pregnant and planning to seek an illegal abortion. Mrs Sphoer, in particular, appears to have acted responsibly by passing her to a doctor and therefore could not be charged.

<sup>176</sup> Merle Hooper. Interview, Melbourne, 15th December, 1993.

Dow, now aged sixty three, with one niece buried and two still not of adult status, tried to bargain with them and make them submit to a strict scheme of behavioural limits. They refused to accept their aunt's strictures and departed to train as nurses making independent lives without her maintenance and care.<sup>177</sup> Thus she lost their support and interest, leaving her alone, facing an impossible situation in the school.

Miss Dow in the 1920s in Glenelg was recalled as 'thin lipped with severe internal difficulties. Clearly she was unhappy and she showed it in her behaviour.'<sup>178</sup> There was every reason for Miss Dow's dejection. She was contrite about the death of her niece, worried about the devastation it caused her school and concerned about her own future which did not offer the security of family or the financial salvation of an adequate pension provided by the State.

Parents heard that Miss Dow was closing Yoothamurra. One mother, who had attended the school in happier times, went to see the Principal about the situation.<sup>179</sup> A row developed between the adults which ended with Miss Dow in tears, pleading to placate the worried parent, fearing the withdrawal of another valuable pupil. But rumour was right. With rapidly declining rolls causing serious loss in school income, Miss Dow was forced to close the school at the end of 1926. With the previously well-guarded standing of the school in disrepute she was unable to offer the goodwill of the business as a going concern, so had no financial return. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that she was planning to train her nieces to assume the responsibilities of the school. Their younger and up to date leadership might have assured its continuity and Miss Dow might have lived a comfortable retirement in familiar surroundings under their care.

Staff were dismissed, but Miss Dow continued to be listed at a Pier Street address until 1932 when she moved to a small flat nearby.<sup>180</sup> As she grew feebler, loyal Old Scholar Merle Colmer visited her former Principal in her reduced circumstances. She was appalled to observe Miss Dow's isolation and to find that she had few comforts or interests, so she did what she could to support the lady she had admired, realising that she would be proud and determined to the last.<sup>181</sup> Mary Dow died in a Norwood Nursing Home on 19th September, 1943 and was buried by Merle's husband in the Brighton Cemetery near her niece.

---

<sup>177</sup> They trained at Rua Ru Hospital in North Adelaide, had careers in nursing in Adelaide and the country, married and both died in 1993. *Saga*.

<sup>178</sup> A shrewd observer of the human condition who recalled Miss Dow's unhappy presence. Telephone conversation, author Mrs P. McGuire, December, 1993.

<sup>179</sup> The families, hoteliers, had a long association with the school. Colmer Memoir.

<sup>180</sup> *South Australian Directories*, 1930-1943.

<sup>181</sup> Merle Hooper interview.

Even though the school had been considered in 1912 to be 'one of the best' it did not survive in the challenging and competitive climate.<sup>182</sup> The trauma of the socially unacceptable disgrace of one of its teachers was only one catalyst which finally condemned the enterprise. The seeds of its decline were sown earlier with the school's inability to foresee societal changes and to adapt its practice to fit the changing expectations of the twentieth century. By the 1920s, Miss Dow's outdated educational aims and the school's lack of adaptation to training girls for a career outside the home no longer met wider societal needs. These were more realistically fulfilled in new Church secondary schools whose modern philosophy resulted in increasing numbers and wider educational opportunities, as the opening of Woodlands proved. Even Yoothamurra's boast of the particular attractiveness of Glenelg's climate, which had already abated as health scares of earlier years declined with increased medical research and improved preventative care, was no longer unique.

However, for thirty years the school had filled a niche for aspiring country parents and for comfortable local families who were content to educate their daughters in an unchallenging academic climate in pleasant surroundings. Under Miss Dow's direction in proclaiming the polite proprieties, Yoothamurra produced accomplished genteel girls in the mode of the nineteenth century. As the school's philosophy and resultant practice failed to adapt to meet the requirements of post-war women, increasingly progressive, independent thinkers who sought personal autonomy, Yoothamurra went the way of many other educational enterprises and closed unceremoniously, leaving memories and the demonstration of the school's varied influences exhibited in the lives of its Old Scholars.

From 1906, Mrs Kingston had continued her elementary school in Bristol Street, but she was forced to restrict the extent of the holding to No.12 as numbers dwindled. The school had about seventy pupils in 1912, but enrolments continued to drop. During 1916 classes for younger children were held in the local Methodist Hall while a second schoolroom and bathroom were added to the single property.<sup>183</sup> At least three Yoothamurra pupils entered Mrs Kingston's in 1926, when it had less than forty pupils.<sup>184</sup> But the past still rankled, so they were only given a lukewarm welcome, especially as in their immaturity they compared the two schools, referring to Miss Dow's as the 'superior academy'.<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>182</sup> Miss Dow's was considered 'as one of the top schools.' The son of Mrs Mabel Kelsey (née James), c. 1912, recalled that his mother always maintained that she was well educated at Yoothamurra, the 'best school'. Telephone conversation, Mr Ken Kelsey, September, 1993.

<sup>183</sup> There they were taught by Miss Vasey and old scholar Miss Wilbraham, who later married Sir Mark Oliphant, world famous scientist and Governor of South Australia. Colmer memoir.

<sup>184</sup> These were Jessie Wadham, Jeanette McBean and Merle Colmer. Hooper interview.

<sup>185</sup> Merle was severely reprimanded for trying to see Miss Dow in her lunch break and was punished. Colmer memoir.

Pupils received a restricted basic education in cramped quarters. The school's limited backyard gave little room for play, so they went down unsupervised to the nearby beach in recess times where they could let off steam, giving the Kingstons some privacy.<sup>186</sup> The school day was short. Lessons lasted no longer than three and a half hours on any day. However, the Kingstons were both excellent teachers.<sup>187</sup> By 1926, Mrs Kingston was in her late sixties, still a handsome woman, wearing boned, fine net collars or chokers which held her head erect and gave a very regal appearance. Miss Dorothy was in her forties. She was a tall and well built figure who dressed elegantly and drove a motor car, an unusual sight for a woman.<sup>188</sup> She had studied subjects at the University and was especially interested in poetry, a love of which she instilled in her pupils. Before 1916 and the change to their Bristol Street property, the Kingstons had taken the occasional boarder, but the four Crofton sisters, who remained until 1928, had arrangements made to live at Blanche Villa.<sup>189</sup>

Mrs Kingston continued to teach music and singing both at the school and privately. She was much feared and had the reputation of having a short temper.<sup>190</sup> This is understandable. The former Miss Stanton had been struggling to teach the rudiments of music for over fifty years to small, probably mostly untalented pupils. She may have contemplated why she had not been able to enjoy a comfortable life of comparative leisure as the wife of the brother of the premier.

By 1928 Mrs Kingston decided to retire. Her school was also under the threat of the lure of Woodlands.<sup>191</sup> The house in Bristol Street was retained until Mrs Kingston's death in 1929 when Miss Dorothy went to live in Japan where she had an interesting and responsible job.<sup>192</sup> She learned Japanese, appreciating the Japanese lifestyle. She later returned to Adelaide when she owned an elegant house in South Terrace. Both Kingstons could look back on varied lives of interest and achievement. But they too must have contemplated the

---

<sup>186</sup> The writer suggested that it 'also gave them time to do some hurried housework', indicating that their former more acceptable lifestyle had been amended to meet the changing circumstances. *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> Merle Colmer; *The Misses Crofton.*

<sup>188</sup> Kingston details in Colmer memoir. The Kingstons must have made some money out of the school to be able to afford the upkeep of a car. They also owned a house in the Hills to which the girls were occasionally invited.

<sup>189</sup> They left Mrs Kingston's to attend Woodlands in 1928. *The Misses Crofton.*

<sup>190</sup> A pupil, Betty Crawford, was reputed to have been knocked off the piano stool and consequently was withdrawn from the school. *The Misses Crofton.*

<sup>191</sup> Four Kingston pupils entered Woodlands in 1924, one each in 1925 and 1926, two in 1927 and the four Crofton sisters in 1928. *Woodlands Enrolment Book, 1923.*

<sup>192</sup> Dorothy worked with a Tokyo commercial firm, a courageous step for a woman in the 1920s. Colmer memoir.

different state of affairs which might have resulted if the two schools had not gone their separate ways.

## Conclusion

### The Schools' Contribution in an Age of Transition

'An acquaintance with the educated woman can only enrich our understanding not only of the power of education to transform lives but of the central place of relations between the sexes in social change.'<sup>1</sup>

In less than seventy years, the embryo settlement of 1836 progressed, via province and self-governing colony, to a state of the Commonwealth of Australia. The population of South Australia reached nearly half a million by 1921, when for the first time it achieved Wakefield's goal of equality of numbers between the sexes.<sup>2</sup> Women were pivotal builders of the society. Having achieved increased civic, political, legal and economic authority, they continued to consider measures to guarantee them greater equality with men in status and opportunity, an equal moral standard and full citizenship.<sup>3</sup> Although the majority followed the traditional path of marriage and set up households to enact the prevalent domestic ideology, adopting an increasingly scientific approach to household and child management which stressed the mother's importance in shaping the next generation, the percentage of unmarried women was increasing.<sup>4</sup> Among their ranks, seeking greater arenas of personal autonomy and both economic and emotional independence, were educated 'New Women', examples of a trend which was also evident in similar parts of the Western world.<sup>5</sup> A wider variety of employment opportunities was open to them, including access to the professions of law and medicine.<sup>6</sup> They were at the vanguard of social and economic change for women, the forerunners in changing conditions. Establishing original lifestyles, these women were pioneers, now not of land and agricultural process as in the early days of settlement, but of redetermining relationships and redefining tensions between men and

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Mackinnon, 'Revisiting the fin de siècle: representation, discourse and the educated woman', unpublished paper presented to A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference, Sydney, July, 1995, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> By 1921 the sex ratio throughout South Australia was 101 males to 100 females. *South Australian Year Book*, quoted in *The Flinders Social History*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986), p. 172. 51% of women lived in metropolitan Adelaide whose dominance over the rural nature of the state was continuing to grow.

<sup>3</sup> Though women had made progress, even after World War Two they were looking to press further. M. Lake, 'Women Armed for Struggle to gain equal Rights', *Weekend Australian*, 12-13th August, 1995, p. 9

<sup>4</sup> K. Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home*, p. 153; P. McDonald, *Marriage in Australia 1860-1971*, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1875), quoted in Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> See Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work and the Family*, pp. 117, 184-185; E. Smith, in V. Strong-Boag, ed., *Elizabeth Smith: A Woman with a Purpose*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. ix-xiii; Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 139-175; Vicinus, *Independent Women*, pp. 33, 285-289.

<sup>6</sup> At the University of Adelaide, Edith Dornwell was the first woman in Australia to be awarded a B.Sc. degree in 1885; in South Australia, Charlotte Wright was the first B.A. in 1888; Laura Fowler was the first woman to qualify M.B. Ch.B. in 1891; Caroline Clark and Ethel Holder M.A. in 1901 and Mary Kitson the first LL.B degree in 1916. Mackinnon, *New Women*, pp. 44-49; Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', pp. 205-241.

women. They were beneficiaries of the legacy of earlier Principals and teachers whose work had enabled a quiet evolution in girls' education.

This thesis has endeavoured to portray the role which the increasingly ambitious education of girls played in this gradual transformation of the role of women. The image of girls had changed from that of the self-effacing Victorian Miss, needing protection as she moved from the legal and emotional responsibility of father to the custody of husband, to that of a stronger, self-sufficient and confident individualism.<sup>7</sup> As conspicuous providers of a serious education for girls, schools like Hardwicke, Mrs Thornber's and Dryburgh played a critical part in this evolution in South Australia. These private girls' schools, with convent schools, offered the unique position of being the sole place in public life where women predominantly interacted with women, where women were in command, where women took ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the enterprise and where the authority of men was not directly observed, but was covert and limited.<sup>8</sup> These factors had effects on proprietors and teachers, on their clientele, (parents and girls), and on the wider South Australian society.

### **The Principals**

These schools gave their proprietors the essential means of maintaining their economic and social viability. A significant determinant which linked the founding Headmistresses was the fact that they opened their schools with the sole purpose of making a livelihood for themselves and their families. None had encountered commercial practice beyond the domestic arena or had credentials for teaching. They had no higher education, or even experience of teaching in private schools, only governessing. Their inadequate preparation suggests that had their economic position been more favourable they would not have taken on the responsibilities of creating and guiding educational enterprises.<sup>9</sup> But there were few alternative employment openings for respectable women looking to uphold middle class status. In their varied critical circumstances, the Headmistresses guarded caste and protected their families from economic disaster building a moderate, but not affluent, standard of living.

---

<sup>7</sup> 'Make your Daughter Independent', *Observer*, 16th February, 1889, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> The first advertised Convent School for Ladies was opened by the Dominicans in 1868. *Register*, 5th January, 1868. By 1900, the Dominicans advertised schools at Cabra, Semaphore, Franklin Street and Kapunda. The Sisters of Mercy started a similar school from 1880, St Angela's Select School, later St Aloysius. The Josephite schools catered for younger, mainly working class children.

<sup>9</sup> This is especially true of Mrs Kelsey and Mrs Kingston whose marriages initially appeared financially comfortable.

Exemplifying Gouldner's theory that the New Class sought intellectual capital as a protector against adversity, the Headmistresses used their moderate prosperity to educate their offspring either at their own schools or at leading boys' colleges, endowing them with intellectual and social benefits which enhanced their future security.<sup>10</sup> The married Heads satisfied their immediate living requirements and guaranteed financial assurance for unfettered retirement. The circumstances of the single Misses Tilly, Misses Thornber and Miss Dow varied in detail only. They also fulfilled their responsibilities towards family members and the obligation to remain financially solvent, avoiding the necessity of becoming dependent on a male relative.

The proprietors had to control the economic underpinning of their enterprise, which obliged them to take financial risks.<sup>11</sup> Evidence of Dominican nuns in 1899 keeping their school financially viable by trading in stocks and shares suggests that there were changing and increasingly socially acceptable opportunities for women to participate in the commercial sphere.<sup>12</sup> Overall, the economic motive was impelling. In the capitalist society, competition was fierce as multifarious small girls' schools attempted to attract the eye of the burgeoning middle class. To ensure viability, these Headmistresses laboured to attract and retain pupils, which forced them to take full advantage of their social capital and to employ Church and wider family networks.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, they used existing female roles and resources to begin fashioning new ones which would culminate in the 'New Women' of the 1920s.

The Principals had to ensure that their schools offered a relevant curriculum which met the approbation of their clientele. Responding to the opening of the University of Adelaide in 1876, a stimulus which altered the goals of girls' education, sensible Headmistresses adapted their schools to accommodate to this new opportunity. To varying degrees, they demonstrated skill in interpreting the educational requirements and social needs of their clientele while maintaining control of the enterprise and negotiating the demands of influential fee-paying parents. As educational leaders, they developed skills of analysis and adopted a forward looking approach. Ultimately, success depended upon their intelligent adaptation to changing requirements. The early introduction of younger pupils at Hardwicke and their achievement of the outstanding music programme in response to increasingly structured external demands, the pioneering of science teaching at the Unley Park School,

---

<sup>10</sup> Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals*, p. 44. The Thornber boys attended St Peter's College, the Shuttleworths, Prince Alfred College and Mrs Kelsey's son was coached by Mr Darenburg. Daughters attended their mother's schools.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, in extending and in adapting property. This was possibly the downfall of the Mrs Kingston/Miss Dow partnership and of the Coghills.

<sup>12</sup> Burley and Teague, *Chapel, Cloister and Classroom*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>13</sup> For instance Mrs Shuttleworth always advertised the prominent educationalists or social figures at her Speech Days - Dr Wyatt, Mr Chapple, the Mayor. This custom was continued by Mrs Kelsey, Mrs Thornber and Mrs Kingston.



the insistence of Mrs Kelsey to 'train the eyes to see, the fingers to manipulate in such a way that they will eventually become self-reliant capable women' are clear demonstrations of astute reworking.<sup>14</sup> Conversely, the eventual demise of Yoothamurra, prompted by the educational and social limitations of its Headmistress, may be traced to its inability to interpret the changing economic and ideological circumstances for women which resulted in its failure to adapt its aims and outlook. This was also demonstrated by the disparity experienced at the Presbyterian College.<sup>15</sup>

Each Headmistress developed a balance in her school's educational offering, reconciling new academic requirements with the maintenance of the traditional ladies' accomplishments. In three of the four schools, they managed the rate of change with considerable success, a contrast to the deficiency demonstrated at Yoothamurra. Faced with conflicting demands, the Headmistresses were obliged to oversee every aspect of their school with sensitivity and understanding while maintaining the highest standards of propriety and ladylike behaviour. Their personal presentation was under continual scrutiny by discerning parents, so they presented a lifestyle of unremitting respectability and adhered strictly to middle class ideologies, carefully testing the boundaries of new ground they could break.

Radical change of emphasis in the school's overall aims was potentially threatening to their comfortably placed parents and had to be introduced with caution. Nevertheless, success conferred increasing authority on the Heads, and Speech Day Reports progressively revealed statements of philosophy which reflected growing confidence and influence. Each Headmistress wielded power within her individual enterprise. Independent of a controlling body, and thus fully responsible for every aspect of the venture, her word was law and her command obeyed, which offered a powerful female role model for her pupils to observe and internalise. However, this power was veiled by the prevalent ideology of correct 'womanly behaviour' which included modesty, or at least not making oneself conspicuous, and self-negation rather than self aggrandisement. The specific aims and larger size of boys' schools encouraged a masculine model of powerful Headmasters who wielded power in a structured hierarchy. By contrast, the more modest arrangements in girls' schools enabled Headmistresses to continue to adopt a family model, which emphasised a nurturing community.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, they confirmed that their lives were devoted to the welfare and advancement of their pupils.<sup>17</sup> Their schools gave these enterprising women a means of

---

<sup>14</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1902, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> See Dryburgh Chapter, pp. 233-236.

<sup>16</sup> These schools modelled family values via the example of their proprietary families. In addition, the Headmistresses looked upon their pupils as their wider family. See especially Hardwicke and Thornber Chapters.

<sup>17</sup> The Thornbers, *Register*, 21st December, 1892, p. 2; The Tillys, *Australasian Christian World*, 22nd July, 1898; Mrs Kelsey, *Advertiser*, 19th October, 1906, p. 4.

expressing their creative energy and organising power and a platform to demonstrate a comprehensive range of skills in addition to the most important exigency - a living.

But, like any business, their task was risky and precarious, requiring that they exercise judgement, an understanding of people and an intelligent comprehension of the demands of the market, while retaining personal integrity and moral standards. Though their lives outwardly appeared rewarding and self-acclaiming, the Headmistresses could never confidently assume lasting success. Continually, they had to prove their pre-eminent suitability as leading educators who could accommodate educational and social demands, while demonstrating qualities of industry, grace and charm, qualities which appealed to their public who demanded certain social standards and educational format. Failure spelt slippage down the economic and social scale, as was demonstrated by the unfortunate example of Miss Dow.

As a result of their entrepreneurial skills, courage and determination the early Headmistresses left a valuable heritage on which subsequent schools built. Their enterprises determined these women as models of influence and good taste to generations of middle class girls, enabling them to extend their stamp beyond their immediate family and to influence leading women in South Australia both in their homes and in the expanding workplace. The community's judgement of the Headmistresses was shaped by their performance within their schools. Professional success defined personal, and hence family, success.

The nature of transition in these schools may be illustrated by considering the second generation of proprietors. Their education offers a distinct contrast to the meagre preparation of the founders. The Misses Tilly were professionally certificated, unmarried 'career women', who saw their work as a Christian vocation. Miss Ellen Thornber was a University-educated daughter with wider experience. Mrs Kelsey undertook University extension classes and forged a respected voice in South Australian educational circles. Her successors, a professionally trained man and his well-meaning wife, were an innovation in a prominent South Australian girls' school. This increasing professionalism and wider education is a hallmark of the principals of the enduring girls' schools and of the new proprietary schools of the twentieth century, whose changing social conditions and greater complexity demanded larger organisations with highly educated and trained leaders.

### **The Staff**

Until 1906, 'higher education' for girls was offered in the government system only at the Advanced School. Otherwise, interested older pupils attended the few academically

ambitious private and Church establishments, of which these schools were among the most prominent. The small number of senior pupils overall resulted in few positions for women which offered the challenge of teaching higher examination work, so these schools attracted the service of 'superior teachers', serious minded women with training or University education. Some of the more ambitious, including the Misses Jacob, Miss Vivian, Miss Benham and Miss Tucker later used their acquired knowledge and experience to start their own enterprises.<sup>18</sup> Evidence of the composition of staff groups is patchy. Some schools continued to retain certain pupils as governesses who learned skills of teaching on the job. However, as a response to market forces, the more academic schools gradually rejected poorly educated women who sought to earn a livelihood in teaching as a last resort and employed teachers with expertise and teaching qualifications. This is exemplified in the staff composition of early Harcus days, which contrasts markedly to those employed during Mr Coghill's early years at Dryburgh. Teachers with a more restricted education may have been able to acquire positions at less demanding schools, which further confirmed the standing of the more academic.

Advertising examination results and Speech Day Reports in prominent newspapers flagged community interest in the range of available schools and acted a measure of accountability in the public eye. In addition to this scrutiny, the stimulus of competition ensured that these schools bettered their physical conditions so that their staff enjoyed an improved teaching environment, including updated texts and materials. Their teachers were encouraged to adopt modern theory and practice and to seek further education to remain in the forefront of educational innovation, as testified at Mrs Thornber's by the implementation of Froebel's ideas and the introduction of branches of science and improved methods of teaching languages, and at Hardwicke by the early introduction of a range of novel physical activities.<sup>19</sup>

Individual teachers joined the Collegiate Schools' Association, later the Teachers' Guild, which gave the opportunity to share ideas with teachers in other establishments, including boys' schools.<sup>20</sup> One consequence of the collective strength of Guild members was enhanced academic power. This gradually developed as their advice was sought on the content of public examination syllabuses which shaped the direction of curriculum. The Guild also broadened the outlook of teachers as it forged educational links with other

---

<sup>18</sup> The Misses Jacob bought Tormore in 1897, Miss Vivian started the Glenelg Collegiate High School and Kindergarten in 1903, Miss Benham acquired the Malvern Collegiate School for Girls in 1912 and Miss Tucker the Angaston Girls' Grammar School on the demise of Tormore in 1920.

<sup>19</sup> For instance Miss Allen from Mrs Thornber's was encouraged to study and research in Europe. Teachers from these schools attended the 1893 Australasian Conference of the Advancement of Science in Adelaide. Chapters 4, 6.

<sup>20</sup> A question for consideration, but for which there is little evidence, is whether the different aims and therefore teaching methods in the girls' schools influenced teaching in boys' schools.

colonies and with Britain.<sup>21</sup> Its authority was strengthened by the active support of the Minister of Education and by the membership of Heads of well established boys' colleges and government schools, who were held in high public regard.<sup>22</sup> The influence of this body helped to increase the authority of teachers and to decrease parental interference in schools while sustaining their interest and support.

Sharing articulated aims for their school, these teachers felt comfortable with their colleagues as they could anticipate their behaviour, which by expectation and requirement fell under the rubric 'ladylike'. Demanding similar conduct within the boundaries of accepted middle class behaviour from their pupils, they also expected their obedience and malleability in accord with parental expectations of the ideology of the 'ideal woman'. Indeed, in the closely knit communities, they could also hope to win their charges' respect and affection.<sup>23</sup> The relatively pleasant working conditions at Hardwicke, Mrs Thornber's and Dryburgh helped to confirm confidence in their work, especially when Headmistresses returned from Britain rejoicing that their standards were comparable to those they had observed at top English schools.

Publicly, the Heads praised their staff, reserving special acclaim for University graduates. In contrast to the generalist teachers commonly found in earlier years, some graduates were specialists. They had enhanced power as their academic disciplines were often not fully understood by their employers and hence they could make a dominant impression on the curriculum. As a result of their specific mystique, these specialists were sought by other employers, including the Advanced School.<sup>24</sup> Teaching at one of the four schools continued the tradition of opportunity for Christian service. Indeed, exemplified by the Misses Tilly and the Misses Thornber, some teachers regarded their work in schools as the fulfilment of religious vocation. These schools fulfilled a similar function among Protestants as the Catholic teaching orders gave to the vocation of nuns. Among others, the private schools gave opportunities for clever and well trained teachers to act as strong role-models to their pupils by engaging their knowledge and demonstrating that women could achieve in intellectual pursuits, which helped to bury myths of feminine incompetence and irrationality.

---

<sup>21</sup> The South Australian Guild was affiliated with other colonies and with the parent organisation in England. Chapter 5.

<sup>22</sup> These included Mr Chapple of Prince Alfred College; Canon Girdlestone and Mr Caterer, St Peter's College; Mr Noyé, Payenham Public School; Mr Williams, East Adelaide Public School and Miss Rees George, The Advanced School. Minutes, Collegiate Schools' Association, October, 1891 to May, 1893, V 1224, M.L.S.A.

<sup>23</sup> Evidence of girls' affection was demonstrated in later articles written by Old Scholars. *Register*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4; *Observer*, 11th October, 1924, p. 39; *Advertiser*, 11th May, 1933, p. 10; Hinton, ed., *Ethel Ambrose*, p. 67.

<sup>24</sup> Miss Benham from Dryburgh, Miss E. Thornber and Miss A. Burgess from the Unley Park School.

The school environment gave teachers opportunities for social enhancement via friendships with fellow professionals and Headmistresses and by mixing with influential middle class parents.<sup>25</sup> It appears that members of staff often gave long service to one school and donated prizes.<sup>26</sup> Some left to marry, but there appeared to be no bar to the presence of married staff, in contrast to conditions frequently found in government employment. As these schools were successful and comparatively long lived, they could offer reasonable conditions of economic security and stability to their employees. However, they too were subject to economic downturns of depression and war and, in extreme conditions, to closure. Even though teachers in these schools had no recourse to previously negotiated industrial conditions of employment, they appear to have been fairly treated, though their salaries were lower than those awarded in boys' schools.

In summary, these schools seem to have been predictable and well organised work places with clear cut expectations. They gave the opportunity for teachers to have a long-lasting influence on the perspective and taste of their pupils, especially boarders, whose religious foundation and total outlook could be indelibly shaped. The opportunity to help to mould the personalities of their pupils and, ultimately, their lives as women, offered teachers a pleasant and rewarding career, if not an affluent one.

### **The Families**

In general, an insignificant number of middle class South Australian parents had serious wealth and few could hand on extensive accumulated material assets to their children, especially in large families. Instead, the aspiring bourgeoisie ensured that their offspring acquired cultural and intellectual capital and social position, which placed education in the forefront of ambitious families' priorities. Where there were many daughters, good education was particularly important as parents realised that they either needed to be exposed to the accomplishments and training in the proprieties to enhance their marriage chances, or to an academic education which could lead to training and employment should they fail to marry.<sup>27</sup> Hopeful families looked for schools which displayed serious intent and encouraged their daughters to take advantage of widening opportunities, thereby benefiting by becoming better read and more articulate in a range of subjects. In order to ensure the formation of feminine gentility, parents chose schools with care, taking particular notice of the school's ambience and clientele, emphasis on the proprieties and moral and religious tone.

---

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter 4, 6.

<sup>26</sup> For instance, Miss Allen stayed at least eleven years at Mrs Thornber's and Miss Trehy ten years at Yoothamurra. Mrs Buring Day taught from 1891 until 1906 at Dryburgh.

<sup>27</sup> The Gardner family of five girls at Dryburgh is an example of the first category. The second is exemplified by the Burgess family of Mrs Thornber's.

However, there were potential pitfalls for parents. In some cases, these schools would expect higher standards of conduct and paid greater attention to polite behaviour than their pupils received at home. This had the capacity to cause tension between offspring and parents, especially in a relatively unschooled family which had acquired recent affluence.<sup>28</sup> There was also the potential for more highly educated children to look down on their parents' modest cultural achievements. In the domestic arena there was increased likelihood that mothers would have had to contend with their daughter's attention being diverted from household duties in order to practise newly acquired skills in music or singing. The requirement of devoting time to study at home was an additional and previously unfamiliar competitor to social, Church and domestic responsibilities in family life. Some parents did not take the education of their girls seriously, keeping them at home in inordinately hot weather or for household duties, including the supervision of younger siblings.<sup>29</sup> Increasingly, Headmistresses asserted their academic authority and made demands on parents, encouraging them to take a greater interest in the everyday education of their children. However, it appears that most parents appeared to be willing to pay the fees and leave the education of their girls in their hands.

When the impact on households and the financial commitment are considered, the successful transference of intellectual and cultural capital to their offspring was an expensive exercise for parents. But the reward of having more highly educated offspring increased parents' optimism that they had enhanced their daughter's chances of a 'good' marriage and of self-fulfilment. However, at the 1892 Thornber Speech Day, Dr E.C. Stirling expressed his aim of education for girls, 'that they could become acquainted with the meaning and significance of the great intellectual questions of the day.'<sup>30</sup> Not all parents may have welcomed this challenge. Changes in their daughters' schooling caused thoughtful parents to question the place of girls, and by inference, women, in the society. However, changes in the place of women may have caused parents to choose such schools.

### **The Girls and their Impact as Adults on Society**

Guided by enveloping feminine influences in their educational environment, pupils at these schools undoubtedly reaped many benefits. With role models of strong, caring educational leaders who wished the best for their charges, supported by a carefully chosen band of adult teachers, the girls followed well established guidelines of conduct, paralleling home

---

<sup>28</sup> This was particularly noticeable in country families who sent daughters to 'finish' in town. Robinson interview.

<sup>29</sup> Miss A. M. Martin sharply castigated her parents, threatening to disallow their attendance or to charge extra fees if children failed to attend in hot weather. *Register*, 10th January, 1889, p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Register*, 21st December, 1892, p. 7.

expectations. With improved physical and emotional care, educated in larger and potentially more stimulating groups than had previously been the custom in early girls' schools, they had opportunities to widen their social circle within the companionship of girls who hailed from a variety of districts and differing family circumstances. With enriching immersion in music and art, these girls had many opportunities to develop personal potential. They were also beneficiaries of an increasingly enlightened policy of allowing greater participation in bodily exercise. Along with widened horizons, nurtured in beautiful surroundings, their daily life was often enjoyable and exciting.<sup>31</sup> Evidence from Old Scholars suggests that the majority of girls looked back on their schooldays as happy times, further confirmed by the setting up of Old Scholars' Associations specifically to prolong ties with the school.<sup>32</sup>

In contrast to the inchoate learning offered in earlier ladies' academies, by the 1890s, pupils of Hardwicke, Mrs Thornber's and Dryburgh were recipients of a modern education which was increasingly logical, sequential and measured, which laid a foundation for further academic work by encouraging skills of reasoning and analysis. The entry of girls in University examinations forced schools to adapt to externally determined areas of study and syllabuses, setting their schooling in the competitive and public sphere, which helped to disperse the previous perception of the inward looking and trivial nature of girls' education, rightly reviled by intelligent pupils like Lucy Morice.<sup>33</sup>

The effect of competition with other girls added an edge to academic endeavour, legitimising high achievement and spurring on the previously less confident 'weaker sex' to greater feats, thereby increasing the assurance gained from success.<sup>34</sup> The entry of girls into competition with boys was a significant milestone, as it helped strengthen their claims to equality in educational opportunity, to develop greater dignity and to gain respect from their brothers and other men. Although recent studies have played down the effects of undue competition, suggesting that girls prefer a style of education which is co-operative rather than intensely competitive, it does not deny the benefits of a modest level of competitive spirit and the right for girls to compete fully if they desire.<sup>35</sup> The small class numbers in these schools, which determined a personal, tutorial style of teaching, seem to have particularly benefited examination girls, as they appear to have had the best of both worlds. Generally,

---

<sup>31</sup> For instance, Thornber Old Scholar 'Louisa' referred glowingly to 'those golden days'. *Advertiser*, 11th May, 1933, p. 10; *Hardwicke Review* recalls enjoyable occasions.

<sup>32</sup> *Register*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4; *Observer*, 11th October, 1924, p. 39; *Advertiser*, 11th May, 1933, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 50-52. See Chapter 3, note 47.

<sup>34</sup> This expression was still used by Mrs Thornber in 1904. *Register*, 16th December, 1904, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> T. Evans, 'Being and Becoming: Teachers' Perception of Sex-Roles and Actions towards their Male and Female Pupils', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1982, pp. 127-144; Also discussed in L. Yates, *Including Girls*, (Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre, 1987), pp. 14-17.

they were not under undue pressure to achieve well academically, a contrast to the demand of prominent boys' schools.

The initial examinations, conceived by men within a masculine framework, laid an enduring pattern of compulsory subjects. These included the historically orthodox liberal subjects of Latin and Greek, as well as those of utilitarian value, which included mathematics and the sciences.<sup>36</sup> These disciplines demanded logical deduction and sequential teaching which were adequately covered at boys' schools. English, modern languages, art and music, the foundation of the traditional 'accomplishments curriculum', appealed to the emotions and to the imagination. Historically, they were the most readily taught subjects in the girls' schools. Arguably as a consequence, these areas were labelled 'feminine' and were accorded a secondary place in the eyes of men. This historical determination continues, as many of these subjects still achieve secondary rating within peer groups and among teaching ranks, with fewer boys choosing to gain an education in their disciplines.<sup>37</sup> To this day, the teaching of mathematics and sciences often reflects male interests and values.<sup>38</sup>

However, an important result of examination success was irrefutable evidence that, given challenge and good teaching, girls had the ability to reach high academic standards which helped to dispel earlier myths of mental inability, physical frailty and their 'natural' propensity for frivolity and shallowness.<sup>39</sup> Success gave a few girls confidence to enter University, not in the manner of the first 'interested ladies' of 1876 who were ineligible for degrees, but as equal scholars with men. Indeed, the first woman graduate, Edith Dornwell achieved the sole First Class Science degree in 1885, establishing an expectation of high achievement from women, which was upheld in each faculty as they were admitted.<sup>40</sup> Academic success also gave girls the confidence to maintain their level of education after schooling by seeking and inter-relating information, thereby increasing the likelihood of using their knowledge in the debate of social issues. By their personal example the Headmistresses encouraged lifelong learning.<sup>41</sup> In addition to promoting top academic

---

<sup>36</sup> Deem, *Women and Schooling*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>37</sup> For instance, the 1994 Year 12 public examinations in South Australia show that Mathematics 1 and 2 was offered as a subject by 1228 boys, 73% of the total number of entrants. Physics showed 68%, Chemistry 59%, Latin 90% (Small sample), whereas Art showed 35%, French 24%, Music 34%-42%. *Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia Annual Report*, 1994, p. 77.

<sup>38</sup> C. Manthorpe, 'Science Education in the Public Schools for Girls in the late Nineteenth Century', in Walford ed., *The Private Schooling of Girls*, pp. 56-74; Deem, *Women and Schooling*, pp. 13, 18, 42-44.

<sup>39</sup> Delamont and Duffin, *The Nineteenth-Century Woman*, pp. 134-137.

<sup>40</sup> Mackinnon, *New Women*, pp. 32, 216-220. Even though from 1881 women were eligible for all degrees at the University, the professions were slower to accept them. For instance, the first woman Law graduate was Mary Kitson in 1916.

<sup>41</sup> Mrs Kelsey was invited to give lectures on literature and art, later shells and her travels. She also attended University extension lectures. Kelsey papers, 304/10,14. On retirement, the Misses Tilly maintained their cultural interests as enthusiastic members of the East Adelaide Women's' Christian Temperance Society and other quasi-political groups. Warburton, *St Peters*, p. 160. Churchward, in Macdonald, ed., *In Paths Divided*, p. 116.



pupils to further their study at University, among a wider band of Old Scholars they stimulated the continuation of intellectual endeavour by supporting their participation in the Home Reading Union and in classes and lectures which examined modern ideas. The Headmistresses also enthusiastically encouraged their girls to maintain a continuing and active interest in art and music, promoting well educated women who could be helpful contributors, developing a richer life for their community.<sup>42</sup>

Fostering a liberal education, these schools sanctioned the opportunity for girls to explore their contemporary society. The examination of wider horizons promoted at Hardwicke, Unley Park and Dryburgh increasingly encouraged their pupils to take an intelligent interest both in the domestic sphere and in the public debate of economic and social matters, particularly those of especial importance to women. As they matured, girls began to grasp relations between forces shaping society and hence became agents initiating change rather than passive recipients. These schools had the aim of producing 'self-reliant, capable young women'.<sup>43</sup> They attempted to ensure that their pupils were adequately prepared to respond to challenges they might face in the domestic arena, which included the gradual decline of paid help in the house and the difficulties encountered during drought years of the 1900s.<sup>44</sup> There is evidence that the emphasis on cultural formation via encouragement of literature, music and art found at these schools, helped to transform the lives of those women who chose to remain in domestic life. This broader vision enabled them to develop higher planes of human potential and more gratifying personal fulfilment.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, following the aims of 'the greatest teacher the world has ever known', in company with at least two prominent contemporary English schools, the schools' mission was to promote the possibilities of life, so that 'ye may have it more abundantly'.<sup>46</sup> Catherine Helen Spence hoped that a wider education would enable women to make more companionable wives to their husbands and more stimulating and helpful mothers to their children.<sup>47</sup> Girls from these schools had ample opportunity to fulfil her hopes. Unlike the ineptitude felt by Mrs Churchward in understanding her husband's academic interests, her daughters' education ensured increased understanding and appreciation of wider fields of human endeavour.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> In 1898, much to the delight of Miss Tilly, Hardwicke Old Scholars formed a Musical Association whose members gave public concerts in aid of the Indian mission. *Register*, 26th December, 1898, p. 5; Hardwicke girls achieved well in Higher Public in 1896, passing in pure Mathematics, Physics, Music and French. Speech Day Report, 14th December, 1896, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> *Register*, 17th December, 1902, p. 9; *Hardwicke Review*, No. 12, September, 1887, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home*, pp. 128-152. These included responsibilities assumed when fathers and husbands left on War Service.

<sup>45</sup> For instance, music was particularly recalled by Dorothy Shannon at Yoothamurra. Chapter 7. A deep appreciation of the Arts was recalled by Mu Jefferis from early Dryburgh days. Even in old age, music enhanced the lives of the unmarried Chibnall girls. Chapter 6.

<sup>46</sup> L. Faithful, *In the House of my Pilgrimage*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1925), p. 217. *Sanderson of Oundle*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1923), p. 106.

<sup>47</sup> Spence, *Some Aspects of Colonial Life*, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Chapter 3, p. 96.

But many recipients of an increasingly thoughtful education were aware of the inferior status which they were accorded as women. Realising that in the home they were at the beck and call of men, dependent upon them for economic and emotional support, they found the domestic environment restricting and denying of individual freedoms. Some sought greater personal autonomy and opportunities for independence and self-fulfilment, yearning for economic sovereignty which did not depend on the generosity of a man. Their education, especially when followed by a specific training, made new choices possible and opened additional careers.<sup>49</sup> Following the tradition of service which had been built up at these schools, many sought employment in the sanctioned domain of teaching or in the growing field of nursing. Albeit to the few, higher education made the difference to the 'New Women' of their generation, increasing numbers of trained professionals in novel fields.<sup>50</sup> Although Thornber girls rose to high positions in the traditional serving areas, they also broke new ground, taking up paid positions as singers, writers and landscape gardeners, and entering commerce and physiotherapy. Their contribution reflected wide interests, a reversal of the inward looking qualities of the poorly prepared recipients of education fifty years earlier.<sup>51</sup> Their education and training for responsibility outside the domestic sphere enabled these women to enjoy economic independence, but it also allowed them to diminish emotional reliance on their family and to achieve the dignity and respect which they might have lacked as unmarried, dependent 'family drudges'.<sup>52</sup> Most particularly, entrance to a career enabled a woman to assume a measure of personal autonomy and an increased sense of self-worth. It opened up a dimension of control of her destiny, particularly important for a woman who had no other visible means of support. In an employment climate which increasingly demanded expertise and certification, an untrained woman faced great difficulties, as experienced by Yoothamurra Old Scholar Winifred Spry.

In summary, the education which the privileged girls of these schools received was in most cases a direct and helpful foundation for their futures, increasing their sense of personal

---

<sup>49</sup> For instance, from the 1890s girls undertook training to acquire skills in typing and shorthand, qualifying them for positions in offices and in the telephone exchange. H. Jones, 'History of Commercial Education', Chapter 1.

<sup>50</sup> From Mrs Thornber's, Ethel Ambrose was a doctor and missionary in India, her sister Lily a nurse; Dorothy Poole, among the first women to be granted an M.A. degree, subsequently was a prominent Headmistress; Olive Newman of Hardwicke was an inspirational science teacher. Although Annie Duncan was educated privately by governesses, and therefore should not strictly be considered here, her work as an Inspector of Nuisances and radical social reformer in Sydney exemplifies the careers which were opening to qualified women. Duncan Diaries, P.R.G. 532/6; G. Reekie, 'The Sexual Politics of Selling and Shopping', in Magarey, Rowley, Sheridan, eds., *Debutante Nation*, pp. 64-66.

<sup>51</sup> With little direct evidence available about later twentieth century careers of Old Scholars of the other three schools, the comprehensive list of Mrs Thornber's girls can act as a guide. *Register*, 7th October, 1924, p. 4. Yoothamurra Old Scholars do not appear to have taken up such a wide variety of careers or with as much enthusiasm.

<sup>52</sup> Dr Gardiner, daughter of Hilda Florey of the Unley Park School, discussed the inequity of an unmarried daughter expected to remain at home 'to become the family drudge'. Interview, Melbourne, December, 1993.

worth and helping their chances of personal independence and autonomy, within marriage or as single 'New Women', reflecting the schools' rubric of Christian service to others.

A telling judgement of the impact of a school may be measured by analysing the contribution of Old Scholars to contemporary society. The majority from these schools married within the boundaries of their class and appear to have become accomplished women whose liberal education supported their development as thoughtful, tolerant and companionate wives. They were often able to raise the expectations of, or at least to maintain, the mannerly and polite standards of middle class behaviour and pass on an enlightened sense of responsibility to the next and following generations. With an enhanced grasp of ideas these women moved from accepting a pliant and passive position to become increasingly active decision makers in the home where they had been encouraged to be capable and industrious, morally strong and compassionate. Their education gave them the potential to fit into a newer and expanded vision of womanhood, which in certain instances challenged entrenched positions of male power.<sup>53</sup>

A unique primary source of evidence is found in the public record of the 1894 petition to the Premier which preceded the passing of the Women's Suffrage Bill. Its twelve thousand signatories were committed to the cause of increasing the public influence of women.<sup>54</sup> Among them are Headmistresses, the Misses Tilly and their mother, Mrs Kelsey, Miss Dow, the Misses Stanton and Annie Montgomery Martin, Old Scholars Miss Lydia Adamson, May Burgess, Florence Dobbie, the three Goodes sisters, Bessie Stubbs, and members of staff Miss Howchin, Miss Allen, Miss Trehy, Miss Mitton and Miss Benham in addition to family names from all four schools. This scant information at least demonstrates the not unsurprising interest of the Heads and their school communities in contemporary political and social matters and their hope of giving women a legislative voice, particularly in matters affecting their life choices.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, the lack of accurate school records, coupled with the change of women's names on marriage and the impossibility of distinguishing men's signatures from women's, precludes a more precise analysis. This evidence throws little light on the expectations of the majority of girls or on their interest in changing contemporary arrangements, but it exposes the likelihood that deliberation on political subjects was topical within these schools and their communities.

It is doubtful whether these schools produced many radical thinkers or dynamic social activists. One identifiable example is Rosamond Benham, who attended Dryburgh until her

---

<sup>53</sup> The modest gains of women's entry into medicine in 1891 and Law in 1916 set the pattern for comparatively grudging male acceptance of women into professional life. Mackinnon, *New Women*, pp. 44-49. Mackinnon, 'Awakening Women', pp. 205-241.

<sup>54</sup> Women's Suffrage Petition, G.R.G. 92/5, State Records.

<sup>55</sup> Jones, *In Her Own Name*, pp. 159 - 163.

final year in 1891.<sup>56</sup> Alison Mackinnon argues that her later unconventional views challenging many of the myths of Victorian womanhood, were not surprising given the adventurous and radical nature of her parents, and may have had little to do with her school education.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, the parents' choice of Dryburgh indicates that they regarded Mrs Kelsey's goals as compatible with their own values. During the 1930s, Euphemia Drummond, a Yoothamurra scholarship girl, was an activist within the Teachers' Union. These two bare examples do not encourage the notion that girls from these schools determined to forge dramatic change to accepted societal values. It is more likely that the school's adherence to contemporary middle class ideology, underpinned by the proprietors' need to attract pupils from that band in order to enhance their enterprise and ensure their livelihood, tended to reproduce accepted mores not challenge them. Rather than dispute accepted arrangements, their pupils would be more likely to concur. Patterns of behaviour learned at school would be adhered to throughout life, tending to foster conservatism rather than radicalism. In effect, Old Scholars mirrored the steady transformation of ideas along a continuum rather than an oblique change of direction. They reflected a gradual transition which followed a similar pattern to that demonstrated by the schools.

As inheritors of the traditional 'accomplishments curriculum', girls from these schools were able to transport their learned cultural skills and reproduce them for the pleasure of the community, as they had been accustomed to do at their schools. This was of particular significance in the country where the example and contribution of well educated women was an important component of raising awareness by enriching cultural standards in the home and community.<sup>58</sup> While many Hardwicke Old Scholars were musicians, Mrs Kelsey's love of literature and art encouraged her girls to maintain their interest lifelong in creativity, which reflected in future generations.<sup>59</sup>

Mrs Thornber's girls had the reputation of 'making good Christian homes throughout the Commonwealth of Australia.'<sup>60</sup> Indeed, the embracing moral influence imparted by the high principled ideals of these schools empowered their Old Scholars in their religious commitment so that many continued to enact Christian beliefs during their lives. Formally constituted Old Scholar groups maintained the nineteenth century women's role and the schools' tradition of 'good works' and acted as social agencies upholding the pioneer custom

---

<sup>56</sup> In the Sixth form she won a French prize and one for conduct, but was only runner up in the English literature prize as her ideas, 'though showing more originality of thought, lost the prize because of carelessness of construction.' *Register*, 21st December, 1891, p. 6. In 1891, she transferred to the Advanced School for her last school year. Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 73.

<sup>57</sup> Mackinnon, *New Women*, p. 72.

<sup>58</sup> This was a special pleasure and responsibility of boarders - for example the Chibnall girls of Dryburgh, Hardwicke's Tait family of Broken Hill, Dorothy Shannon of Yoothamurra.

<sup>59</sup> See I. Gwynn, M. Jeffris and M. Church, among others, in Dryburgh Chapter.

<sup>60</sup> *Register*, 16th December, 1903, p. 3.

of support to others in difficulty.<sup>61</sup> Individuals became missionaries serving abroad, reflecting the example of Headmistresses Tilly, Thornber and Shuttleworth who maintained their interest in Church and missionary work in retirement.

In short, among others, these schools produced educated, accomplished, sensitive and altruistic women who added to the pool of female talent in the community. In addition to a strong moral foundation, the positive and affirming education to which girls attending these schools were exposed gave them increased self confidence and the assurance to tackle new situations. In some cases, their enactment of the role of New Woman, displaying self-fulfilment and enhanced confidence in themselves as women, acted as powerful role models in the employment arena and ultimately helped to improve the status and opportunities for all women.

### **The Four Schools and Girls' Education**

By their demonstration of degrees of adaptation to the academic curriculum, these schools represent a spectrum of opportunities in girls' education. Hardwicke's initial academic thrust in the 1870s and 1880s subsequently developed into a rigorous and demanding specialised music education. The Unley Park School concentrated on academic excellence in the 1890s while maintaining the accomplishments and civilised living. Mrs Kelsey also upheld the accomplishments and polite behaviour, but encouraged distinction in the study of literature and art, while introducing practical subjects to foster a realistic appreciation of challenges which her pupils might meet as adults. These three schools successfully interpreted the change from 'English curriculum with accomplishments' to a more rigorous and challenging regimen, aiming to equip their pupils for future challenge. Yoothamurra's later days reveal that it adhered to a more traditional approach which concentrated on the proprieties and polite living. It looked backwards rather than trying to interpret future needs, which ultimately proved disastrous, especially in changing social conditions.

Illustrated in Appendix 1, the decade of the 1880s saw the closure of approximately twenty of the eighty private venture girls' schools advertised in South Australia. However, a similar number of new enterprises opened and some schools relocated with the opening up of districts which housed appropriate clientele. An analysis of schools in the 1880s shows

---

<sup>61</sup> Particularly Hardwicke Old Collegians with their continuing interest in the Myapore Home, the Thornber Old Scholars with the Home for Incurables. The groups supported their schools by donating prizes or scholarships, looked after their Headmistresses in advancing age, and supported each other in times of trouble.

that only a dozen establishments prepared girls for public examinations, at most sending very few or single candidates.<sup>62</sup>

In addition to Mrs Thornber's and Hardwicke, the early 1900s saw the closure of about twenty five smaller schools, but the genesis of at least ten more private schools and the rise of two significant Church schools, Methodist Ladies' and St Peter's Collegiate Girls'. Their interest in academic pursuits may be gauged by examining public examination results. In 1900, 75% of the two hundred Junior candidates achieved pass certificates.<sup>63</sup> In addition to the four schools studied, names of examination successes appear from the Misses Brown's, Miss Martin's, Tormore, Miss Aldersey's Tsong Gyiaou, Mrs Hübbe's Knightsbridge, Miss Niven's Southfield and from various ladies' coaching classes. About 9% of Junior successes came from these schools, with 14% from the Advanced School. A similar overall pass rate for girls was confirmed by the hundred Senior candidates, with approximately 20% of Senior successes prepared by these schools and 13% from the Advanced School.

During the next decade a range of other newly opened schools augmented the candidature. Girls were prepared from Methodist Ladies' College, Arkaroa, Poltoonga, Malvern Collegiate, the Convent of Mercy and Loreto, and increasing numbers from additional opportunities in government schools.<sup>64</sup> By 1910 entries reached nine hundred at Junior and over six hundred at Senior. At each level, the success rate of girls rose to 41%.<sup>65</sup>

Whereas in the nineteenth century, full results of public examinations, both candidates and schools, were published in University Calendars on one or two pages, from 1900 the increasing candidature outgrew this format. After 1900 examination results were published in the manual of the Public Examinations Board, which ran to many pages, but excluded school references when reporting minor achievements. By 1920 this manual reached two hundred and eighty pages and confirmed that 65% of the now thousand candidates were awarded Junior certificates. In addition to previously established examination schools, Highclere, a small private venture founded in 1893, prepared girls for Junior. The Lutheran Emmanuel College, founded at Point Pass in 1895, sent a sole girl candidate. However, the greatest rise at Junior level came from burgeoning numbers of girls in government High

---

<sup>62</sup> See Chapter 3. In addition to the three schools of Chapters 4-6, a few or single candidates were noted from Miss Meek's, the Marval's School, The Ladies' Colleges of Glenelg and Semaphore, Miss Martin's, Miss Aldersey's, Miss Adamson's and the Mrs McMinn's. Girls were also successfully prepared by coaching from Miss Hammonds and Mrs Davis. *University of Adelaide Calendars, 1880-1890.*

<sup>63</sup> *Manual of Public Examinations Board, 1901, p. 63.*

<sup>64</sup> The Convent of Mercy, St Aloysius, started in 1883 and the Loreto Sisters' school in 1905. Adelaide High, successor to the Advanced School, also sent candidates, but St Peter's Collegiate Girls' School only prepared candidates when their numbers increased after 1910. Phillips, *Not Saints, but Girls*, p. 61.

<sup>65</sup> *Manual of Public Examinations Board, 1901-1910.*

Schools and Catholic Convents.<sup>66</sup> Senior certificates were won by 60% of the nine hundred candidates, 30% of whom were girls, who now included a few candidates from Mrs Smith's Girton, Miss Cusson's and St Peter's Collegiate Girls' School. Senior successes also increased from Loreto and the Convent of Mercy and many successful candidates came from District High Schools.<sup>67</sup> This increased candidature from government schools eclipsed the previous position of girls from private venture schools, whose relative success rate declined to under 4%. However, their attainment in prize lists was maintained by schools like Methodist Ladies' College, whose eleven scholars won prominent places in individual subjects.

An analysis of the practice of these enduring schools during their prominent years offers definite features of their success. Their well articulated aims were sought after and supported by their clientele. Maintaining confidence by adapting their practice to fulfil contemporary requirements, they were not afraid take risks and try new ideas. By overseeing the mental, physical, spiritual and social needs of their pupils they maintained a happy and disciplined atmosphere which still allowed for girlish fun. Further, they expected their pupils to work hard and gave them opportunities to experience enriching culture, exhorting them to continue their education beyond schooling. They tried to anticipate shifts in ideology or social custom and helped prepare their pupils for it with least disturbance. Above all, these schools experienced the leadership of a dominant yet sympathetic Headmistress, a respected role model, who enjoyed the company of young people and who encouraged self esteem by exhibiting a personal interest in each girl thereby enhancing her confidence and emotional balance.

In many respects, these observations show remarkable similarity to the results of the 1991 Effective Schools Survey which analysed the perceptions of effective educational practice and outcomes from school communities round Australia.<sup>68</sup> This study highlighted salient factors - a strong school ethos and identity, the requirement of a supportive and satisfying school climate guided by respected leadership, the importance of the acceptance and encouragement of the individual and the value of supportive parents in maintaining a working team with staff and pupils. A significant determinant was the capacity of the school to change in order to ensure relevancy. Whereas contemporary effective schools result from crystallised theory based on scholarship and the tried practice of generations of trained educationists, the schools in this study reflected the intelligent intuition and practical common

---

<sup>66</sup> These included District High schools at Gawler, Jamestown, Moonta, Naracoorte, Quorn and Wallaroo Mines. Catholic schools were St Joseph's, Norwood, the Dominican Convent Schools and the Convent of Mercy, Parkside. *Manual of Public Examinations Board*, 1920.

<sup>67</sup> These were at Murray Bridge, Norwood, Port Pirie and Unley.

<sup>68</sup> B. McGaw, K. Piper, D. Banks, B. Evans, *Making Schools More Effective*, (Hawthorn, Victoria: Australian Council for Educational Research, 1992), pp. 2-34.

sense of relatively unskilled practitioners, mainly women. The similarity of factors which appear to help to determine a successful school span over a century with vastly differing social, physical, economic and other external determinants, which suggests that these factors may be some of the enduring principles on which successful educational practice may be built.

Nevertheless, the absence of official or professional evaluation demands that a measure of the effectiveness of these schools must be sought elsewhere, especially as the reported praise of visiting academics and clergy may have been exaggerated to meet the occasion. However, the longevity of these schools suggests that they satisfied parents. The favourable comments and recollections of Old Scholars appear to confirm that these schools provided positive educational environments whose influence remained throughout their lives. In each school studied, the predominance of the Headmistress and her sway over adult destinies, was uppermost in the collective and individual memory.

The powerful position of the owner/Headmistress meant that the effectiveness and viability of a privately owned girls' school ultimately depended on her resources and energy. This dependence bred the critical problem of succession. As the owner usually lived at the school, relocation was necessary if the business was sold. Therefore, a mature Headmistress either closed her school and retired on the property, or she moved and attempted to find a worthy successor to continue her work. The anxiety of succession was overcome when the Headmistress was no longer the owner, but an employee, as was the pattern adopted in Church or corporate schools. Confident of moral and organisational backing of the Church, which appointed a governing body to oversee the school's objects, these schools could anticipate greater stability. This enhanced their ability to plan and encouraged enrolments. The resulting increase in size offered greater curricular variety which met the wider educational needs of the twentieth century. Following the pattern modelled by girls' day schools in England and the successful Methodist Ladies' College, two Adelaide Churches opened schools, Presbyterian Girls' College in 1922, and Woodlands Church of England Girls' Grammar School, 1923. They sought to build up substantial senior classes, sports teams and other communal activities, which confirmed their potential to increase longevity.<sup>69</sup>

In schools directed and financed by government resources, free education from 1892 was further extended from 1906 by the opening of continuation classes, closely followed by five secondary District High Schools which offered opportunities for teenage boys and girls

---

<sup>69</sup> After Miss Burstall's ideas at Manchester High School, *Register*, 17th December, 1910, p. 18. A smaller school which followed this pattern from 1923, was the Ellerslie Church of Christ Collegiate School.



in a wide range of academic, commercial and technical areas.<sup>70</sup> However, undeterred by the expanded educational openings provided by Church and government initiative, private schools maintained their importance in the education of middle class girls. During the early years of the twentieth century, new private schools opened and continued the pattern of transition.<sup>71</sup> They built on the ideas and principles of earlier enterprises until they either closed on the retirement of the proprietor, or evolved into larger, substantial schools of at least five hundred pupils, the critical mass necessary to sustain the wide curricular offering demanded by modern educational conditions. Despite differing economic and social conditions, some private schools endured until the second world war and two which started as small privately owned ventures, the Wilderness and Walford, are still in existence.<sup>72</sup>

Numerous ladies' schools of matching character and style served similar clientele in the other Australian colonies. Analysis of their significance suggests that they also adapted the 'ladies' curriculum' to meet changing academic and social demands. The majority were owned and led by strong women, survivors and organisers, who upheld the high expectations required by their often demanding patrons.<sup>73</sup> These proprietors forged

intimate relations between family, school and work revealing a striking pattern of matrilineal descent, with mothers bequeathing to their daughters capital, expertise and that intangible sense of inevitability usually associated with the patrilineal reproduction of farmers, lawyers, merchants and tradesmen.<sup>74</sup>

Like their South Australian counterparts, they hired the best available teachers, treading a precarious path in order to guarantee their enterprises. However, in addition to maintaining the archetypical 'solid and superior education and the graceful accomplishments proper to ladies,' the more resourceful also developed schemes of teacher training.<sup>75</sup> Some explicitly advertised this additional benefit to attract women who sought preparation as teachers and governesses, revealing a more determined approach than the comparatively amateurish position taken in this area by Adelaide schools.

The greater size and different historical determinants of Victoria and New South Wales resulted in the earlier establishment of prominent schools backed by the leading Church

---

<sup>70</sup> Campbell, *State High School, Unley*, p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> The Misses Henderson's Poltoonga in 1906, Highclere in 1914, Mrs Smith's Girton in 1915, Riverside in 1916.

<sup>72</sup> Wilderness, (Miss Brown's, opened 1884), became a limited company in 1948; the Misses Baker of Walford, (Malvern Collegiate School for Girls started 1893), maintained its private status until 1955, when the Church of England guaranteed its continuation as a Church School.

<sup>73</sup> Victorian models are found in Theobald, 'Women and Schools in Colonial Victoria 1840-1910', and models for New South Wales in Kyle, *Her Natural Destiny*.

<sup>74</sup> Theobald, *Knowing Women*, p. 49.

<sup>75</sup> Advertisement for Vieusseux Ladies' College, *Ibid.*, p. 45. Also in the *Register*, 12th January, 1878, p. 6.

denominations.<sup>76</sup> In addition, by 1880 New South Wales and Queensland had developed substantial, influential State High Schools or Grammar Schools which quickly built up a reputation for academic excellence.<sup>77</sup> It appears that South Australian private venture girls' schools retained their strength and position longer than their eastern counterparts, possibly aided by the dearth of Church establishments for girls until the 1920s.

While the development of these private girls' schools from the 1880s was an advance, by the 1920s ideas in similar enduring schools appear to be falling behind, overtaken by the more secure and innovative Church schools. In her comparison of the attitudes found in the Methodist Ladies' College with those of three private venture schools, Bronwyn Halliday argues that the well accepted customs and curricular emphases of girls' private schools persisted and they continued to mould their pupils in traditional attitudes of 'being a lady'. By contrast, concerned with each pupil being 'a decent person and a responsible citizen', the Church school was more realistic in outlook.<sup>78</sup> She points out that the private schools hesitated to introduce changes which ran the risk of rejection by their clients.<sup>79</sup> Further, the early development of rigorous higher training in music and art for women in South Australia may have helped to validate further the accepted and traditional areas of feminine expertise and have confirmed their importance in the school curriculum.<sup>80</sup> In smaller schools especially, their social acceptability and the comparative ease of hiring teachers in these subjects may have caused their retention at the expense of more progressive areas. Ultimately, this exacting maintenance of the *status quo* encouraged the entrenchment of conservative attitudes. It appears that most private girls' schools of the 1920s only made changes in direction after due consideration and circumspection. However, to date, there has been only scant enquiry into the educational opportunities for South Australian girls during this decade and beyond. Further investigation of the education offered to girls during these years could well offer valuable insight into the situation of women in the difficult years of Depression and the Second World War.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> By 1882, Victoria had two influential Church foundations for girls, Presbyterian Ladies' College, founded 1875 and Methodist Ladies' College, 1882. Sydney Methodist Ladies' College opened in 1886 and Presbyterian College in 1888. The Churches also took over secure private schools, as demonstrated in the establishment of Melbourne's Church of England Girls' Grammar School, which developed from Merton Hall in 1903.

<sup>77</sup> Queensland legislated for State High schools in 1875, New South Wales in 1880, Victoria in 1905. Details of the history of Brisbane Girls' High School in Theobald, *Knowing Women*, pp. 95-113; of Sydney, *Ibid.*, pp. 113-127. Also, Kyle, *Her Natural Destiny*, pp. 111-12.

<sup>78</sup> B. Halliday, 'Such Great Opportunities', p. 69.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116-119.

<sup>80</sup> High levels of music education were offered at the Adelaide University's Elder Conservatorium from 1897, and art at the School of Design, established from 1885.

<sup>81</sup> One useful starting point is M. Scott, 'Progressive Education in South Australian non-Catholic Independent Secondary Schools, 1919-1975', A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings, 1995, pp. 415-425.

The schools of this study, particularly Hardwicke, The Unley Park School and Dryburgh, were an important link between the small, fragile girls' schools of the 1870s and the more substantial foundations of the twentieth century. In an educational climate which increasingly accepted a more challenging education for girls, by comparison with their competitors, these schools were prominent.<sup>82</sup> They assured their significance by pioneering concepts and routines from which later practice evolved, adroitly demonstrated when Tormore further developed the ideas and style of the Unley Park School to become a larger, highly sought after school.<sup>83</sup> Clearly, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the contribution of these three schools was central to a quiet yet unremitting evolution in girls' education. In concert with others of lesser standing, their influence was significant as it helped to change the social and academic expectations of many middle class women, laying the foundation for later educational developments. Their practice added to the progression of girls' education, not in dramatic and revolutionary leaps, but as a gradual and steady evolution. The previous understanding of the advancement of girls' education in Australia has seen corporate Church Schools, especially Presbyterian and Methodist foundations, and the State grammar schools, like the Advanced School and the Brisbane Girls' Grammar School, superseding private enterprise schools, which adhered to the accomplishments. However, clearly some private proprietor Headmistresses played just as significant a role, creating educational environments where cultural womanly refinements were given emphasis in addition to the intellectual challenge of academic competition and a belief in a more dynamic and capable style of modern womanhood.

In 1995, an outstanding young woman won the Rhodes scholarship for South Australia. Of her fellow University students, 47% are women, the majority articulate, poised and accomplished. Their varied education prepares them for challenging career opportunities similar to men, including engineering, science, technology, medicine, the Arts, politics, the Church, architecture, commerce and the Law. By skilfully negotiating their public and private persona, the majority can also look forward to becoming home makers, wives and mothers. They are the latter day beneficiaries of the improved educational opportunities for South Australian women of the nineteenth century, when ladies' schools, particularly Hardwicke, the Unley Park School and Dryburgh, played a critical role.

---

<sup>82</sup> The Catholic convent schools prepared very few girls for public examinations before 1910, rather concentrating on accomplishments and religion. Similarly, St Peter's Collegiate High School started modestly with younger pupils and prepared few girls for University entrance before 1910, when it had an enrolment of only fifty. Phillips, *Not Saints but Girls*, p. 32.

<sup>83</sup> See Chapter 5. Tormore closed in 1920 on the retirement of the Misses Jacob as proprietors and the failure of Miss Caroline to persuade the Church of England to take it over as a Church school. Angove, *Tormore*, p. 14.

North Adelaide	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
Mrs and the Misses Matthews, Archer Street	X														
Mr Joseph Ryder's British School for Boys and Girls, Freeman Street	X														
Mrs Ludewig's Establishment for the Education of Young Ladies	X														
Adelaide Institution for the Education of Young Ladies, Pennlington Terrace		XX	XXXXX	XXXX											
Miss Delaney's School, Strangeway's Terrace			XX												
Mrs Woodcock's, Christ Church Parsonage, then Mrs Bickford			XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXX								
Miss Ive's Establishment for the Education of Young Ladies, Lefevre Terrace			XX	XXXXX	XXX										
Miss Jarvis' Establishment, Barnard Street				XX											
Miss Shawyer and Miss Moore, Archer Street				XXXXXXXXXX											
Mrs Evans' Angaston House, Institution for Young Ladies, Buxton Street				XXXXXXXXXXXX	XXX										
Miss Borrow, Finess Street, then The Misses Borrow				XXXXX											
The Misses Sheridan, then Mrs Sheridan, Mackinnon Parade				XXXXX	XXXX										
Miss Mitchell, Childers Street				XXXXX	XXXXX	XXX									
Mrs Stokes' North Adelaide Young Ladies' Institution, Wellington Square				XXXXXX											
Mrs Dillon Duff's School for Young Ladies, Gover Street				XX											
Mrs Billing's Bienvue House, Gover Street					XXX										
Mrs William's School					XXXXX	XXXXXXXX									
Mrs McMinn, Molesworth Street, then Tormore School					XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
Mrs and Miss Peirce, Ward Street East					X										
Mrs J.J. Whitby's School, Gover Street, then City, then Prospect					XXXX										
Mrs Babbage's Morning Instruction, Strangeway's Terrace					X										
Girls' Grammar School, 87, Hill Street					X										
Miss Hammond's Cleveland House, Buxton Street					X										
Mrs Charles Wright and Miss Wright, Molesworth Street					XXX										
Miss Senner's, Walkerville then Barnard St.							XX	XXXXX							
Miss Veitch-Brown and Miss Neilson, Childers Street							X								
Mrs Charles Wright's School, Molesworth St							X								
Mrs Louis Jacob's Prep. Class for sons of gentlemen, Archer Street West							XXXX								
Miss Archer's School, Archer Street								XXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXXX		
Miss Leask, then Miss Tite and Miss Fiveash's Inglewood School									XXXX						
Miss Vivian's N.A High School with K.G. Barton Terrace East									XXX						
St Peter's Collegiate High School, St Peter's Collegiate Girls' School, Kermod Street									XX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
Miss Eaton's School, Archer Street									XX	XXXXX	XXXX				
Reverend Field's Maths Coaching, Barton Terrace										XXXX					
Miss Loessel's Private School, Henry Street East										X					

	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
North Adelaide															
Misses Burden's Holmesdale School for Girls, then the Misses Hamlin Jeffcott Street											XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX		
Miss Meek's, Tynte St., then 'Halberstadt', 93 Jeffcott St											XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX		
Miss Ayliffe's Classes 91 Childers Street.											XXXXX				
Mrs J. Steele Millan's Girls' High School Buxton Street											XX				
Miss Rosman's Penrhyn School, Buxton Street												XX			
Miss Stack's School Stanley Street, then Tynte Street North												XX			
City															
Mrs Thornley's Gawler Place Academy	X														
Evening Pupils, Ebenezer Street Chapel, Rundle Street	X														
Mrs Bell's Adelaide Institution for the Education of Young Ladies, then N.A.	XXXX														
Miss Bridgman's Oxford House, Whitmore Square East			XXXXX	XXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX								
Mrs Ferneley's Young Ladies' School, Tavistock Street, then Dorsetta Terrace			XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX						
The Misses Barnard's Establishment for the Education of Young Ladies			XXXX	XX											
Miss Murch's School, North Terrace			X												
Mrs Henry Davis and Miss Davls, Vine Cottage, Pulteney Street			XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXX						
Mrs Hughes' School, Rundle Street			XX												
Miss Whitby's School, Carrington Street			XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXX								
Miss Coglin's Establishment for Young Ladies, Stephens Place			XXXX												
Mrs Gilbert's Select Seminary for the Education of Young Ladies, North Terrace			XX	XX											
Miss Phillips and Miss James, 109 Rundle Street			XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX						
Mrs Carleton's Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies, North Terrace			XXXX	XXX											
The Misses Correll's Seminary, Waymouth Street, then Grote Street East			XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX									
Mrs Mend's Seminary for Young Ladies, Rundle Street East			X												
The Misses Drummond's Day and Boarding School, Sturt Street			XXX	XX											
Mr and Mrs Smellie's Classes															
Mrs Smythe's West End Establishment, Franklin Street					XX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXXX							
Miss Tapscott's pupils, Hanson Street						XXX									
The Misses Martin's Morning Class, Pulteney Street						X									
Mrs Rosalie Price, Pulteney Street						X									
Miss Meyer's Ladies' School, 1, Pulteney Street						XXX									
Mrs and Miss Hill's Alix House Academy, South Terrace						XXXX									
Miss Fayer's Brown Street Ladies' School						X									
Mrs Hogarth, Charles Street, North Terrace, then Pulteney St.						XXX	XXX								
Mrs George Francis' Young Ladies' Day and Boarding School, Hutt Street						XX									
Mrs Martin's School, South Terrace, then Palm Place, Hackney						XX	XXXXX	XXXXXX							



	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
Unley and Mitcham															
Mrs Thornber's Unley Park School	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX				
Mrs Manton Coombe Down form the Education of Young Ladies	XX														
Mrs Clarke's Establishment, Mitcham				X											
Miss Adamson's Collegiate School for girls, Fisher Street, Malvern, then Walford House									XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXX
Mrs W. Cornock's School, Fisher Street, Malvern									XXXXX						
Miss Winward's School of Music, Hyde Park										XXXXX					
Miss Dasborough's, Miss Loessel and the Misses Cruikshank's Music School, Hyde Park									XX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX			
The Misses Futcher's Sheffield Street Girls' School, Mitcham									XX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX		
Miss McMinn's Mitcham Girls' School, the Miss Ralph's "Rutherford", Lower Mitcham										XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX		
The Misses Hack, Miller Street, Unley										XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX			
Mrs Mitchin, St Oswald's Church Day School, Unley										XXX					
Miss L. Maley's School, King William Road, Unley										XXXXX					
Methodist Ladies' College, Wayville										XXX	XXXXX				
Miss M. A. Overbury's School for Girls, Cross Road, Hawthorn										XX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XX
The Misses Miller Tiverton School and K. G., Sheffield Street													XXXXX	XX	
Parkside															
The Misses Binnies' Establishment for the Education of Young Ladies	XX														
Mrs D. Jeffery's Avenue House, Luton Street					X										
The Misses Williams' Young Ladies' School, Young Street					X										
Miss Niven's Southfield School and K. G., George Street, Parkside								XXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX		
Mrs and Miss Newman's Parkside High School, Young Street										XXXXX	XXXXX				
Miss Mitchell's Branch School, James Street, New Parkside										XX					
The Misses Bonnin's St. Alban's Ladies' School, Park Terrace East											XXXXX				
Goodwood													XX	XXXXX	XXX
Mrs Hardy's School, Clark Street, Wayville															
Miss Tuck's Chelsea Girls' School and K.G., Institute															
Norwood															
The Misses Crookes' Seminary for the Education of Young Ladies		XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX											
Mrs Strype's Classes, Norwood Institute				XXXXX	XX										
Miss Bennett's Harbourne Villa Seminary				XX											
Miss Schroder's "Osmond House", Osmond Terrace					XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX		
Mrs Griffith's Clayton Manse						X									
Misses Burton's pupils, Chapel Street						X									
Mrs and Miss Giles' School, Osmond Terrace						XXXXX	XXXXX	XX							
Mr, Mrs and Miss Price, Surrey Lodge, Clark Street						X									
The Misses Caterer's "Downshire House"						XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	X					







	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
Mrs Shuttleworth's Young Ladies' College, Hardwicke House, then College					XXX	XXXXX	XX								
Miss Chapman's Halifax House Seminary, College Road, Kent Town						XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXX				
The Misses Bull, Palm Place, Hackney						XXX									
Mrs Hailes' School, Palm Place, Hackney						XXX									
Mrs Martin's, Palm Place, Hackney						XXX	XXXXX	X			XXXXX	XXX			
Mrs Marcus' School, Palm Place, Hackney						XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX					
Mrs Dobbie and Miss Dobbie, College Road, Kent Town							XXXXX								
Miss Suhding's Private Briarwood School, Kent Town									XX						
Miss Kepert's School, Balliol Street, College Town.											XXXX	XXXXXX			
The Misses Kay's School, Trinity Street, Kent Town											XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	
The Misses Overbury, Trinity Street, College Town, then St Peter's												XXXX			
Mrs Smith's Girton House Grammar School, Kent Terrace, Kent Town													XXXX	XXXX	XXXX
Bowden and Brompton															
Mr and Mrs Lawton's Schools					XXXX	X									
Mrs Phillip Santo's Balcony House						XX									
Prospect															
Mrs J. J. Whitby's School for Young Ladies										XX					
Miss Mitchell's Ossory						XXX	XXXXX								
Miss Patchell, Prospect Road										XX					
Miss Zeta Morphett's Hornbrook House School for Girls, Carter Street, Thorngate														X	
Medindie and Walkerville															
Mrs Giles' Olive House, Walkerville Terrace						XXXXX									
The Misses Brown's Wilderness School and Kindergarten								XX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
Miss Senner, Olive House								XX						XXX	
The Misses Stock, Hawker's Road.															XXXX
Mrs Hinde's Riverside School and K.G, Warwick Street															
Alberton													XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
Miss E.M. Bartlett's Wandong School, Princes Street														XXX	XXXXX
Miss Dunn's Tiverton School of Music															
Rose Park														XXXXX	XXXXX
Miss Dunn's Private School for Boys and Girls															X
Miss Juanta Ranford's Tiverton K.G. and Preparatory School															XX
Miss Macdonald's Glenayre School															
Glenelg															
The Misses Fickling's Establishment									XX						
Miss Forsayth's Erskine House for Boarding and Day Pupils										XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXX	
Mrs Poynter's Croxall Cottage, New Glenelg										XX					



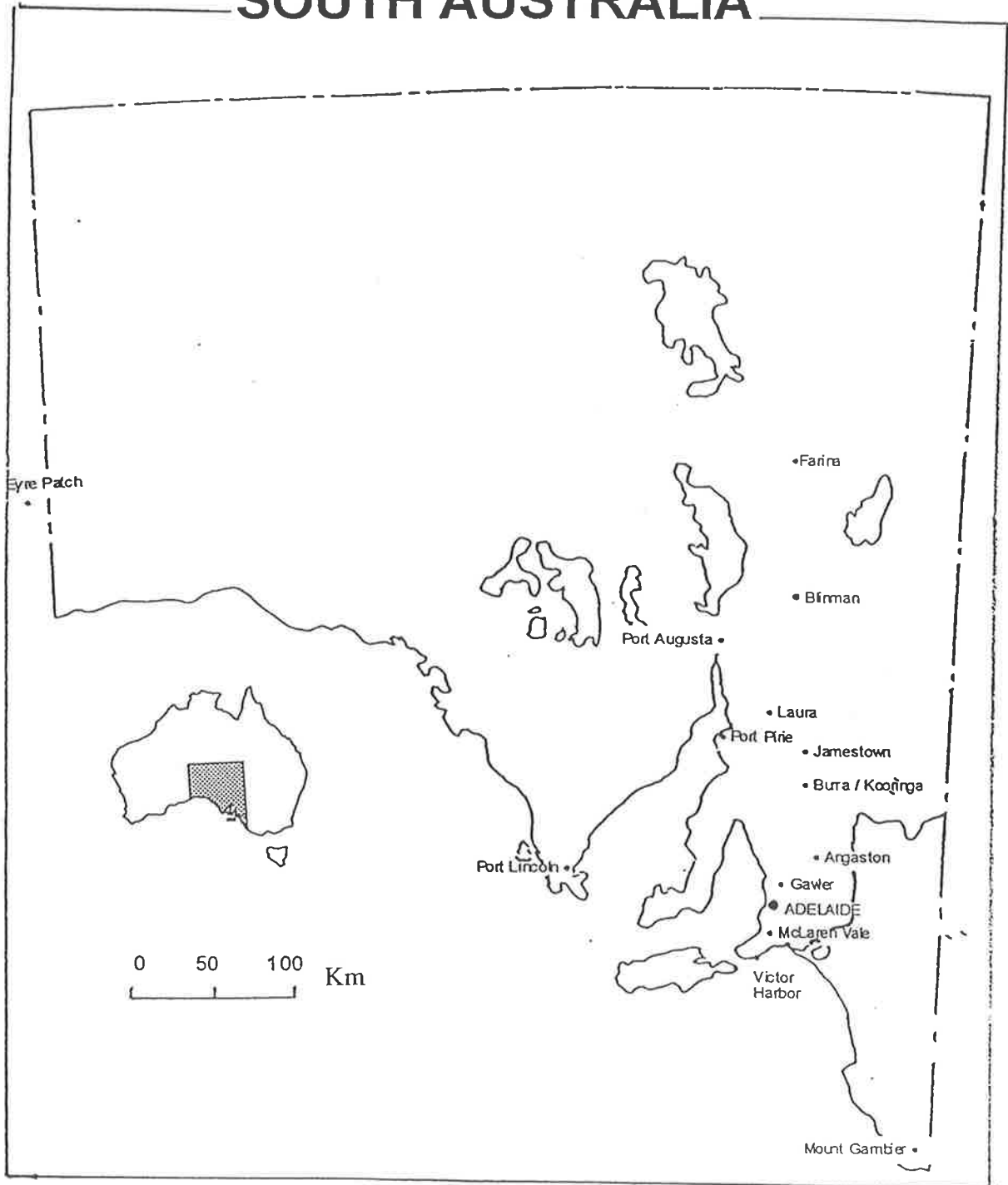
	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
Port Adelaide and Glanville															
Miss Wilberth's Young Ladies' School				XXX	X										
The Misses Henderson's Ladies' Seminary, Commercial Road					XX										
Miss Oxley's Commercial Road, Glanville						XX									
Mrs and Miss Sweetapple, St Vincent's Street						XX	XXXXX	XXX							
Mr and Mrs King's Commercial School and Infant School						XX	XXXXX	XXX							
Herr Drew's School of Languages and Drawing						XX									
Corryton															
Churches of Christ Collegiate School															
Miss Deene Harman's Tranmere School and K.G.													XX		XXXX
Gawler															
Miss Hosier's School	XX														
Mrs Stokes' School															
The Misses Haire's Church Hill Seminary					XX										
Miss Nash's School, Finess Street					XXX										
Mount Pleasant							XXX								
The Misses Gles' Totness House															
Miss Louitt and Miss Hamer's Totness House								XX							
Clare										XXX					
Miss Barnard's High School and K.G.															
Miss Davey's School										XXXX					
Miss Tillbrook's School										X					
Angaston													X		
Miss Loutitt's Calthness School															
Miss H. Tucker's Girls' Grammar School										XXXXX	XXX				
Hahndorf															XX
Mrs Dasborough's School								X							
Mount Barker															
Miss Curl's Day and Boarding school, then Ladies' School	X														
Miss Congreve's Day and Boarding School															
Mount Lofty, Stirling															
The Misses Tuck, Stirling West															
Miss Counsell, Wateela							XX	XX							
Miss F. Schroder's Arkaroa										XXXX					
													XXXX	XXXX	XXXX

	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
Mclaren Vale															
The Misses Aldersey's Tsong Gyaou				XXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXX				
Miss Prior's Ivyburn									XXXX						
Willunga															
Mrs Bassett's Buckland House School						XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXXX							
Miss Blair's High School											XXX				
Port Elliot															
Mrs Hotham's Doveridge House									XXX	XXXXX	XXX				
Goolwa															
Hygiene House						XXXX	XX								
Laura													X		
Miss Bills															
Terowie															
Home Tuition with Music									X						
Wallaroo															
Educational Institute							X								
Riverton															
Country Boarding School for Girls											X				

# Appendix II

## Map I

# SOUTH AUSTRALIA

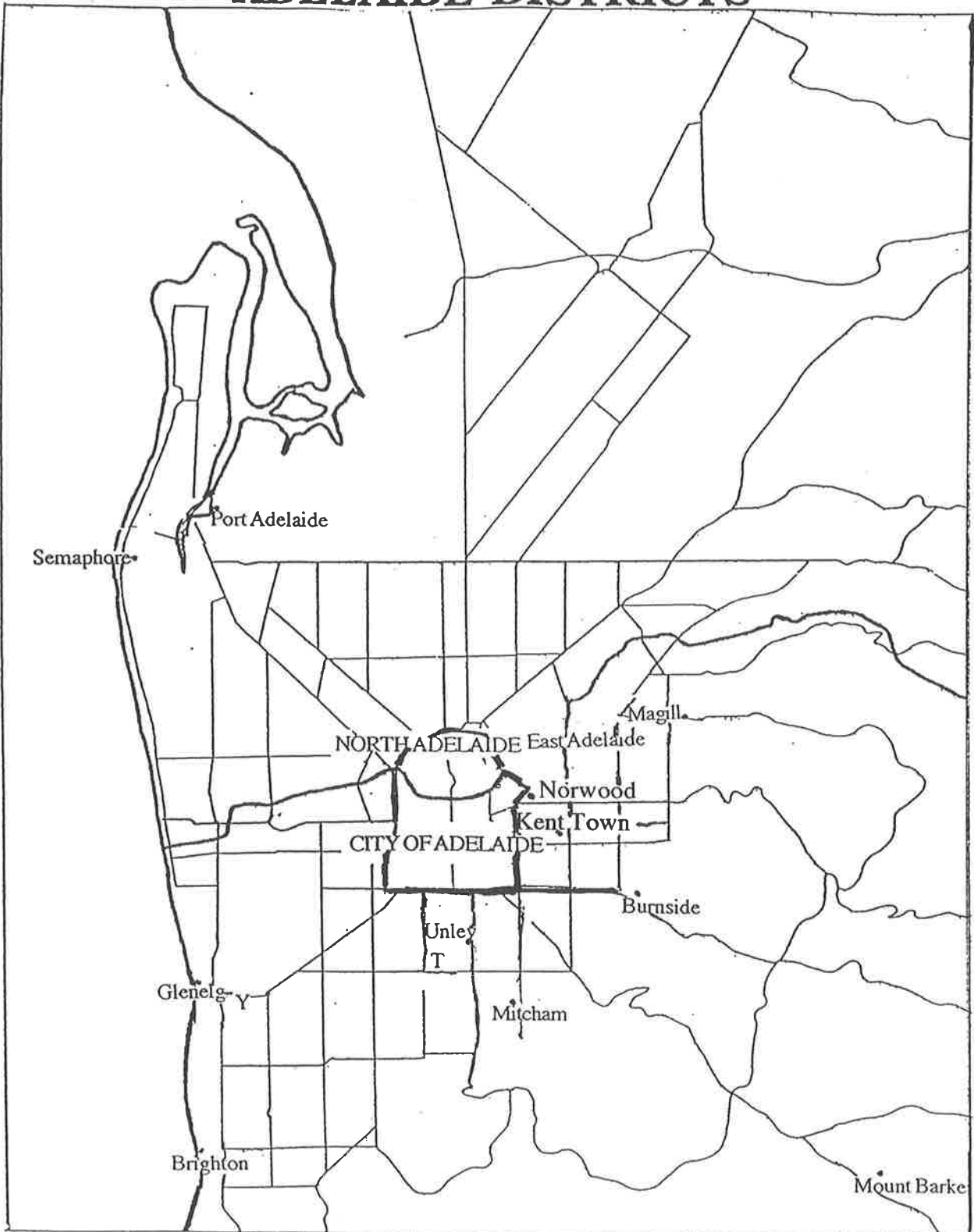




Appendix III

Map II

**ADELAIDE DISTRICTS**



Key:

0 ————— 8km



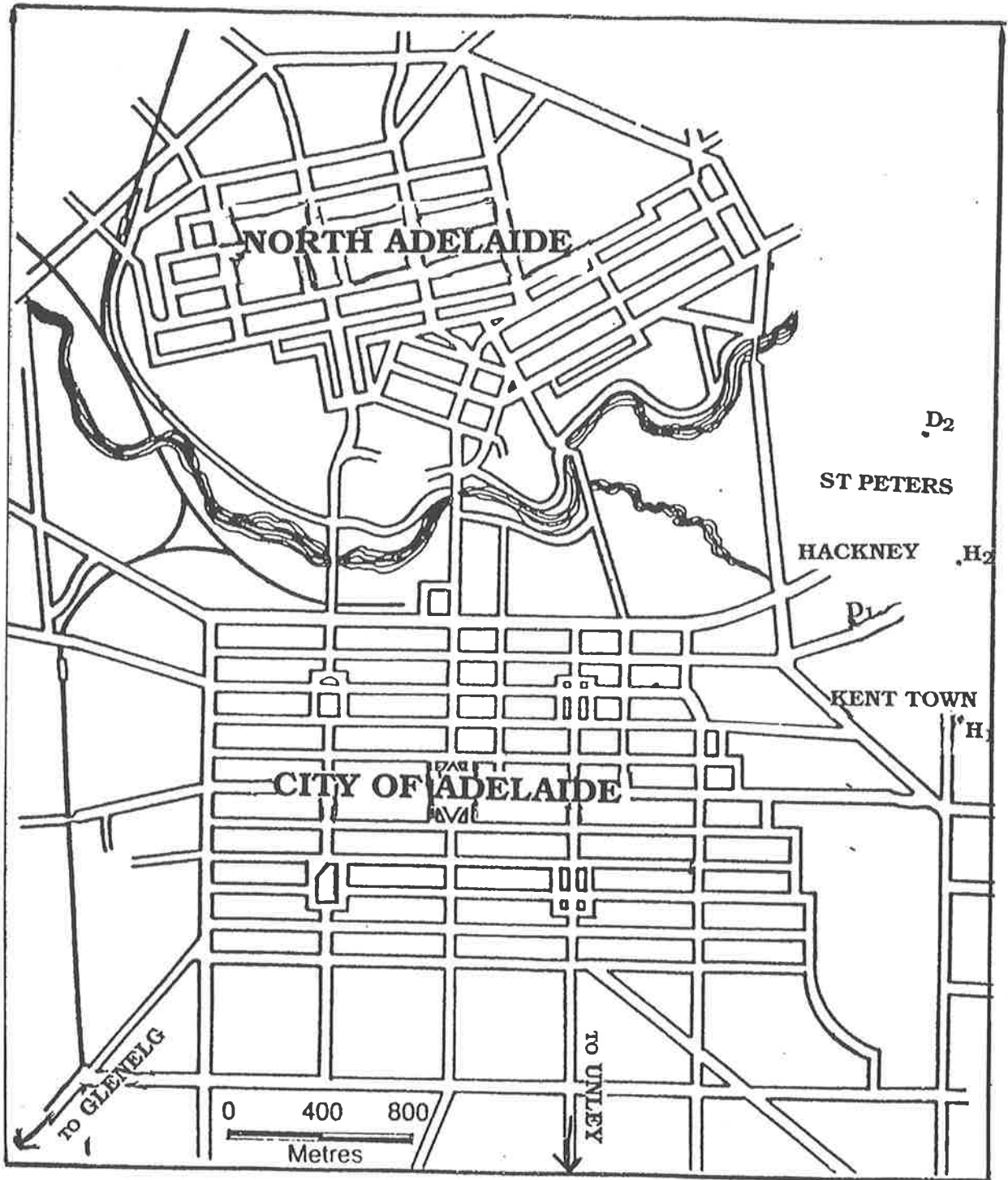
T: Unley Park School

Y: Yoothamurra

Appendix IV

Map III

**CITY OF ADELAIDE AND SUBURBS**



**Key:**

**D1:** First Dryburgh site

**D2:** Second Dryburgh site, (Presbyterian Ladies' College)

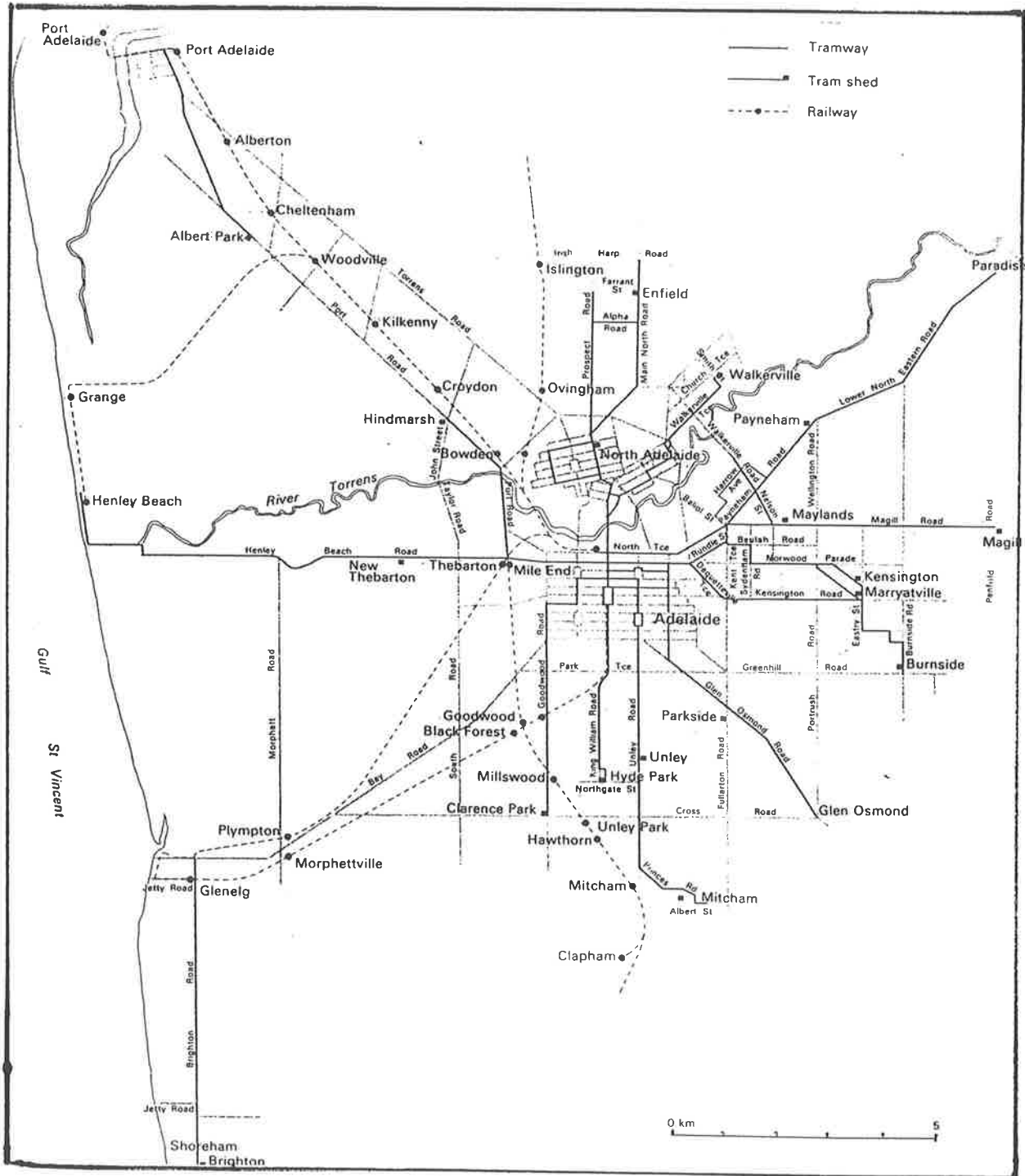
**H1:** First Hardwicke site

**H2:** Second Hardwicke site

# Appendix V

## Map IV

### ADELAIDE DISTRICT TRAM ROUTES



Adelaide's public transport system by 1908 (Adapted from L.S.Kingsborough, *The Horse tramways of Adelaide and its suburbs 1875-1907*, Appendix IV)



## Bibliography

### 1. PRIMARY SOURCES:

#### i. Published:

##### a. Contemporary School Magazines

*Hardwicke College Review*, 1885-1889. Adelaide: Hardwicke College, 1885-1889.

*The Unley Park School Magazine*, December, 1906. Adelaide: A. and E. Lewis, 1906.

*Yoothamurra School Magazine*, Vol.1, No.1, December, 1920. Adelaide: Yoothamurra School, 1920.

##### b. Directories and Booklets

*Australian Dictionary of Biography 1851-1890*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972.

*Australian Dictionary of Biography 1891-1939*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979.

Boothby, Josah. *Adelaide almanac and directory for South Australia*, 1872-1883. Adelaide: J. Williams, 1872-1883.

*Sands and McDougall's South Australian Directory, 1884-1941*. Adelaide: Sands and McDougall, 1884-1991.

*The Synod of Church of England Reports*, 1855-1890, Vol. I-VI.

*Year Book of the Church of England in the Diocese of Adelaide*, 1891-1940. Adelaide: Sands and McDougall, 1891-1940.

Hylton, Jane. 'South Australian Women Artists', Exhibition programme, Art Gallery of South Australia, 1994.

Woodburn, Susan. 'The Founding of the University'. Unpublished booklet, University of Adelaide Archives.

##### c. Newspapers and Periodicals

*Adelaide Advertiser*

*Adelaide Observer*

*Agriculturist and Review*

*Australian Mathematics Teacher*

*Australian Weekly Times*

*Burra Record*

*Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*

*Critic*

*Methodist Weekly*

*Northern Mail*

*Presbyterian Banner*

*Port Pirie Advocate*

*Quadrant*

*South Australian Chronicle*

*South Australian Education Gazette*

*South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*  
*South Australian Register*  
*South Australian Weekly Chronicle*  
*Stock And Station Journal*  
*The Weekend Australian*  
*West Australian*

**d. Reports**

*Manual of Public Examination Board, 1890-1925.*

*Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia Annual Report, 1994.*

*Special Report on the System of Education in South Australia', Great Britain Board of Education, 1901. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901. State Library of South Australia.*

*University of Adelaide Calendars, 1876-1890. University of Adelaide Archives.*

**ii. Unpublished:**

**a. Collections**

Hardwicke: Raduntz Collection, assembled by Mrs H. Raduntz, held in St Peters Public Library.  
Shuttleworth Collection, including Scrapbook, held privately by family of R.  
Shuttleworth.  
Warburton Collection, assembled by Mrs E. Warburton, held in St Peter's Public Library.  
Unley Park: Scarfe Collection, kindly donated by Dr Janet Scarfe, held by author.  
Dryburgh: Evans Collection, held by descendent Evans family.  
Warburton Collection, held in St Peters' Public Library.  
Yoothamurra: Colmer Collection, held by Mrs M. Hooper.  
Gurr Collection, held by Old Scholar, Mrs N. Gurr.  
Montfries Collection, held by Dow descendent, Mr G. Montfries.

**b. Letters, Diaries and Memoirs in Mortlock Library of South Australia**  
Bird, Winnifred Lillian. Unpublished Diaries. V 1495.

Borrow Letters. L'histoire de L'Alliance français en Australie. P.R.G. 32/165.

Brunskill Papers, family letters, 1838/39. D. 5203 (L).

Clark Papers. P.R.G. 389.

Colmer Memoir, memories of Yoothamurra. S.R.G. 480/14.

Davidson Papers. D 2513.

de Mole Papers. P.R.G. 39.

Duncan Family Papers. P.R.G. 532.

Fowler Papers. P.R.G. 34.

Gawler Papers. P.R.G. 50.

Gilbert Papers. P.R.G. 266.

Graham Family Collection. P.R.G. 937.

Jaunay Papers. P.R.G. 32/165.

Kelsey Papers. P.R.G. 304.

Martin, Gertrude. Diaries, January, 1880 - 1884. D 4869 (L).

McCoy Papers. P.R.G. 609.

Morice Papers. 1051/A5.

Reid, Reverend Richardson, Letters. P.R.G. 205.

Scammell Papers, Diary of Lavinia Scammell. 1859-1912. D 527/l.

Spence, Catherine Helen. Unpublished diary. P.R.G. 88.

Thomas Papers. A 1058.

Tillett Diaries. D 6935.

Tinline Papers, letters, 1838-1894. P.R.G. 21.

Verco, Joseph. Early Recollections of Sir Joseph Verco 1851-1883. P.R.G. 322.

Warburton Diary. P.R.G.196.

Thorne, Isabel Jane (née Fryar). Grannie Thorne's Diary 1834-1910. Private papers held by Mrs D. Moore, Perth.

**c. Minutes**

Collegiate Schools' Association. V1224. M.L.S.A.

Hardwicke Old Scholars' Association. Raduntz Collection.

South Australian Conference of the Australian Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1889, 1897.

Unley Park Old Scholars' Association. S.L.G. 41. M.L.S.A.

**d. Oral Interview Transcripts**

Oral interview of Mrs Harriet Caw, daughter of Mrs Hübbe, O.H. 3/1.

Oral interview with Miss Crompton, pupil at Mrs Hübbe's School, 1910-1920, O.H.3/2.

Oral History of Constance Spry, O.H.1/18.

## **e. Interviews**

### **i. Hardwicke**

Mrs O. Bey	April, 1994.
Mrs M. Raduntz	March, 1994
Mr C. Shuttleworth	March, 1994
*Mr R. Gibbs	September, 1994
*Mr B. Hunter	November, 1994

### **ii. Mrs Thornber's**

Mrs M. Bowen	July, 1993
Mrs J. Smeaton	May, 1993
Mrs N. Watson	August, 1994
*Mr J. Clark	September, 1993
*Mrs W. Gadd	June, 1994
*Mrs J. Goodhart	July, 1994

### **iii. Dryburgh**

Mrs R. Anthony	July, 1993
Mrs L. Curnot	July, 1993
Mr M. Evans	February, 1993
Mr R. Fotheringham	August, 1993
Dr J. Gardner	December, 1993
Mrs D. Henderson	July, 1993
Mrs H. Jennings	May, 1993
Mr J. Scarfe	August, 1993
Mr R. Scott Young	April, 1993
Rev. R. Scrimgeour	August, 1993
Mrs A. Somerville	May, 1993
Miss C. Sunter	August, 1993
Mrs M. Swan	August, 1993
Mrs M. Wildash	August, 1993
*Mr W. Bonython	June, 1993
*Mrs Cloncoris	June, 1993
*Mrs J. Day	June, 1993
*Mrs M. Hart	May, 1993
*Mr L. Hughes	August, 1993
*Mr V. Savers	June, 1993

### **iv. Yoothamurra**

Mrs D. Begg	November, 1993
Mrs S. Boothby	October, 1993
Mrs R. Downing	September, 1993
Mrs J. Goode	August, 1993
Mrs N. Gurr	September, 1993
Mrs M. Hooper	December, 1993
Mrs A. Jeffries	October, 1993
Mr G. Montfries	March, 1993
Mrs F. O'Brien	October, 1993
Mrs B. Rennie	October, 1993
The Misses Crofton	October, 1993
*Miss H. Crampton	September, 1993
*Mrs P. Dow	June, 1993
*Mr K. Kelsey	September, 1993
*Mrs P. McGuire	December, 1993
*Mrs W. Robinson	September, 1993
*Mrs M. Sanderson	July, 1993

\*Mrs H. Solomon

December, 1993

\*Dr I. Steele

August, 1993.

\*Telephone communication

## 2. SECONDARY SOURCES:

### i. Published:

#### a. Books: General Background

Andreski, Stanislaw ed. *Max Weber on Capitalism, Bureaucracy and Religion*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983.

Arnold, Matthew. ed. R.H. Super. *Culture and Anarchy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960.

Avery, Gillian. *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1991.

Bacchi, Carol. *Same Difference, Feminine and Sexual Difference*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1990.

Bailey, Elizabeth. *A Short History of Lady Margaret Hall*. Oxford: Lady Margaret Hall, 1980.

Battiscombe, Georgina. *Reluctant Pioneer: The Life of Elizabeth Wordsworth*. London: Constable, 1978.

Beale, Dorothea, Soulsby, L., Dove, J. F. *Work and Play in Girls' Schools*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1898.

Beeton, Isabella. M. *Book of Household Management*. London: Ward Lock and Co., 1861.

Best, Geoffrey. *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1870*. London: Fontana/Collins, 1971.

Bilken, Sari Knopp. *School Work*. New York: Columbia University, 1995.

Birke, Lynda, et al. eds. *Alice through the Microscope*. London: Virago, 1980.

Briggs, Asa. *Victorian People*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.

Bryant, Margaret. *The Unexpected Revolution*. London: University of London Institute of Education, 1979.

Burn, W. L. *The Age of Equipoise*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1964.

Burstyn, Joan. *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*. London: Croom Helm, 1980.

Caine, Barbara. *Victorian Feminists*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Calla, Victor J. *Adolescence: An Australian Perspective*. Marrickville, New South Wales: Harcourt Brace Jonovich Group, 1990.

Challingsworth, Nell. *Australia's Dancing heritage*. Melbourne: Go Dancing, 1994.

- Chambers, Coral. *Lessons for Ladies: A Social History of Girls' Education in Australia*. Sydney: C. J. Chambers, 1986.
- Chambers, William. *Chambers' Miscellaneous Questions*. Edinburgh: W.W. and R. Chambers, 1890.
- Clark, G. K. *Making of Victorian England*. London: Methuen, 1962.
- Clarke, Patricia. *The Governesses; Letters from the Colonies, 1862-1882*. Sydney: Hutchinson of Australia, 1985.
- Cobbe, Frances Power. *The Life of Frances Power Cobbe, 2 Vols.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894.
- Connell, R. W., Ashenden, D. J., Kessler S. and Dowsett, G. W. *Making the Difference: Schools, Families, and Social Division*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989.
- Cott, Nancy. *The Bonds of Womanhood*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977.
- The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Davidson, G., McCarty, J., and McCleary, A. *Australians 1888*. Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, 1987.
- Davidoff, Leonore and Hall, Catherine. *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780- 1850*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.
- Deacon, Delsey. *Managing Gender*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Deem, Rosemary. *Women and Schooling*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- ed. *Schooling for Women's Work* . London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Delamont, Sara and Duffin, L. eds. *The Nineteenth-Century Woman*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.
- Dixson, Miriam. *The Real Matilda, Women and Identity in Australia, 1788-1975*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976.
- Donaldson, Peter and Pollins, H. *Capitalism*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978.
- Douglas, James W. B. *The Home and the School*. London: Panther, 1967.
- Donzelot, Jacques. *The Policing of Families* . New York: Pantheon Books, 1979.
- Dyhouse, Carol. *Girls Growing up in Victorian and Edwardian England*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Feminism and the Family in England 1880-1939*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.
- Edgeworth, Maria. *Belinda, 3 vols.* London: Dent, 1893.
- Ellis, Mrs Sarah S. *The Women of England, their Social Duties, and Domestic habits*. London: Fisher, Son and Co, 1839.

- The Daughters of England. Their Position in Society, Character and Responsibilities.* London: Fisher, Son and Co, 1842.
- The Mothers of England, their Influence and Responsibility.* London: Fisher, Son and Co, 1843.
- Education of the Heart.* London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1869.
- Ensor, Richard C. K. *England 1870-1914.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Escourt Hughes, J. *A History of the Royal Adelaide Hospital.* Adelaide: The Board of Management of the Royal Adelaide Hospital, 1967.
- Faithful, Lilian. *In the House of my Pilgrimage.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1925.
- Fanfani, Amintore. *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism.* London: Sheen and Ward, 1935.
- Firth, C. B. *Constant Louisa Maynard, Mistress of Westfield College: A Family Portrait.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1949.
- Fogarty, Ronald. *Catholic Education in Australia, 2 Vols.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.
- Frost, Lucy. *No Place for a Nervous Lady.* Fitzroy, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1984.
- Gaskell, Jane and McLaren, A., eds. *Women and Education.* Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991.
- Gathorne-Hardy, Jonathan. *The Public School Phenomenon.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.
- Goodfellow, Ronald and Marsden, W. *The City and Education in Four Nations.* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Goodnow, Jacqueline and Pateman, C., eds. *Women, Social Science and Public Policy.* London: George, Allen and Unwin, 1985.
- Goodwin, Michael. *Nineteenth Century Opinion.* Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1951.
- Gouldner, Alvin. *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class.* New York: Continuum, 1979.
- Grimshaw, Patricia, Lake, M. McGrath, A. and Quartly, M. *Creating A Nation.* Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books Ltd., 1994.
- Hall, G. Stanley. *Youth, Its Regimen and Hygiene.* New York: Appleton, 1906. Republished, New York: Arno Press, 1972.
- Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education, 2 vols.* London: 1808. Republished, New York: Garland Publishers, 1974.
- Harrison, John F.C. *Late Victorian Britain, 1875-1901.* London: Fontana Press, 1990.
- Hinton W., ed. *Ethel Ambrose.* London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, n.d.
- Hollis, Patricia. *Women in Public, 1850 - 1900.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1979.

- Hunt, Felicity. *Lessons for Life, The Schooling of Girls and Women 1850-1950*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
- Jenkins, Keith. *Rethinking History*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Kamm, Josephine. *Hope Deferred, Girls' Education in English History*. London: Methuen, 1965.
- How Different from Us: a Biography of Miss Buss and Miss Beale*. London: Bodley Head, 1958.
- Kingston, Beverly. *My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary-Anne*. Edinburgh: Nelson, 1975.
- Kyle, Noeline. *Her Natural Destiny: The Education of Women in New South Wales*. Kensington, New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1986.
- Lader, Gilah C. and Sampson, Shirley, eds. *Educating Girls*. North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989.
- Lindsay, Joan. *Picnic at Hanging Rock..* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970. (First published 1967).
- Louden, John C. *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*. London: n.p., 1838.
- Macfarlane, Gwyn. *Howard Florey, the Making of a great Scientist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Mackenzie, Norman. *Women in Australia*. Melbourne: Cheshire, 1962.
- Macaulay, Catharine. *Letters on Education with Observations on religious and metaphysical Subjects*. London: Dilly, 1790. Facsimile, New York: Garland Publishers, 1974.
- Magarey, Susan, Rowley, S. and Sheridan, S., eds. *Debutante Nation*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin Australia, 1993.
- Manning, Geoffrey H. *Place Names of South Australia*. Adelaide: G. Manning, 1990.
- Martineau, Harriet. *Household Education*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1867.
- Autobiography with Memorials by Maria Weston Chapman*, 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1877.
- Matthews, Judith J. *Good and Mad Women*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1984.
- McCalman, Janet. *Journeyings: The Biography of a Middle Class Generation 1920-1990*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993.
- McGaw, Barrie, Piper, K., Banks, K.D. and Evans. B. *Making Schools more Effective*. Hawthorn, Victoria: Australian Council for Educational Research, 1992.
- More, Hannah. *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*. London: Cadell and Davies, 1800.
- Murray, Janet H., ed. *Strong-Minded Women and other lost Voices from 19th Century England*. London, Penguin, 1982.



- Offen, Karen, Pierson, R. and Rendall, J., eds. *Writing Women's History*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- Palmer, Iredelda. *Matthew Arnold, Culture, Society and Education*. Melbourne: Macmillan, 1979.
- Pateman, Carol. *The Sexual Contract*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1988.
- Phillip, Anna. *Engendering Democracy*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1991.
- Piaget, Jean and Inhelder, B. *The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence*. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1958.
- Prichard, M. F. Lloyd, ed. *Collected Works of E.G. Wakefield*. London: Collins, 1968.
- Purvis, June. *A History of Women's Education in England*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991.
- Purvis, June and Hales, M., eds. *Achievement and Inequality in Education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.
- Raikes, Elizabeth. *Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham*. London: Archibald Constable, 1908.
- Reed, Alexander W. *Aboriginal Words of Australia*. Sydney: A.W. Reed, 1977.
- Reiger, Kerreen. *The Disenchantment of the Home*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Rendall, Jane. *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860*. London: Macmillan, 1985.
- Richardson, Henry H. *The Getting of Wisdom*. Melbourne: Heinemann Ltd., 1977. (First published 1907).
- Ridley, Annie. *Frances Mary Buss and her Work for Education*. London: Longmans, 1895.
- Russell, Penelope. *A Wish of Distinction*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1994.
- Ryan, Edna and Conlon, A., eds. *Gentle Invaders, Australian Women at Work*. Melbourne: Penguin, 1975.
- Ryan, Mary. *The Cradle of the Middle Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Saunders, Kay and Evans, R. eds. *Gender Relations in Australia*. Marrickville, New South Wales: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Group (Australia) Pty. Ltd., 1992.
- Scott, Joan. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Sherrington, G. Petersen, R. and Brice, Ian. *Learning to Lead*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987.
- Sime, Mary. *A Child's Eye View*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

- Simon, Joan. *The Social Origins of English Education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol 1. Campbell, R. H. and Skinner, A. S., eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Smolicz, J. J. *Culture, Education and Society*. Canberra: Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1992.
- Smyth, Elizabeth. 'A noble Proof of Excellence' in *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader*. Heap, Ruby and Prentice, Alison eds. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 1991.
- Spence, Catherine Helen. *Clara Morison*. London: John Parker and Sons, 1854. (Facsimile edition Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986).
- Tender and True*. London: Smith and Elder, 1856.
- Spencer, Herbert. *Education*. London: Watts and Co., 1935.
- Spender, Dale, ed. *Feminist Theorists*. London: Women's Press Ltd., 1983.
- Invisible Women*. London: Writers and Readers' Publishing Co-op., 1982.
- Spender, Dale, and Sarah E., eds. *Learning to Lose*. London: Women's Press, 1988.
- Steadman, Cecily. *In the Days of Miss Beale: A Study of her Work and Influence*. London: E.J. Borrow, 1931.
- Stone, Lawrence. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*. New York: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977.
- Strachey, Lytton. *Eminent Victorians*. London: Penguin Books, 1948.
- Stretton, Hugh. *Ideas for Australian Cities*. Adelaide: Hugh Stretton, 1975.
- Strong-Boag V., ed. *Elizabeth Smith: A Woman with a Purpose*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- Summers, Anne. *Dammed Whores and God's Police*. Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1975.
- Tanner, James M. *A History of the Study of Human Growth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Theobald, Marjorie. *Knowing Women*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Theobald, Marjorie and Prentice, A., eds. *Women who Taught*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Theobald, Marjorie R. and Selleck, R. J. W., eds. *Family, School and State in Australian History*. North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990.
- Tilly, Louise and Scott, J. *Women, Work and the Family*. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1978.
- Trollope, Anthony, *Australia*. Edwards, P. D. and Joyce, R. B. eds. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1967.

- Trumbach, Randolph. *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family. Aristocratic Relations in Eighteenth Century England*. New York: Academic Press, 1978.
- Tuke, Margaret. *A History of Bedford College for Women*. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Turney, Clifford, ed. *Sources in the History of Australian Education*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1975.
- Twopeny, Richard. *Town Life in Australia*. London: Elliot Stock, 1883. republished, Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Colonial facsimilies, 1973.
- Vicinus, Martha, ed. *Suffer and be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973.
- .Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920*. London: Virago Press, 1985.
- Walford, Geoffrey, ed. *The Private Schooling of Girls Past and Present*. London: Woburn Press, 1994.
- Walkerdine, Valerie. *Schoolgirl Fictions*. London: Verso, 1990.
- Walvin, James. *A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914*. London: Penguin Books, 1982.
- West, Jane. *The Advantages of Education*, 2 vols. Dublin: Porter and Kelly, 1799.
- Widdowson, Frances. *Going up into the Next Class: Women and Elementary Teacher Training 1840-1914*. London: Hutchinson, 1980.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. London: Joseph Johnston, 1792.
- Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1929.
- Yates, Lyn. *Including Girls*. Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre, 1987.
- Young, David. *F. D. Maurice and Unitarianism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Znaniacki, Florian and Thomas, W. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 2 Vols. New York: Dover Publications, 1958.

**b. Books: General History of South Australia**

- Adamson, Robert, Evans, B. and Evans, J. *Dunfermline to Down Under*. Adelaide: Robert Adamson, Ben Evans and Julie Evans, 1994.
- Allen, Margaret, Hutchison, M. and Mackinnon, A. *Fresh Evidence. New Witnesses. Finding Women's History*. Adelaide: G.P.D., 1989.
- Anderson, Thistle. *Arcadian Adelaide*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1985.
- Bonnin, Heather. *Hours to Remember: Reflections of Life in South Australia, 1889-1929*. Adelaide: Government Printing Department, 1987.

- Bonython, Lady Constance Jean O.B.E. *I'm No Lady. Reminiscences 1891-1977*, ed. C. Warren Bonython. Adelaide: C. Warren Bonython, 1977.
- Brown, Janet, ed. *A Book of South Australia: Women in the First Hundred Years*. Adelaide: Women's Centenary Council, 1936.
- Brown, Judith. *Augustus Short, D.D.* Walkerville, South Australia: Hodge, 1973.
- Town Life in Pioneer South Australia* . Adelaide: Rigby, 1980.
- Brown, Tom. *Glenelg, 1836-1972: growth and function of an Urban Village*. St Peters, South Australia: T.J. Strehlow, 1973.
- Bull, J. S. *Early Experiences of Colonial Life in South Australia*. Adelaide: Advertiser, 1878.
- Burgess, H. T. *Epitome of Success. Cyclopaedia of South Australia*, Vols. 1 and 11. Adelaide: Cyclopaedia Company, (Alfred G. Selway), 1907.
- Burley, Stephanie and Teague, K. *Chapel, Cloister and Classroom*. Adelaide: St Dominic's Priory College, 1993.
- Cameron, John. *In Stow's Footsteps. A Chronological History of Congregational Churches in South Australia 1837-1977*. Adelaide: South Australian Congregational History Project Committee, 1987.
- Churchward, Emily, n e Padman. *In Paths Divided. Her Story 1853-1933*, ed. Stella Mary Macdonald. Adelaide: Stella Mary Macdonald, 1984.
- Daly, John A. *Elysian Fields. Sports, Class, Community in Colonial South Australia 1836-1890*. Adelaide: J. A. Daly, 1982.
- Denton, Margaret Abbie. *Joanna Priest.: Her Place in Adelaide's History*. Adelaide: Joanna Priest, 1993.
- Dowd, Christopher. *The Adelaide Kindergarten Teachers' College: A History 1907-1974*. Adelaide: South Australian College of Education, 1983.
- Duncan, W. G. K. and Leonard, R. *The University of Adelaide, 1874-1974*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1973.
- Dutton, Geoffrey. *South Australia*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1978.
- Finlayson Family Book Committee. *Finlayson*. Adelaide: Family Book Committee, 1987.
- Fischer, C. L. *Richard Dixon Hawkins, 1891-1877*. Adelaide: The Pioneers' Association of South Australia, 1964.
- Foale, Marie. *The Josephite Story: The Sisters of St Joseph, their Foundation and early History 1866-1893*. Sydney: St Joseph's Generalate, 1989.
- Gibbs, Ronald. *A History of South Australia*. Adelaide: Balara Books, 1969.
- Gooded, George and Moore, T. *Fifty Years History of Kensington and Norwood*. Adelaide: Council of Kensington and Norwood, 1903. Facsimile: Adelaide: Council of Kensington and Norwood, 1978.

- Griffen, Trevor and McCaskill, M. *Sesquicentennial Atlas of South Australia*. Adelaide: S.P.D., 1986.
- Harcus, William, ed. *South Australia, its History, Resources and Productions*. London: Sampson Lowe and Co., 1876.
- Harrison, Robert. *Colonial Sketches*. London: Hall and Virtue, 1862. Facsimile: Adelaide: Austaprint, 1978.
- Hasluck, Alexandra, ed.. *Audrey Tennyson's Vice-Regal Days. The Australian Letters of Audrey, Lady Tennyson, 1899-1903*. Canberra: The National Library of Australia, 1978.
- Hawker, Frankie and Linn, R. *Bungaree*. Adelaide: Turnbull Fox Phillips, 1992.
- Hickey, Brian, ed. *William Shakespeare's Adelaide*. Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians, 1992.
- Hilliard, David. *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986.
- Hirst, John B. *Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1917*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973.
- Hunt, Arnold D. *This Side of Heaven A History of Methodism in South Australia*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986.
- Hyams, Bernard et al. *Learning and Other Things. Sources for a Social History of Education in South Australia*. Adelaide: G.P.D., 1988.
- Hylton, Jane. *South Australian Women Artists, 1890s-1940s*. Adelaide: Art Gallery Board of South Australia, 1994.
- Jones, Helen. *Nothing Seemed Impossible. Women's Education and Social Change in South Australia 1875-1915*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1985.
- .In Her Own Name. Women in South Australian History*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986.
- .In Her Own Name* updated edition, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1994.
- Kelsey, Eliza O. *Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty*. Adelaide: Wigg and Sons, 1901.
- .The Education of Australian Girls, a paper given at the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, September, 1893*. Adelaide: Burden and Bonython, 1893.
- Kerr, Margaret Goyder. *Colonial Dynasty: The Chambers Family of South Australia*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1980.
- Kwan, Elizabeth. *Living in South Australia. Volume 1. 1836-1914*. Adelaide: Matthews, 1987.
- Laura Centenary Celebration Committee. *Laura Days : A Peep at the Bygone*. Adelaide: Laura Centenary Celebration Committee, 1972.
- Light, William. *Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1984.
- Lyne, Bill, ed. *Explore Glenelg*. Adelaide: The National Trust of South Australia, 1989.

- Mackinnon, Alison. *One Foot on the Ladder. Origins and Outcomes of Girls' Secondary Schooling in South Australia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1984.
- The New Women. Adelaide's Early Women Graduates*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986.
- Magarey, Susan. *Unbridling the Tongues of Women: A Diary of C.H. Spence*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1985.
- McGuire, Frances Margaret. *Bright Morning: The Story of an Australian Family before 1914*. Adelaide: Rigby Ltd., 1975.
- Miller, Pavla. *Long Division. State Schooling in South Australian Society*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986.
- Morgan, E. J. R. *The Adelaide Club*. Adelaide: The Adelaide Club, 1963.
- Mountfield, Anne. *Women and Education*. Hove: Wayland, 1990.
- Musgrave, Alexander and Short, A. *Address at the Opening of Adelaide University, 28th April, 1876*. Adelaide, Government Printer, 1876.
- Nagel, Paula. *North Adelaide 1837-1901*. Adelaide: Paula Nagel, 1971.
- Norman, W. A. *A History of the City of Mitcham*. Adelaide: City of Mitcham, 1953.
- Page, Michael. *Colonial South Australia*. Boronia, Victoria: J.M. Dent, 1985.
- Paxton, Brenda. *Ladies of the Province*. Adelaide: City of Unley, 1990.
- Payne George B. and Cosh, E. *History of Unley 1871-1971*. Adelaide: Corporation of the City of Unley, 1971.
- Perry, Dulcie. *The Place of Waters*. Adelaide: Corporation of the City of Glenelg and the National Trust of South Australia, 1985.
- Pike, Douglas. *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*. Melbourne: Melbourne University. Press, 1957.
- Pitcher, William B. *Victorian and Edwardian Adelaide*. Sydney: Ferguson, 1977.
- Richards, Eric, ed. *Flinders History of South Australia.:Social Life*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986.
- Robinson, Nancy. *Change on Change, a History of the Northern Highlands of South Australia*. Adelaide: Investigator, 1971.
- Rowney, Dean. K. *A Hundred Years at All Souls*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1983.
- Sanders, Jane. *The Settlement of George Sanders and his Family, 1839*. Adelaide: The Pioneers' Association of South Australia, 1955.
- Scrimgeour, Robert J. *Some Scots were Here*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987.

- Shuttleworth, Claude H. *Shuttleworth, The Family of Claude Shuttleworth of Adelaide*. Adelaide: Claude Shuttleworth, 1989.
- Smeaton, Thomas A. *Education in South Australia, 1836-1927*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1927.
- South Australian Medical Women's Society. *The Hands of a Woman*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1994.
- Spence, Catherine Helen. *Some Aspects of Colonial Life*, articles from *The (??)Register*, reprinted. Adelaide: Kyffin Thomas, 1878.
- Autobiography*, reprinted from *The Register*. Adelaide: W.K.Thomas, 1910. Australian Facsimile Edition, Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1975.
- Students of Wilderness School. *Best Days of our Lives*. Adelaide: Wilderness School, 1988.
- Thiele, Colin. *Grains of Mustard Seed*. Adelaide: Griffin Press, 1975.
- Thomkinson, Edith Caroline. *The Adelaide Establishment:: The 1878 Diary of a Provincial Lady*. Adelaide: Lady Mary de Crespigny, 1987.
- Tilly Book Committee. *Tilly Family History, 1690-1994*. Adelaide: Tilly Book Committee, 1994.
- Wall, Barbara. *Our Own Matilda*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1994.
- Warburton, Elizabeth. *St. Peters: A Suburban Town*. Adelaide: Corporation of St. Peters, 1983.
- A Scots Connection*. Adelaide: the Royal Caledonian Society of South Australia, 1989.
- Watts, Jane I. *Family Life in South Australia*. Adelaide: W.K. Thomas and Co., 1890.
- Whitelock, Derek. *Adelaide, a Sense of Difference*. Adelaide: Savas Publishing, 1985.
- Whitfield, M. J. *The Free Education Bill, a Historical Sketch*. Adelaide: Hussey and Gill, 1891.
- Willington, Joan Kiffen, ed. *Maisie - Her Life and Letters from 1898 to 1902*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1992.
- c. School Histories**
- Angove, Dorothy. *Tormore, A Tribute to Caroline Jacob*. Adelaide: The Tormore Old Scholars' Association, 1962.
- Butler, Reg A. *College in the Wattles. Hahndorf and its Academy*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1989.
- Campbell, Craig. *State High School, Unley*. Adelaide: Craig Campbell, 1985.
- Clarke, Amy K. *A History of Cheltenham Ladies' College 1853-1953*. London: Faber, 1953.
- A History of the Cheltenham Ladies' College 1853-1979*. Saxmundham: John Catt, 1979.

- Cotter, Dick. *Farmers, Ringmasters and Builders. The Story of Kingswood College, Box Hill*. Melbourne: Kingswood College Ltd., 1985.
- Davis, John R. *Principles and Pragmatism:: A History of Girton, King's College and Pembroke School*. Adelaide: Hyde Park Press, 1991.
- Emilson, Susan E. *Frensham, An Historical Perspective*. Mittagong: Winifred West Schools Ltd., 1988.
- Fitzpatrick, Kathleen. *P.L.C. Melbourne: The First Century 1875-1975*. Burwood, Victoria: P.L.C., 1975.
- Frost, Elizabeth, ed. *History of St. Peter's Girls School*. Adelaide: Speciality Printers, 1971.
- Gibbs, Ron M. *A History of Prince Alfred College*. Adelaide: Prince Alfred College, 1984.
- Grant, Julia, K. McCutcheon and E. Sanders, eds. *St. Leonard's School 1877-1927*. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.
- Halcomb, Fred. *St Andrew's, Walkerville, 1847-1914*. Adelaide: Vardon and Sons, 1914.
- Hanson, Dorothy E. and Hanson, I.V. *With Wings: A Centenary History of Immanuel College*. Adelaide: Immanuel College, 1995.
- Hood, Morris S. *The Collegiate School of St Peter Handbook..* Adelaide: The Collegiate School of St Peter, 1983.
- Jones, Helen and Morrison, N. *Walford, A History of the School*. Adelaide: The Council of Governors of Walford C. E. G. G. S., 1968.
- Millar, Frances. *More than Just a School*. Burwood, Victoria: Kingswood College Limited, 1990.
- Nesdale, Ira. *The Third Bridge, Tsong Gyam, McLaren Vale*. Adelaide: Ira Nesdale, 1980.
- Phillips, Janet. *Not Saints, but Girls*. Adelaide: St Peter's Collegiate Girls' School Inc., 1994.
- Price, Archibald G. *The Collegiate School of St. Peter, 1847-1947*. Adelaide: The School, 1947.
- Ray, William R. *Pulteney Grammar School 1847-1972*. Adelaide: Council of Pulteney Grammar School, 1973.
- Reid, M. Olive. *The Ladies Came to Stay: P.L.C. Melbourne, 1875-1960*. Melbourne: The Presbyterian Ladies' College Council, 1960.
- Sanderson of Oundle*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1923.
- Scales, Marjorie. *The Wilderness. One Hundred Years of History and Legend 1884-1984*. Adelaide: Wilderness School Limited, 1984.
- Scrimgeour, R. M., ed. *The North London Collegiate School, 1850-1950. A Hundred Years of Girls' Education*, London: Oxford University Press, 1950.



*St Leonard's School 1877-1977.* Glasgow: Blackie, 1977.

Theobald, Marjorie. *Ruyton.* Melbourne: Ruyton School Council, 1984.

Torr, Helen A. and Ryan, J.M. *Woodville High School 1915-1990.* Adelaide: Woodville High School Council, 1990.

Twynam, Phyllis M. *To Grow in Wisdom: The First Seventy-five Years of the Methodist Ladies' College, Adelaide.* Adelaide: Adelaide Methodist Ladies' College Council, 1977.

*Walford, A Centenary History.* Adelaide: Walford Anglican School for Girls, 1994.

Walton, Gertrude. *The Building of a Tradition 1908-1945. Methodist Ladies College, Claremont, W.A.* Perth: Imperial, 1949.

Ward, J. F. *Prince Alfred College: The Story of the first Eighty Years. 1867-1948.* Adelaide: Gillingham Press, 1951.

*Woodlands 1923-1973.* Adelaide: Woodlands, Glenelg, 1973.

#### **d. Journal Articles**

Allenendinger, David F., Jr. 'Mount Holyoke Students encounter the Need for Life Planning 1837-1850.' *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 19, 1979, pp. 27-59.

Boothby, Mary. 'Memories of my Bush Life.' *History Society of South Australia Journal*, No. 12, 1984, pp. 115-120.

Brice, Ian. 'Reluctant Schoolmaster in a Volunteerist Colony.' A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings, July, 1995, pp. 71-82.

Campbell, Craig. 'Youth and secondary schooling.' A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings, September, 1994, pp. 83-108.

Dow, Gwyneth. 'Educational, women's and social history entangled: some recent Australian examples.' *History of Education*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1988, pp. 101-106.

Dwyer, Donna L. 'Good and Mad women (teachers): the case of Grace Neven.' *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1995, pp. 12-29.

Errington, Jane 'Ladies and Schoolmistresses. Educating Women in early Nineteenth Century Upper Canada.' *Historical Studies in Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1991, pp. 71-96.

Evans, Terry D. 'Being and Becoming. Teachers' Perception of Sex-Roles and Actions towards their Male and Female Pupils.' *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1982, pp. 127-144.

Fitzgerald, Tanya. 'Missionary Women as Educators; The C.M.S. Schools of New Zealand 1823-1835.' Unpublished paper, A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference, Melbourne, December, 1993.

Gerson, Judith and K. Peiss. 'Boundaries, Negotiation, Consciousness: Reconceptualising Gender Relations.' *Social Problems*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 1985, pp. 317-331.

Gomersal, Meg. 'Ideals and realities: the education of working class girls, 1800-1870.' *History of Education*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1988, pp. 37-53.

- Hilliard, David. 'Dissenters from Dissent.' *History Society of South Australia Journal*, No. 11, 1983, pp. 92-104.
- Hirst, John. 'Women and History. A Critique of *Creating a Nation..*' *Quadrant*, March, 1995, pp. 35-43.
- Honey, J. R. 'Tom Brown's Universe.' *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 19, 1979, pp. 467-475.
- Horn, Pamela. 'The Victorian Governess.' *History of Education*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1989, pp. 333-344.
- Hunt, Arnold. 'Bible Christians in South Australia.' *Journal of the History Society of South Australia*, No. 10, 1982, pp. 15-31.
- Hyams, Bernard K. 'The Teacher in South Australia in the Second Half of the 19th Century.' *Australian Journal of Education*, Vol. 15, 1971, pp. 278-294.
- Kelly-Gadol, Joan. 'The Social Relation of the Sexes. Methodical Implications of Woman's History.' *Signs*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1976, pp. 809-823.
- Lake, Marilyn, 'To be denied a sense of past generations', *Hecate*, Vol. 2, No. 2, July, 1976, pp. 68-73.
- Leder, Gilah. 'Contextual Setting and Mathematical Performance.' *Australian Mathematics Teacher*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 1976, pp. 119-127.
- Levine, David. 'Industrialisation and the Proletarian Family in England.' *Past and Present*, May, 107, 1985, pp. 168-203.
- Linn, Robert, ed. 'Letters of Joseph Keynes.' *Journal of the History Society of South Australia*, No. 10, 1982, pp. 44-60.
- Mackinnon, Alison. 'Women's Education. Linking History and Theory.' *History of Education Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1984 pp. 5-14.
- .'Nowhere to Plant the Sole of the Foot? Women, university education and subjectivity in the early twentieth century.' *Melbourne Studies in Education* , 1993, pp. 5-14.
- .'An Age of Transition for Women.' *Election 1893-1983: Come Out History Essays*. Adelaide: Constitutional Museum, 1981, pp. 185-189.
- Matthews, Jill. 'Feminist History', *Labour History*, No. 50, May, 1986, pp. 147-153.
- McDermid, Jane. 'Conservative Feminism and Female Education in the Eighteenth Century.' *History of Education*, Vol. 18, No.4, 1989, pp. 309-322.
- Pedersen, Joyce Senders. 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses. The Reforms of Women's Secondary and Higher Education in Nineteenth Century England, a Study of Elite Groups.' *Journal of British Studies* , Vol. 15, No. 1, 1975, pp. 135-162.
- .'The Reform of Women's Secondary Education and Higher Education. Institutional Change and Social Values in Mid and Late Victorian England.' *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol.19, No. 1, 1979, pp. 61-91.

- Peterson, Robert. 'Varieties of P. E. at Way College.' A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings July, 1995, pp. 319-334.
- .'Female Accomplishments Vindicated.' A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Paper, Adelaide, August, 1986.
- Phillips, Janet and Phillips, P. 'History from Below. Women's Underwear and the Rise of Women's Sport.' *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Fall, 1993, pp. 129-148.
- Prentice, Alison. 'Towards a feminist history of women and Education.' *Winnipeg Monographs in Education*, 1981, pp. 39-63.
- Puddle, Sarah. 'Writing Against the Clock: theorising current feminist histories'. *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1995, pp. 1-11.
- Purvis, Joan. 'A reply to Keith Flett's, "Sex or Class? The Lives and Education of Working Class Women in Nineteenth Century England."' *History of Education*, Vol. 18, No. 2, June, 1989, pp. 147-152.
- Saunders, Graham E. 'The State and Education in South Australia 1836-1875.' *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1966, pp. 204-238.
- Sellick, Richard J.W. 'Classics in the Colonies: conflict at The University of Melbourne in the 1850s.' 1995 A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings, Supplementary Volume, pp. 117-150.
- Shanley, Mary Lyndon. 'The History of the Family in Modern England.' *Signs*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Summer, 1979, pp. 740-750.
- Sinclair, W.A. 'Urban Booms.' *Journal of Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 10, 1982, pp. 3-14.
- Stock, Phyllis. 'Better than Rubies: A History of Women's Education.' *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 19, 1979, pp. 151-155.
- Theobald, Marjorie. 'Mere Accomplishments'? Melbourne's Early Ladies' Schools Reconsidered.' *History of Education Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1984, pp. 15-28.
- .'The Accomplished Woman and the Propriety of Intellect.' *History of Education*, Vol. 17, No.1, 1988, pp. 21-35.
- .'The 'Everyday World of Women who Taught.' *History of Education Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1990, pp. 15-23.
- .'The P.L.C. Mystique. Reflections on the Reform of Female Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia.' *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 92, April, 1989, pp. 241-259.
- .'Writing the lives of women teachers. Problems and possibilities.' *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1993, pp. 39-50.
- .'The Administration of Gender in the Case of Victoria's 'Lady Teachers', 1850-1900.' Presidential address, A.N.Z.H.E.S. Conference Proceedings, Supplementary Volume, 1994, pp. 1-34.
- Thomaselli, Sylvana. 'The Enlightenment Debate on Women.' *History Workshop Journal*, Autumn, 1985, pp. 101-124.

- Watts, Ruth. 'Knowledge is Power - Unitarians, gender and education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.' *Gender and Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1989, pp. 35-50.
- Yates, Lyn, ed. 'Feminism and Education. Writing in the 90s.' *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1993, pp. 1-9.
- Zainu'ddin, Alison. 'The Admission of Women to the University of Melbourne, 1869-1903.' *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1973, pp. 50-106.

## 2. Unpublished:

### a. Theses.

- Allen, Margaret. 'Three South Australian Women Writers, 1854-1923; Matilda Evans, Catherine Spence and Catherine Martin.' Ph.D. Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1991.
- Amies, Marion. 'Home Education and Colonial Ideals of Womanhood.' Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1986.
- Ashenden, Dean J. 'South Australian Education 1836-1851.' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1963.
- Baker, Penelope. 'The Position of Women in South Australia 1836-1876.' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1983.
- Beasley, Chris. 'Educating Rita's Grandmother. The Social Relations of the Sexes and South Australian Curriculum Reform, 1875-1915.' M. Ed. Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1984.
- Burley, Stephanie. 'None More Anonymous? Catholic Teaching Nuns, their Secondary Schools and Students in South Australia 1880-1925.' M. Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1992.
- Halliday, Bronwyn. 'Such Great Opportunities . A Comparative Study of Four Girls' Schools in S. A. 1885-1925.' M. Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1985.
- Hirst, John B. 'G.W. Cotton and the Working Men's Blocks.' M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1950.
- Howard, Anthea. 'Patriarchy, the State and Democracy.' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1991.
- Jones, Helen. 'History of Commercial Education in South Australia with Special Reference to Women.' M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1967.
- Mackinnon, Alison. 'Awakening Women; Women, Higher Education and Family Formation in South Australia 1880-1920.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1989.
- Milburn, Jan. 'Girls' Secondary Education in New South Wales 1880-1930.' Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Sydney, 1965.
- Miller, Pavla. 'Schooling and Capitalism; Education and Change in South Australia, 1836-1925.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1980.
- Nancarrow, Judith. 'Social History of South Australia 1865-73.' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1963.

- Nance, Christopher 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-1871.' M.A. Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1977.
- Nicholas, Roland J. 'Secondary and Church Schools in South Australia in the 19th century.' M. Ed. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1954.
- Phillips, W. W. 'A Study of the Congregationalist Influence in Political and Social Reform in South Australia.' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1957.
- Ramsey, Janet K. 'Culture and Society in South Australia 1857-1866.' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1963.
- Riordan, Noreen. 'Private Venture Schools in Western Australia between 1829 and 1914.' M. Ed. Thesis, University of Western Australia, 1990.
- Routledge, Yvonne L. 'Middle Class Children and their Family Lives in 19th Century South Australia.' M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1990.
- Saunders, Graham E. 'John Anderson Hartley and Education in South Australia.' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1958.
- .'Public Education in South Australia in the 19th Century and some Factors affecting it.' M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1964.
- Scholefield, Elizabeth. 'The Ladies Kindly Visited; Philanthropy in Kensington and Norwood in the Nineteenth Century.' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981.
- Theobald, Marjorie. 'Women and Schools in Colonial Victoria 1840-1910.' Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1985.
- Vick, Malcolm. 'The Central Board of Education 1852-1875.' M.Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981.
- Weston, Neville. 'The Professional Training of Artists in South Australia 1861-1963, with Special Reference to South Australian Model.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1991.