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Engendering Loyalties: the construction of masculinities, femininities and national identities in South Australian secondary schools, 1880-1919.

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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To my late father,
who first taught me the joy of learning.

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Key to abbreviations

PAC - Prince Alfred College
CBC - Christian Brothers' College
MLC - Methodist Ladies' College
SPCA - St. Peter's College Archives
PACA - Prince Alfred College Archives
CBCA - Christian Brothers College Archives
AHSA - Adelaide High School Archives
MASA - Mercy Archives of South Australia
MLC/AC OSA - Methodist Ladies' College/Annesley College Old Scholars' Association
MLSA - Mortlock Library of South Australia
PEB - Public Examinations Board
SAPP - South Australian Parliamentary Papers

Abstract

The thesis is a comparative study of a selection of South Australian secondary schools during the period 1880-1919. The ideals of gender and national identity of the various schools are investigated through an analysis of archival records relating to their rhetoric, organisation and curricula. The schools in the study are girls' and boys' schools of three major religious denominations - Church of England, Catholic and Methodist - and the coeducational Adelaide High School.

The study first considers some issues involved in identifying an Australian nationalism in the imperial context and explores the possible compatibility of Australian and Empire loyalty. It then reviews education for boys and girls in late nineteenth century Britain, considering the reforms in girls' education within a revisionist historical interpretation and outlining the close relationship between imperialism and masculinity in the ethos of the boys' public schools. The question of an 'imperial curriculum' in Britain and Australia is raised. A brief introduction to South Australia demonstrates the nature of its imperial connection and provides an overview of the cultural influence of religion in the lives of South Australian men and women.

The body of the thesis is the investigation of the discourses of gender and national identity embodied in the rhetoric, organisation and curriculum of Adelaide secondary schools between 1880-1919.

A central theme of the investigation is the extent of denominational and ethnic variation in ideals of gender and national identity, which are most evident prior to about 1910. British Imperial, Irish and Australian identities in various combinations harmonised with variants of masculinity and femininity deriving from the differing religious discourses. In all schools, the Great War militarised the masculine ideal and reaffirmed the domestic role of women, thus demonstrating the historical contingency of gender and its subordination to social

needs. The study illuminates gender formation as a dynamic process, evident across all aspects of the schools. While boys' schools generally maintained a hegemonic form of masculinity, the girls' schools appeared to have more flexibility to extend or redefine femininity, though still rationalising changes in terms of a conservative gender order. For both boys and girls, gendering involved an important physical component. Girls' physical education, in particular, is seen as contributing significantly to a modernisation of gender ideals and the formation of a distinct pre-adult stage of femininity.

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I, Margaret Scott, give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

Signed

Date: 31/8/00

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Because this thesis has relied heavily on access to archival records from a number of schools, I am extremely grateful for the permission granted by the principals of the schools concerned to consult their archives. I particularly wish to thank the school archivists for their interest and encouragement: Mr. Robert Fisher (The Collegiate School of St. Peter), Mr. Brian Baldwin (Prince Alfred College), Mr. Mark Kosters and Brother Howard (Christian Brothers' College), Mr. Bill Pearce (Adelaide High School), Sister Deirdre O'Connor (Mercy Archives of South Australia) and Miss Daphne Gum and Mrs Helen Cornish (Methodist Ladies' College and Annesley College Old Scholars' Archives). I am also grateful for the assistance of the staff in the libraries of the above schools, the Mortlock Library of South Australiana at the State Library of South Australia and the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide.

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MMS.
August 2000.

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CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

Gender, national identity and the history of education.

Gender and national identity are closely linked concepts. Their interrelationship has been powerfully illustrated in a multinational study of genders and identities during the Great War, in which Billie Melman contested that gender 'framed the very terms in which national identities were comprehended and constructed'.[1] Histories of British imperialism have traditionally not paid much attention to gender. In her introduction to a collection of essays entitled *Gender and Imperialism* (1998), Clare Midgley called for new histories of British imperialism which would acknowledge gender as a 'shaper and differentiator' of the experience of both men and women, since gender 'shaped the ways in which men and women participated in and were affected by empire, and in turn empire affected the gender identities of both coloniser and colonised.'[2]

The history of Australian education is one context in which connections between gender and national identities may be observed and analysed. Advances in gender theory, and particularly the identification of schools as strategic sites for the investigation of gender construction, have provided incentive. Joan Wallach Scott's appeal for historical gender studies in different cultural contexts would also seem apt, given the variety of cultural contexts in Australian schooling:

> Historians need ... to examine the ways in which gendered identities are substantively constructed and relate their findings

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[1] Billie Melman, *Borderlines: genders and identities in war and peace, 1870-1930*, New York: Routledge, 1998, p.9.

[2] Clare Midgley (ed.), *Gender and Imperialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998, pp.6, 14.

> to a range of activities, social organizations, and historically specific cultural representations.[3]

Gender formation and schools

Theorisation about gender formation has progressed during recent decades far beyond biological determinism - the theory that gender differences are based on a presumed biological dichotomy and are, therefore, natural[4] - and unproblematic social reproduction theories, which held that boys and girls are moulded by society into appropriate male and female sex roles. Social constructionist theories see gendering as taking place when human beings interact with society, negotiating their own identities within particular cultural and historical contexts. Both biological determinism and sex-role socialisation presupposed consensual models of masculinity and femininity, with schools and other institutions acting as willing agents in their transmission or reproduction. This presumption of social consensus disallows any conflict in society over the meaning of ideal gender concepts and ignores the complexities of the individual human response. It also denies the possibility of historical change. Unproblematic theorisations of gender formation have been reflected in the writing of history: citing the example of the Victorian ideology of domesticity, which was actually the subject of intense debate, Scott laments: 'Subsequent history is written as if these normative positions were the product of social consensus rather than of conflict.'[5] And Michael Gilding believes that historians have colluded in

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[3] Joan Wallach Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', in Joan Wallach Scott (ed.), *Feminism and History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp.152-180, p.169.

[4] Social constructionists tend to see the traditional 'natural' biological male-female sex categorisation as a social imposition which ignores a variety of biological possibilities (see, for example, Judith Lorber and Susan A. Farrell, *The Social Construction of Gender*, Newbury Park, California: SAGE Publications, 1991, p.7.).

[5] *ibid.* p.168.

the pretence that gender formation is a natural outcome, that becoming a man is 'a smooth unfolding of nature's script'.[6]

This study approaches gender as a social construction. In 1987, R. W. Connell defined gender as 'practice organized in terms of, or in relation to, the reproductive division of people into male and female'.[7] Thus one writer summarises masculine gender formation in these terms:

> Men are not born; they are made. And men make themselves, actively constructing their masculinities within a social and historical context.[8]

Concepts of gender, being social constructs, are culturally and historically variable. Connell has termed the ordering of gender relationships within a given society at a given time its 'gender order'.[9] Although societies make normative statements about masculinity and femininity, the gender order in any context is not fixed, but is in a constant state of negotiation. Scott writes that 'normative statements depend on the refusal or repression of alternative possibilities, and sometimes overt contests about them take place.'[10] Connell refers to the concept of masculinity which has the ascendancy (that is, has the most influence or is the most privileged) at any given time as 'hegemonic masculinity', stressing that this is never secure, being always open to contestation from multiple other subordinated masculinities.[11]

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6 Michael Gilding, 'Men, Masculinity and Australian History', in *Southern Review* No.25, July 1992, pp.160-167, p.167

7 R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power: society, the person and sexual politics*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987, p.140.

8 Michael S. Kimmel and Michael A. Messner, *Men's Lives*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995, 3rd. edition, p.xx.

9 Connell, *Gender and Power*, Chapter 5 and *passim.*

10 Joan Wallach Scott, 'Gender: a useful category of historical analysis', p.168.

11 Connell, *Gender and Power*, p.184.

Connell has drawn attention to the construction of gender within institutional settings.[12] In any society, gender is institutionalised within a range of sites, such as families, schools and workplaces. Within each of these contexts, there are structures and practices which construct and regulate masculinity and femininity within that particular institution: these represent what Connell calls 'the state of play in gender relations' and constitute the institution's particular 'gender regime'.[13] This regime will be influenced by culturally specific factors, such as the religious and ethnic context of the institution. Connell warns that the gender regime can appear deceptively stable:

> [W]hen institutions appear consensual and consistent, closer examination is likely to show this is because a great deal of energy has been put into overriding conflicts of interest to create a front of harmony and good order.[14]

Comparative institutional studies are useful for illustrating contextual variations in concepts of gender and also for attempting to locate signs of instability or conflict, thus pursuing what Scott suggests should be the point of new historical investigations of gender: to

> disrupt the notion of fixity [and] discover the nature of the debate or repression that leads to the appearance of timeless permanence in binary gender representation.[15]

Secondary schools, as highly organised institutions for adolescents, have been recognised as strategic sites for the construction of gendered identities. Connell explains:

> Schools do not simply adapt to a natural masculinity among boys or femininity among girls. They are agents in the matter, constructing

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12 e.g. R. W. Connell, 'Gender Regimes and the Gender Order', in Anthony Giddens *et al.* (eds), *The Polity Reader in Gender Studies*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994, pp.29-40,

13 *ibid.* p.30.

14 Connell, *Gender and Power*, p.193.

15 Scott, 'Gender: a useful category of historical analysis', p;168.

particular forms of gender and negotiating relations between them.[16]

Studies of boys' schools by Connell and Mac an Ghaill have analysed ways in which a range of masculinities may be constructed within a school context.[17] Connell has also drawn attention to the importance of the physical component in gendering, claiming that the post-modern tendency to view bodies as merely neutral objects, as 'the surfaces on which social meanings are inscribed' risks 'drifting away from bodily experience altogether'. 'Bodies', he insists, 'are in play in social relations, they are not surfaces or landscapes'[18] and in gender they are both 'agents' and 'objects', drawn into 'a historical process in which [they] are materially transformed'.[19] Gender is, in fact, 'the domain of social practice organized in relation to a reproductive arena constituted by the materiality of the body.'[20] This study will observe evidences of physical gendering not just in designated physical education, but in all aspects of school life which regulate behaviour and movement.

Viewing gender formation as a process of constructing, rather than merely reproducing, gendered identities allows for human agency on the part of individuals as they interact with their institutional experience. 'One's identity', Teresa de Lauretis writes, 'is interpreted or reconstructed by each of us within the horizon of meanings and knowledges available in the culture at

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[16] R. W. Connell, 'Cool Guys, Swots and Wimps: the interplay of masculinity and education', in *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol.15, No.3, 1989, pp.291-303; pp.291-2.

[17] Connell, 'Cool Guys, Swots and Wimps'; Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, *The Making of Men: masculinities, sexualities and schooling*, London: Open University Press, 1994.

[18] R. W. Connell, 'Making Gendered People: bodies, identities, sexualities', in Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber and Beth B. Hess, *Revisioning Gender*, London: SAGE Publications, 1999, pp.449-471, p.461. One example of the post-modernist approach criticised by Connell is Jan Wright, 'The Construction of Complementarity in Physical Education', in *Gender and Education*, Vol.8 No.1, 1996, pp.61-79. Wright produced evidence that in girls' physical education, female bodies are inscribed with gender differences which contribute to the marginalisation of girls in relation to physical activity. p.61.

[19] Connell, 'Making Gendered People', pp.463, 454.

[20] *ibid.* p.464.

given historical moments.'[21] The poststructuralist conception of the individual subjectivity as a site of disunity and struggle between conflicting discourses, therefore 'precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak'[22] suggests a confusion which is reduced in contexts which limit the 'horizon of meanings and knowledges' available. The denominational schools in this study were compact institutions which presented fixed interpretations of masculinity and femininity consistent with the values reinforced in the students' homes. Nonetheless, this does not negate individual agency and the possibility of alternative constructions.

Individual school heads, given authority by the community, were in a position of power as, in effect, managers of gender within their schools. Lorber and Farrell, in *The Social Construction of Gender,* alluded to the 'potential for radical change' inherent in the managing of gender :

> Gender, for men as well as for women, is a social construction relationally created within specific social and historical locations that both constrain and yet paradoxically also contain the potential for radical change. We can 'do' gender in ways that maintain existing gender relations, or we can challenge them.[23]

Denominational discourses of gender - understandings which particular religious groups held of what it meant to be male or female - informed school rhetoric and practice; however, school heads sometimes modified conservative concepts of masculinity and femininity. In an era when the Australian secondary school was still at a formative stage, some headmistresses attempted to modernise femininity or create a pre-adult schoolgirl form. Within the Catholic church, an institution dominated by a male hierarchy, the agency of the teaching nuns is evident in their

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[21] Teresa de Lauretis, 'Feminist Studies/Critical Studies: issues, terms, and contexts', in Teresa de Lauretis (ed.), *Feminist Studies, Critical Studies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986, pp.1-19, p.8.

[22] Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1997. Second Edition. p.32.

[23] Lorber and Farrell, *The Social Construction of Gender*, p.11.

construction of images of femininity significantly different from the fixed stereotype presented by their bishops.

Definition of terms

This study will make use of Connell's terminology of gender. The definition, referred to above, of 'gender' as 'the domain of social practice organized in relation to a reproductive arena constituted by the materiality of the body' grounds gender in the physical body. Connell defines the 'reproductive arena' as the set of body-reflexive practices that respond to the reproductive division of humans into (mostly) males and females': thus it is not 'about a fixed set of biological determinants', but, rather, 'about a historical process that operates through and uses bodies.'[24] This study will occasionally refer to this process, and particularly the construction of gender in schools, as 'gendering'. The dichotomy between 'sex' and 'gender' which was found useful in 1970s feminist analysis to separate what was presumed to be biological or natural from social or cultural aspects is no longer found valid, since our conceptions of the biological are themselves linked to conventions of social practice.[25]

'Masculinity' and 'femininity', as categories of gender, are seen as social constructions related to ideas of appropriate behaviours for men and women. Their meanings are, therefore, not fixed, but are contingent on social and historical variants. Gender theorists refer to the dominant model of masculinity in any given time or place as 'hegemonic masculinity'.[26]

The term 'discourse' will be used to mean the language, written and oral, which gives meaning to a particular area of experience: for example, discourses of gender which emanate from

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[24] Connell, 'Making Gendered people', p.464.

[25] Connell, 'Making Gendered people', p.452-4.

[26] Connell, *Gender and Power*, p.183. Gramsci used the term 'hegemony' in the context of class relations. See also: C. Haywood and M. Mac an Ghaill, 'Schooling masculinities', in M. Mac an Ghaill (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities: social relations and cultural arenas*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996, pp.50-60, p.52.

denominational or imperialist ideologies. In an expansion of its literal meaning, discourse is understood as including practice. Chris Weedon explains: 'Discourses exist both in written and oral forms and in the social practices of everyday life. They inhere in the very physical layout of our institutions such as schools, churches, law courts and houses'.[27] Thus 'gender discourse' is taken to entail the words, symbols and practices which give meaning to being male or female in a given context. David Buchbinder's observation that the 'vocabulary' of a discourse may include 'behavioural and gestural signs' (what physical action, clothing, behaviour and so on are permitted or deemed appropriate)[28] is appropriate for school situations.

'Identity' will be used in an individual sense to designate a sense of self. 'Subjectivity' will also be occasionally used. Weedon has defined subjectivity in its poststructuralist sense as 'the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world', signifying a sense of self which, in contrast to the humanist idea of a fixed, unique individual essence, is ongoing, 'precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak.'[29] 'National identity' refers to the sense of self in relation to the nation (or empire). Nationalism and imperialism are defined in a later chapter.

Where the terms 'ethnic' or 'ethnicity' (from the Greek 'ethnos' - nation or people) are used, they are understood to refer to an ethnic community as defined by Anthony Smith as 'a named culture community whose members have a myth of common origins, shared memories and cultural characteristics, a link with a homeland and a measure of solidarity'.[30] Sherington

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[27] C. Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, p.108. Weedon acknowledges Foucault 's Theory of Discourse, Ch.5 *passim.*

[28] David Buchbinder, *Masculinities and Identities*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994, pp.29-30.

[29] Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, p.32.

[30] A. D. Smith, 'The Formation of National Identity', in H. Harris (ed.), *Identity: essays based on Herbert Spencer Lectures given in the University of Oxford*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, pp.129-153, p.133.

found religion to be the main basis of ethnicity in an Australian immigrant colonial context.[31] Smith cites the Irish as an example of an ethno-religious community, because they 'have been defined, and define themselves, primarily in terms of religious beliefs, practices, and symbols.'[32]

Although the term 'adolescent' will be sometimes referred to, it was not in general use during the period under study. While it was employed in some educational circles, the word is not found in the magazines of schools until about the 1930s.[33] 'Education' is used in its formal, institutionalised, sense, as synonymous with schooling. The schools in this study will be collectively referred to, albeit somewhat anachronistically, as secondary schools. There were various terms for institutions engaged in higher education during this period. South Australia's first government school for girls was called an 'Advanced' School, and institutions were also known as 'higher elementary', 'superior' schools or colleges. Some were both elementary and 'secondary' schools.

Parameters of the investigation.

The time span covers a 40-year period in South Australia's history (1880-1919), encompassing the age of High Imperialism, 1890s Australian nationalism, the Federation of the Australian colonies and the Great War. This period is sufficient to investigate the historical contingency of concepts of gender and view possible changes in response to external events. For example, did the images of gender and national identity presented in the schools change during the war? As Chapter Two illustrates, the national identity of South Australians was always more than one-dimensional. Religious

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31 Geoffrey Sherington, 'Australian immigration, ethnicity and education', in *History of Education Review*, Vol.20 No.1, 1991, p.64.

32 Smith, 'The Formation of National Identity', p.134.

33 C. Campbell, 'Representations of youth in school magazines 1895-1940: an exploration of texts, their discursive boundaries and their contributions to youth history', *Old Boundaries and New Frontiers in Histories of Education, Proceedings of Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Conference,* Newcastle, December 1997, Vol. 2, pp.384-5.

and ethnic factors and possible local influences further complicate the overall picture. Were there, for instance, Irish or Australian discourses of masculinity or femininity?

Geographically, the study is confined to the city of Adelaide, and schools in rural areas are therefore excluded. Most Adelaide schools had boarders, mostly from South Australian country areas, as rural secondary schools were rare at this time: a study based on a later period could reveal interesting variations from the urban schools.[34] The Lutheran Immanuel College (located at Point Pass from 1895-1923) is excluded; however, within the time frame of this study, both Immanuel and the other Lutheran school, Concordia College (located in Murtoa, Victoria from 1890-1904) were very small.[35] Investigation of Lutheran variants of masculinity and femininity and national identity do not, therefore, form part of this study. The German cultural influence is occasionally mentioned.

The schools were selected to represent a variety of cultural and denominational backgrounds, in the expectation of finding different discourses of gender and national identity. For each of the denominations selected (Church of England, Methodist and Catholic) both a girls' and a boys' school are investigated. Adelaide's first government secondary school, Adelaide High School, is the one non-denominational, and only coeducational, school in the study. Early South Australian secondary schooling having a mostly middle class clientele, class is not greatly significant to the study, although it should be acknowledged that Christian Brothers' College had a proportion of manual

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[34] Rural masculinity is the subject of a brief chapter in a collection of essays: P. West, 'Sons of the Empire: how boys became men in one Australian town, 1900-1920', in C. Gittings (ed.), *Imperialism and Gender: constructions of masculinity*, New Lambton NSW: Dangaroo Press, 1996, pp.214-223.

[35] Concordia had 12 students and one teacher in 1904. Immanuel had only 30 students by 1909. John W. Hayes, 'Education and the Lutheran Church', in J. Cleverley (ed.), *Half a Million Children: studies of non-government education in Australia,* Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1978, pp.197, 200.

workers' sons.[36] The working class was thinly represented at Adelaide High School in this period.[37]

Being based mainly on official records, this study aims to present a comparative analysis of the ideals of gender and national identity which the various institutions endeavoured to inculcate in their students. It does not presume to judge how the particular discourses may have been received by students, beyond acknowledging that 'the construction of students' identities is a process of negotiation, rejection, acceptance and ambivalence'.[38] It does not include peer relations, boy culture or relationships of staff with students or other staff, some of which areas would reveal much about the negotiations of gender identities in the lived experience of schooling.[39] One acknowledged gendering agent, the scouting movement,[40] was excluded because no evidence was found of its existence in the boys' schools of this period.

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[36] Using figures based on sometimes erratically maintained registers, Hamilton was able to estimate that in 1889, the fathers of 32% of the boys were manual workers, while by 1916 the corresponding figure was 15%. J. Hamilton, 'Faith and Football: masculinities at Christian Brothers' College, Wakefield Street, 1879-1912' M. Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1999, p.101.

[37] C. Campbell, 'Pioneering modern adolescence: the social significance of the early state high schools of Adelaide', in C. Campbell, C. Hooper, M. Fearnley-Sander, *Toward the State High School in Australia: social histories of state secondary schooling in Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia, 1850-1925*, Sydney: Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, 1999, pp.55-77, pp.62-3.

[38] Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 'Schooling Masculinities', p.59.

[39] See, for instance, Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 'Understanding Masculinities'.

[40] M. Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden Powell and the origins of the Boy Scout Movement*, London: Collins, 1986 traces the links between scouting and masculinity in Britain.

Methodology

1. Areas of investigation

Gender ideals, like other values which an organisation deems important, may be suspected to pervade a school institution. It has been written of organisational values:

> these values are obvious to everyone in the institution and pervade every activity the organization undertakes ... Leaders model them, day-to-day practices incorporate them, symbols of the values abound in the organization.'[41]

Hence an investigation needs to encompass multiple aspects of school life. Rules of the classroom, gymnasium, playing field or dining room may demonstrate the school's gender discourse just as clearly as the edifying words expressed in the Assembly Hall or chapel. Rituals and symbols, songs, the ceremonial of special occasions and the school's own magazine all have functions in promoting the ethos of the school. Curriculum - particularly (but not exclusively) in the humanities area - may be expected to embody a cultural heritage, provide exemplary models and encourage their emulation. It is sometimes difficult to separate the three areas - official school rhetoric, aspects of school organisation and ritual, and curriculum - in this investigation. Rhetoric, for example, is sometimes seen to overlap with organisation or curriculum and, although school magazines were part of the organisation of school life, they were often an important vehicle for school rhetoric. These overlaps demonstrate the pervasiveness and coherence with which schools constructed ideals of gender and national identity: the three areas were not, in fact, seen as separate.

School rhetoric has been understood to mean the spoken or written words of school heads, staff, bishops or other church officers associated with the school, officials of school governing

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[41] J. Howard Johnston, 'Values, Culture and the Effective School', in *National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin*, (U.S.A.), Vol.71 No.497, March 1987, pp.81, 83.

bodies or Old Collegians' associations and the school's invited guests. The rhetoric contains the most overt expression of the values of a school. In interpreting its significance, the purpose, time and place all need to be taken into consideration. Silences may be just as meaningful as public pronouncements. Organisation includes all aspects of the structuring of daily school life, the rules, practices, rituals, symbolism, ceremonies, perhaps an annual calendar of patriotic festivals and the school magazine. To make the distinction between the formal aspect of education and other school activities, the term 'curriculum' will be used to designate timetabled classroom lessons; organised clubs, games and gymnastics and recreational reading will be classed as 'extra-curricular' activities, although it will be acknowledged that in some cases these were actually timetabled or compulsory. A variety of subjects is covered: history, English, geography, religion, sometimes science, and extra-curricular activities such as recreational reading, debating, physical education and sport. Syllabuses, textbooks and library catalogues are comparatively rare survivors in school archives, so details of what was taught and what students were encouraged to read sometimes need to be gleaned from incidental sources.

2. Sources: their nature and usefulness.

The study is a qualitative analysis of archival documents. Archival collections in the various schools and the South Australiana section of the Mortlock Collection in the State Library of South Australia have provided a variety of records for examining school rhetoric and aspects of organisation and curriculum. Records consulted include: annual reports, photographs, minutes, syllabuses, records of marks, textbooks, students' exercise books, homework diaries, student reports, examination papers, school prizes, and school library catalogues, school magazines, state daily newspapers and denominational newspapers and journals.

For some schools, there were few records available, particularly regarding the curriculum, and some of the above records are, by their nature, problematic as sources. Textbooks, for a number of reasons, pose difficulties in research. Too little is known of the manner in which they were used, in particular, of how they may have been mediated by the teacher or supplemented with other written sources. Nor are all the textbooks available. A full content or structural analysis has not been attempted, and indeed, as Gilbert warns, this may not be a reliable approach:

> The analysis of a text can point to potential, even likely, outcomes in classroom use of texts, but it can never conclude with confidence that the ideological import of a text as interpreted by the researcher will be similarly realized in the discourse of the classroom.'[42]

Gilbert's further observation that the textbook is just one of the 'diverse mechanisms through which schools help to sustain a hegemony over lived experience'[43] is also appropriate. This study makes in-context references to the textbooks, their stated aims and their content, and provides sample quotes from the body of the text. Used together with evidence from other curricular records of the topics set for study in school or for homework, and the questions set for examinations, textbooks are thus considered in the overall context of the school and denominational ethos.

School magazines are equally problematic, but are invaluable sources for items such as photographs, songs, poetry, Valete notices, obituaries, Old Scholar news, reports of games, debates, school practices and organisation, occasional information about curriculum and a variety of school activities. Although usually produced by senior students, the school magazine is edited by staff and must be considered an official record of the school. Among other things, the magazine is a vehicle for transmitting the ethos of the school. J. A. Mangan wrote that 'the role of the

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[42] *ibid.* p.68.

[43] Rob Gilbert, 'Text Analysis and Ideology Critique of Curricular Content' in Suzanne de Castell, Alan Luke and Carmen Luke (eds.), *Language, Authority and Criticism: readings on the school textbook*, London: Falmer Press, 1989, pp.61-73, p.72.

school magazine is largely an introspective one'[44] and this gives it unique value for the historian. Mangan's extensive use of the magazines of Marlborough and other schools enabled him to capture the spirit of late-nineteenth century public school athleticism. Some historians of individual Australian schools have used magazines as a substantial source.[45]

Craig Campbell has explored the role of the school magazine in both representing and constructing images of youth, and has discovered in the magazines of various schools evidence of changing (and sometimes conflicting) discourses about youth, gender and schooling.[46] In the pages of magazines, idealised images are presented for didactic purposes, for example, when lives of old scholars are held up for present-day scholars to emulate. Photographs provide pictures, for instance, of how ideal masculinity acts, and even of what it looks like. Graham Dawson's observation that 'masculine identities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination' and that (literary) 'representations furnish a repertoire of cultural forms that can be drawn upon in the imagining of lived identities'[47] is relevant to representations of masculinity and femininity in school magazines as well as in historical and literary works.

The schools

The boys' schools selected for the study are: The Collegiate School of St Peter - a Church of England foundation dating from 1847 (called St Peter's College hereafter); Prince Alfred College - the Wesleyan Methodist school established in 1867; the Christian Brothers' College - a Catholic boys' school founded in

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[44] J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, Appendix III, p.243.

[45] e.g. Weston Bate, *Light Blue Down Under: the history of Geelong Grammar School*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990; J. R. Davis, *Principles and Pragmatism: a history of Girton, King's College and Pembroke School*, Adelaide: Pembroke School, 1991.

[46] C. Campbell, 'Representations of youth'.

[47] G. Dawson, 'The Blond Bedouin', in M. Roper and J. Tosh (eds.), *Manful Assertions: masculinities in Britain since 1880*, London: Routledge, 1991, p.118.

1878 and Adelaide High School, the state's first high school, which was founded in 1908. To avoid repetition, some aspects common to boys' and girls' schools, for example, public examination papers, are treated in depth in the boys' section and then only referred to in the chapters on the girls' schools.

The selected girls' schools are: the Advanced School for Girls - a government school established in 1879; Tormore House School, conducted by Miss Caroline Jacob from 1881 - a school affiliated with, but never officially incorporated by, the Church of England; the Catholic Convent of Mercy school - founded in 1880 by Sisters of Mercy from Argentina (and later renamed St Aloysius' College), and Adelaide High School, which in 1908 absorbed the Advanced School for Girls. Girls' physical education is investigated in a separate section, because it is considered in this study to be of particular significance in the construction of femininity in a formative period in the education of South Australian girls.

CHAPTER 2:

Empire and Australian Nationalism.

The national identity of South Australians during the period under investigation is by no means simple. During the late 1880s and 1890s, when Australia was still a cluster of colonies, an Australian nationalism was only beginning to be identified. At the time when the Australian nation was formally created there was still no popular nationalistic upheaval, and even the war which enshrined the Australian soldier as the national hero was fought for the Empire. As a prelude to the investigation of national identities in the gendering of South Australian secondary school children, the present chapter will consider some of the issues involved in identifying an Australian nationalism.

Nationalism - the concept

Loyalty to group or community has existed since the first family or tribal groups were formed in prehistoric times. The kind of loyalty shown by the ancient Greeks or Romans to their communities might, in a more modern age, have been called 'patriotism' and their feeling of shared identity termed 'national consciousness'. Such ideas are essential to (though by no means synonymous with) the modern concept of nationalism.

In tracing the evolution of the word 'nationalism', Raymond Williams found that 'nation' came into usage in the late thirteenth century, referring to a racial group. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term took on a political meaning, being used from early in the seventeenth century in what Williams terms its 'persuasive unitary sense' to refer to the whole people of a country, in contrast to some dissenting minority group. The adjective 'national' dates from the seventeenth century, and 'nationalism' from the early

nineteenth century, becoming common in the middle of the century.[1]

In attempting to define the concept, Shafer (1955) decided that nationalism is so 'complex and changing that it defies short, logical definition'.[2] His warning, 'Tidy formulas do not fit a sentiment which is itself in the process of becoming'[3] could be taken as a caution to the historian to beware of tight categorisations or definitions and to give due respect to time and place in any discussion of nationalism.

Douglas Cole criticised the 'indiscriminate and unrefined application of the term' by historians, which had made the word, 'with its multiple meanings, its vagueness, and its inclination towards self-congratulation or tendentiousness ... virtually useless'.[4] He addressed the difficulties of applying the concept of nationalism to settlement colonies, adding that historians writing about Australia have accepted the colony-to-nation legend with little idea of what nationalism really means. According to Cole, distinction must be made between loyalty to *nation* (a distinct group of people), i.e. nationalism, and loyalty to *state* (a political institution or geographic entity), i.e. patriotism.[5] He thus views nationalism in ethnic terms. Australian ethnic identity being British, its nationalism could be called 'Anglo-Saxon pan-nationalism'[6] - although this would not preclude a *patriotism* to one's own country, that is, to Australia. On this reasoning, then, Cole says 'the old nationalist-versus-imperialist dichotomy is, in some measure, clearly

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[1] R. Williams, *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society*, London: Fontana, 1970, pp.178-179.
[2] Boyd C Shafer, *Nationalism: myth and reality*, London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1955, p.10.
[3] *ibid.* p.11.
[4] Douglas Cole, 'The Problem of 'Nationalism' and 'Imperialism' in British Settlement Colonies', in *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol.X, No.2, May 1971, p.181.
[5] *ibid.* p.164.
[6] *ibid.* p.175.

inappropriate'.[7] In fact, Cole appears to doubt that there ever was a distinct Australian nationalism (his use of inverted commas when addressing the issue of 'nationalism' in both the Canadian and Australian contexts is evidence of this[8]) although he admits that something close to it existed during the 1890s.[9] That Cole has clearly not been heeded in these distinct uses of the terms 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' perhaps indicates that he has been too rigorous in his conceptualisation. Australian historians mostly appear to utilise the term 'nationalism' as denoting loyalty to Australia only, often as implying anti-imperialism, ignoring the possibility of an imperial nationalism. To avoid confusion, 'nationalism' in this study will refer to Australia, unless otherwise indicated.

John Plamenatz sees nationalism as 'the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transfer or even create it when it is felt to be inadequate or lacking'.[10] Such a view presupposes that the people have a sense of cultural identity and an awareness of other cultures, as well as an idea of progress and some idea of their own performance in comparison with other nations. Plamenatz sees nationalism in cultural terms, but as something which can easily become political.[11] The definition given by Robert Birrell as the basis for his treatment of Australian nationalism during the late nineteenth century and early 'nation-building phase' after Federation is of nationalism being 'a movement seeking the establishment of a nation-state on the basis of a community whose members think of themselves as a people sharing certain distinctive characteristics'.[12] Plamenatz's definition would not appear

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[7] *ibid.* p.178. Cole develops the idea of ethnically-based nationalism in 'The Crimson Thread of Kinship: ethnic ideas in Australia, 1870-1914', in *Historical Studies*, Vol.14, No.56, April 1971, pp.511-525.

[8] *ibid.* p.169 and p.165.

[9] *ibid.* p.162.

[10] John Plamenatz, 'Two Types of Nationalism', in E.Kamenka (ed.), *Nationalism: the nature and evolution of an idea*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973, pp.23-24.

[11] *ibid.* p.24.

[12] Robert Birrell, *A Nation of Our Own: citizenship and nation-building in federation Australia*, Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1995, p.2.

inappropriate to an identifiable nationalistic phase of the 1890s or, indeed, to Birrell's portrayal of a young nation continuing to assert a conscious nationalism after Federation and up to the First World War - an era which has often been seen (in the retrospective view) as being swamped by imperialistic fervour. The present study might usefully employ its own definition, suitable to the changing complexities of the Australian situation. Drawing on Plamenatz, Australian nationalism could, then, be defined as: 'the desire to create, preserve or enhance a distinctively Australian national or cultural identity'.

Nationalism is usually seen as involving attitudes or values which are learned, hence its relevance to education. In an analysis of Australian nationalism, Michael Roe described the concept as 'not just an instinctive, innate response of man to his worldly situation'. While not denying that some aspects of nationalism can involve such an innate feeling, he argues that nationalism is largely an ideology which 'owes much to more-or-less deliberate, in a sense artificial, indoctrination.'[13]

Richard White has taken this point of view further in *Inventing Australia* (1987), where he contends that it has been a 'national obsession' of Australia since the late nineteenth century to construct images of itself - to define its own identity. He sees three major forces acting upon the formation of Australia's national identity: European 'cultural baggage', including ideas about science, race, society, nature, nationality; the intelligentsia - writers, historians, critics, journalists, artists - who have been most responsible for definitions of national identity; and groups wielding economic power who create national identities to serve a social function, in such a way that the interests of a broader ruling class come to be seen as the national interests.[14] Hence (in White's view) various intellectual constructs, largely the creations of self-interested groups - have been 'imposed' upon Australians as being distinctive of their country or themselves.

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[13] Michael Roe, 'An Historical Survey of Australian Nationalism', in *Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol.42, No.4, November 1971, p.657.

[14] Richard White, *Inventing Australia: images and identity 1688-1980,* Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1981, p.viii.

Birrell, however, delves further into the 'psychological dynamics' of nationalism to contest the White approach that nationalism is a matter of rational choice motivated by material or utilitarian interests. He argues that, regardless of how nationalism originates - even if it is originally stimulated by material concerns, a sense of national identity becomes part of the sense of self, and takes on a moral, almost religious, tone. He warns that historians cannot ignore this psychological dimension.[15] It will be seen that the English public schools strongly emphasised this dimension in educating boys for empire citizenship.

Benedict Anderson's idea of a nation as an 'imagined political community'[16] would accommodate the view that nationalism is, at least in part, constructed, and presented, or taught, to the population. Ideas of a nation which are imagined - in the sense of being invented or created - can come from a variety of sources and be presented in a variety of ways. This study will examine some means of inculcating loyalties within school situations. The term 'patriotism' - from the Latin 'patria', meaning fatherland - will be used interchangeably with 'loyalty' to mean, (after the Shorter Oxford Dictionary definition) 'love of or zealous devotion to one's country' - or, by extension, one's Empire.

Australian nationalism

Michael Roe's analysis of Australian nationalism, in which he discerns five component aspects, will be useful here to further elucidate the concept of nationalism and apply it to the Australian situation.[17] Roe calls the first of these aspects 'primary association with the locale', which he defines as 'interest and commitment apropos what happened in Australia or some particular part of Australia' and 'the development of a

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15 Birrell, *A Nation*, pp.37-39.

16 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991, p.15.

17 Roe, 'Australian Nationalism'

life style which responded to the physical realities of the new environment'.[18] A second aspect he identifies as 'assertion' - both against an overpower (i.e. Britain or Empire) and against the rest of the world.[19] The third is the expression of the concept in terms of political institutions; Roe contends that Federation was 'to a significant degree, a product of nationalism'.[20] This concurs with Hobsbawm's theory that 'nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round'[21] and is not easily reconciled with the opinions of those historians who see Australian federation as happening primarily for reasons of economic convenience.[22]

The fourth factor, 'the ethical factor', often taken to be 'the essence of nationalism', (and the focus of Russel Ward's famous study of Australian national identity in *The Australian Legend*[23]) should, according to Roe, be ranked only equal with the other four. The belief in national character traits, national ideals of egalitarianism, mateship and other idealisations are only one part of nationalism, and are products of the 'ethic-creators'' selective representations of the realities of Australian life. Nor are these necessarily unique to Australia: Roe adds that the frontiersman (i.e. bushworker) and soldier are national heroes in other communities as well as Australia.[24] The fifth factor, the aesthetic, involves appreciating and defining the

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[18] *ibid.* p.658

[19] *ibid.* p.661

[20] *ibid.* p.667. (For the economic view of federation, see, for instance, R.Norris, 'Economic Influences on the 1898 South Australian Federation Referendum', in A.W.Martin (ed.), *Essays in Australian Federation*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969, pp.137-166.)

[21] E.J.Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: programme, myth, and reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.10.

[22] See, for instance, R. Norris, 'Economic Influences on the 1898 South Australian Federation Referendum', in A.W.Martin (ed.), *Essays in Australian Federation*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969, pp.137-166.

[23] Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1958

[24] Roe, 'Australian Nationalism', pp.668-672

nation's beauty and 'pondering the human identification with it' by means of literature, art, song or film.[25]

Roe maintains that nationalism can coexist with other loyalties such as imperialism or a narrow provincialism. Imperialism, he adds, could act counter to Australian nationalism, but could also be compatible with it and even assist its development.[26] Roe's comprehensive analysis of Australian nationalism is a caution against narrower descriptions which may encompass only one or two of the aspects he analyses. He implies that in all of these aspects there is room for a variety of responses. Immigrants (and their descendants) from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds could relate to their new nation and express their nationalism(s) in quite varied ways. Roe sees ethnic unity as a facilitating factor in nationalism, but by no means as important a component as it is for Cole, for whom 'the crimson thread of kinship' as invoked by Parkes was the main feature of Australian' nationalism.[27] Cole may be justified in subsuming Australian nationalism under the broad umbrella of 'pan-Anglo-Saxon-nationalism', but only if he will admit a variety of response and even dissent. Geoffrey Partington (1994) has illustrated some of the subtleties of Australian nationalism in a study which depicts Australia as essentially British, but with mixtures of loyalties which did not prevent allegiance to both country and Empire.[28]

The type and extent of nationalism in late nineteenth century Australia has been a subject of debate among twentieth-century historians. From the 1930s, historians writing in what became known as the radical-nationalist tradition saw something distinctive about Australia in the pre-federation era, including a self-conscious Australianness in the arts and a positive desire to build a new society built on egalitarian and democratic ideals. Russel Ward was perhaps pre-eminent among these historians

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[25] *ibid.* p.672

[26] *ibid.* pp.675-676

[27] Cole, 'The Crimson Thread of Kinship', p.521 and *passim.*

[28] Geoffrey Partington, *The Australian Nation: its British and Irish roots*, Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1994.

for his thesis on the 'Australian Legend', which traced the growth of a national mystique - the distinctively Australian bushman-hero.[29] Ward does point out, in *The Australian Legend* and elsewhere, that 'the outback employees, the semi-nomadic drovers, shepherds, shearers, bullock-drivers, stockmen, boundary-riders, station-hands and others of the pastoral industry'[30] were not the average Australians at the time (most of the population were in fact living in urban centres) but it was their *distinctive* qualities which entered the folk lore and songs and the ethos of the whole nation.[31]

Ward was not the first exponent of this idea - Francis Adams, visiting Australia in 1892, had seen the bushman as 'the one powerful and unique national type yet produced in Australia'. However, Adams' 'bushmen' included people of all ages and both sexes: 'These are free men and free women, free boys and free girls, every one of them, and will not take the whip from anything born',[32] and what he observed was an expression of not just the distinctive (male) bush identity, but a broader democratic-egalitarian ethos which was identified in connection with urban as well as rural Australians. In revealing his version of the national legend in the 1950s, Ward probably popularised it as much as those whom he saw as its chief protagonists - Furphy, Lawson and Paterson. The publication of *The Legend* could be seen as an imposition of this particular construction of the national identity upon the nation, or at least, a re-imposition, in a more deliberate, self-conscious way.

Just how distinctively Australian the bushman was is open to debate: Partington has discussed the Anglo-Celtic basis of most 'Australian' bush folk-songs,[33] while Roe, as previously mentioned, has explained that the frontiersman/bushman is a hero of many new societies. Such criticism, however, does not

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[29] R.Ward, *The Australian Legend*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1958, 2nd edition, 1965.
[30] *ibid* . p.2.
[31] *ibid.* p.*vi.* (Foreword to the Second Edition.)
[32] Francis Adams, *The Australians: a social sketch*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893, pp.165, 182.
[33] Partington, *The Australian Nation*, p.66.

negate the fact that it was something about the Australian way of life and the local setting which was being addressed - involving not just Roe's 'ethical' factor, but also 'primary association with the locale' and often including an aesthetic appreciation of the Australian environment. Another kind of challenge to Ward has come from John Rickard, who mined nineteenth-century popular literature and drama to attack Ward's assumption of there being only one stereotype for the Australian national character. Rickard claims that even those authors whom Ward sees as propagating the bushman legend (for instance, 'Banjo' Paterson and Mary Grant Bruce) also idealised the squatter, selector, bushranger and even the pioneer woman and colonial girl. Rickard concludes, 'Historians - and others - should put the typical Australian to rest, and consider instead Australianness in all its forms.'[34] There was, in other words, a range of ideal types, or models, of Australian identity.

That the 'Legend' and the radical-nationalists' understanding of the Australian ethos have been based upon an exclusively masculine and blatantly racialist ideal has been admitted.[35] This exclusionism has been highlighted by Australian historians from the 1960s onwards, and the resulting histories have presented a much less positive picture of Australia's early nation-building years than that presented in the radical-nationalist view. The trend has been to see Australia since 1788 as sexist, racist and dependent, with little cultural or political originality.[36] Birrell has taken a corrective stance, maintaining that 'the federation era can in fact be read as one of progressive emancipation from British imperial control, inspired in large part by the nation-building ideas of Australia's national

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34 J. Rickard, 'National Character and the 'Typical Australian' - an alternative to Russel Ward', in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No.4, June 1979, p.21.

35 Ian Turner, 'Australian Nationalism and Australian History', in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No.4, June 1979, pp.1-11.

36 Feminist historians e.g. Miriam Dixson, *The Real Matilda: women and identity in Australia 1788 to 1975*, Melbourne: Penguin Books Australia, 1976.

leaders'.[37] Moreover, he maintains that the nationalist movement 'waxed rather than waned after federation'.[38]

The nationalist movement to which Birrell refers is a largely political one, born of a sense of unique community based on democratic, egalitarian civic values - values which he sees as not being derived from British (hierarchical) social ideas.[39] This is highly disputable: in assuming British society to be highly stratified and essentially conservative, Birrell has ignored that strand of the British tradition which was democratic and even radical. Partington, by contrast, views Australian efforts to build a free and independent nation as an outcome of a British heritage in which freedom and democracy are cherished.[40]

The derivative nature of Australian nationalism was noted by a contemporary observer, young Oxford graduate Richard Jebb, who travelled the Empire between 1898 and 1901, visiting the Australian colonies in 1899, on the eve of their federation. Like politicians 'at home', Jebb wished to see a great unified Empire, but he rejected the British idea of an imperial federation of colonies joined in loyalty to Britain. His travels convinced him that Australians, like Canadians, were developing their own patriotism. The days of colonial loyalty to Britain were passing - to be replaced by a self-respecting 'colonial nationalism'. Jebb believed this was as it should be:

> A sound country has no use for the men whose first affections lie beyond its shores; which is the conventional English idea of 'colonial loyalty.' The future of the new countries lies with the native-born, whose first love, like that of their forefathers, is for the land of their own birth.[41]

Moreover, this assertion of self-respect and independence was merely Australians exhibiting 'the temper which made England herself'.[42] Thus he wrote in 1905 that the nature of the Empire

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[37] Birrell, *A Nation*, p.7

[38] *ibid.* p.14

[39] Birrell, *A Nation*, p.12.

[40] Partington, *The Australian Nation*, p.*xvi.*

[41] R. Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*, London: Edward Arnold, 1905. p.329.

[42] *ibid.* p.335.

should change so that the 'independent national instincts' of the newer nations could be recognised. 'In general, it is clear that the union, if any, must resemble an alliance of independent nations rather than a federation of scattered States inspired by the idea of a common nationality.'[43] Jebb's observations support Birrell's idea of a nation-building spirit in Australia which made federation more than merely an economic expediency. Jebb found an admirer in Alfred Deakin - one of the federal nation-builders who promoted Australia's national interests within the framework of an Empire which he hoped would become an alliance of nations. If Jebb's observations can be taken as an accurate reflection of late nineteenth century sentiment, there was emerging in Australia a changing, less dependent style of loyalty, based on an Australian sense of self-respect as an independent member of the Empire. This consciousness of Australian self-respect must be considered as a factor in the colonists' enthusiastic response to the Boer War, and, later, Australia's patriotic reaction to the outbreak of World War One.

Writing prior to the Great War, Jebb could assess colonial nationalism on its merits, free from the temptation to make retrospective judgements about pre-war history as a time of growing imperialism which culminated in the patriotic response to the outbreak of war. Stephen Alomes writes of 'the rising tide of imperial militarism' in the context of

> gathering clouds of international conflict, the importance of Social Darwinist racial ideology, of imperial institutions and rituals in middle-class and working class society, and of imperial propaganda ...[r]einforced by traditional invasion fears and by links of kinship between the colonies and Britain [which combined to] produce a predominantly imperial patriotism in Australia, even before it was finally sealed in the blood of World War I.[44]

Birrell warns that 'those looking at the federation era from the perspective of World War One tend to miss the importance of

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[43] *ibid.* p.273.

[44] S.Alomes, 'Australian Nationalism in the Eras of Imperialism and Internationalism', in *Journal of Politics and History,* Vol.34, No.3, 1988, pp.323, 321.

the 'colonial nationalist' impulse'[45], and argues that imperial loyalty did not prevent the development of Australian nationalism.[46] Hancock saw British and Australian loyalties as compatible, referring to the British in Australia as 'independent Australian Britons' who 'believed each word essential and exact, but laid most stress upon the last'.[47] Grimshaw observes that 'it became almost universally accepted ... by 1900, that Australian nationalism was compatible with continued Empire membership.'[48] Britons had themselves come from a nation where narrower loyalties - to England, Scotland, Ireland or Wales - were blended with an over-arching wider loyalty: in their new country it was inevitable that dual, perhaps multiple, layers of identity contributed to varying expressions of Australian patriotism.

Australia and Empire in the late nineteenth century

Francis Adams thought he observed a 'transition period from Anglo-Australia to Australia' in the early 1890s,[49] but believed that technological advances were strengthening old ties. He wrote: 'Mail steamer and cable have brought England too close.'[50] With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, steamships were able to travel from London to Melbourne in forty-four days; by 1870, using a combination of telegraph and steamship, English news could reach Australia in about twenty days. With the completion of the London-to-Adelaide telegraph cable in 1872, England and Australia could communicate with each other within hours.[51] Inglis has suggested that telegraphic communication 'may illuminate the persistence of imperial

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45 Birrell, *A Nation*, p.248.

46 Birrell, *A Nation*, p.247-248.

47 W.K.Hancock, *Australia*, Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1961, p.57.

48 C.Grimshaw, 'Australian Nationalism and the Imperial Connection 1900-1914', in *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol.3, No.2, May 1958, p.161.

49 Adams, *The Australians*, p.83

50 Adams, *The Australians*, p.84.

51 K.S.Inglis, 'The Imperial Connnection: telegraphic communication between England and Australia, 1872-1902', in Madden, A.F. and Morris-Jones, W.H., *Australia and Britain: studies in a changing relationship*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980, pp.21-38, p.23.

sentiment among an increasingly native-born population'[52] The brevity of telegraphic messages could give a distorted picture of events, such as the progress of the Boer War, news of which came to Australian newspapers in triumphant telegraphic bursts; 'amplification, qualification, analysis and reflection came weeks later'[53] Professor G. Arnold Wood of Sydney was among a minority who distrusted this source of war-time news, finding more analytical comment in the British newspapers which arrived perhaps five or six weeks later by steamship. His pro-Boer views received little support, while 'the spirit of Mafeking travelled undiluted along the wires.'[54]

However, as well as aiding imperial unity, the 'all-red line' beneath the sea was important for Australia's own future. Communication with other countries and the great commercial centres of the world had obvious benefits for commerce and journalism. At the banquet held in Adelaide on 15 November 1872 to celebrate the opening of the cable, messages were exchanged with New York and San Francisco as well as with London.[55] The South Australian government's achievement in constructing the cable from Darwin to Adelaide was celebrated with enormous local and national pride, with the Governor of South Australia expressing the hope that 'the link by which we have bound ourselves afresh to our mother-country may also bind us together for our mutual strength and for a glorious future'.[56] On the morning following the Adelaide banquet, the editor of *The South Australian Register* hailed the telegraph as 'a land mark in our national progress, ... intimately bound up ... with the future of this continent'.[57]

A link of another kind can be viewed as both a symbol of imperial unity and a triumph of Australian nationalism.[58]

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[52] *ibid.* p.38.
[53] *ibid.* p.31.
[54] *ibid.* pp.36-37.
[55] *The South Australian Register*, Saturday 16 November 1872, p.6.
[56] *ibid.*
[57] *ibid.*, p.4.
[58] For these two points of view, see R. Cashman, 'Symbols of Imperial Unity: Anglo-Australian Cricketers, 1877-1900', in J.A.Mangan (ed.), *The Cultural*

Cricket teams from England first visited Australia in the 1850s, and by the mid-1870s Australian teams were enjoying some success. Mandle comments that these victories brought feelings of pride which were 'a weird mixture of narrow national and wider imperial pride, racial confidence and reassurance'.[59] Feeling either triumphantly Imperial British or triumphantly Australian, players and the public generally were reassured that the antipodean sunshine had not led to a deterioration of the race. Mandle continues: 'There is a case for arguing that Australian nationalism and self-confidence was first and most clearly manifested in the late 1870s because of the feats of its sportsmen and particularly of its cricketers'.[60]

If Mandle's case for 'cricketing nationalism'[61] seems overstated, it is well to consider that after the 1870s the teams took on symbols of national unity, as the team came to be known as the 'Australian XI' and displayed its own Australian 'coat of arms' - even before federation.[62] Australians could see in their cricketers an example of cooperative national effort. The fact that the matches were played against England is significant: Cashman sees these Anglo-Australian contests as enhancing the cultural bond of Empire (a telling fact is that some cricketers represented both England and Australia at different times[63]); however, Mandle is probably justified in suspecting that cricket - particularly when Australia was victorious - helped Australians see themselves as more than 'an extension of Britain'.[64]

Bond: Sport, Empire, Society, London: Frank Cass, 1992, pp.128-141, and W.F.Mandle, 'Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century', in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.59, Part 4, December 1973, pp.226-246.

[59] Mandle, 'Cricket and Australian Nationalism', p.233.

[60] *ibid.* p.237. Indeed, Noel McLachlan has observed: 'Evidently cricket moved Australians to nationalist passion almost unheard of in politics.... *Absence* of nationalism beyond the cricket field was the enduring problem.' Noel McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution: a history of Australian Nationalism*, Melbourne: Penguin, 1989, pp.155, 166.

[61] *ibid.* p.235.

[62] *ibid,* pp.240-241.

[63] Cashman, 'Symbols of Imperial Unity', p.131.

[64] Mandle, 'Cricket and Australian Nationalism', p.242.

Both culturally and economically, Australia's links with Britain remained important. Most of the capital invested in Australia was British, and Britain was Australia's major export market. The boom of the 1880s was largely due to British investment.[65] Thus Britain was essential to Australia's economic survival. The percentage of native-born Australians gradually increased, but the percentage of the population born in the British Isles remained significant, as the table below illustrates. (Even by 1901, the Australian-born component would have included many first or second generation Australians who still considered themselves British.)

Year	Born in British Isles	Born in Australia	Total Population
1871	41%	54%	1,662,590
1881	31%	63%	2,250,074
1891	26%	68%	3,174,392
1901	18%	77%	3,773,801

Table I: Percentages of Australians born in the British Isles and Australia.[66]

The culture and lifestyle of most Australians was, inevitably, modelled predominantly on British practice, although there were, of course, Irish, Scottish and Welsh as well as English varieties of Britishness. The immigrants had transplanted their organised religions, with the familiar Christian calendar of festivals, and had brought traditions in architecture, music, journalism, sports and patterns of everyday family life. Plants and animals were imported from the home countries. The legal system, schools, unions and other organisations, would likewise follow British examples. Colonial parliaments, effectively self-governing in internal matters, were based on

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[65] D.M.Gibb, *National Identity and Consciousness: commentary and documents*, Melbourne: Nelson, 1982, p.48.

[66] Based on figures in W.Vamplew, *Australians: historical statistics*, Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987, pp.8-9. (The proportion of the adult population born in the British Isles would have been much higher.)

the Westminster model.[67] Australians celebrated Queen Victoria's birthday and her silver and golden jubilees (1887 and 1897) with enthusiasm and affection. The Queen was seen to symbolise the unity and ideals of Empire. In announcing her death in 1901, the Adelaide *Advertiser* praised the 'marvellous expansion of her Empire' which had been 'in reality the outward sweep of liberty and righteous rule', and declared:

> Queen Victoria has stood for the principles on which the progress of civilisation and the welfare of humanity so materially depend.[68]

The *Advertiser*'s words typify the rhetoric of late nineteenth century British imperialism. The term 'imperialism' has so many interpretations that Australian historian W. Keith Hancock judged it as an emotive and imprecise term not appropriate for use by historians.[69] Sociologist Raymond Williams defined its late nineteenth century meaning as 'primarily a political system in which colonies are governed from an imperial centre, for economic but also for other reasons', but considering its many subsequent interpretations, concluded that 'imperialism...cannot be reduced, semantically to a single proper meaning'. He added: 'Its important historical and contemporary variations of meanings point to real processes which have to be studied in their own terms.'[70] This study is concerned with imperialism as individual or social awareness of, or identification with, the British Empire. This identification was usually associated with pride in the British achievement, in Lord Rosebery's words, 'that greater pride in Empire which is ... a larger patriotism'.[71]

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[67] Gibb, *National Identity*, pp.32-57.

[68] *Advertiser* 24 January 1901, 4b. (Editorial.)

[69] W.K.Hancock, *Wealth of Colonies*, Cambridge: University Press, 1950, p.17.

[70] Williams, *Keywords,* pp.131-132.

[71] A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and its Enemies*, London: Macmillan, 1958, (Second Edition), p.x.

As a background to the investigation of the construction of gender in South Australian secondary schools, the next chapter will illustrate how imperialist discourse was employed in the gendering of secondary school boys and girls in Britain.

CHAPTER 3:

National identity, gender and education: men, women and education in late nineteenth century Britain.

Social Darwinism, male and female roles in late Victorian society.

The industrial achievements on display at the Great Exhibition of London in 1851 were a tangible representation of mid-Victorian England's belief in progress. This belief, combined with a respect for science characteristic of the age, ensured the wide acceptance, at least among educated persons, of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. This biological treatise, which can be seen as an outcome of the questions being posed in philosophy and science at the time, was profoundly influential, not only in the scientific world where it strictly belonged, but in many aspects of human society.

The idea of progressive, deterministic change was widely-held. So, too, was the idea that certain social groups played pre-determined roles in this natural, evolutionary march of progress. It suited the nineteenth-century social order to apply - and misapply - Darwin's treatise in a variety of social and political contexts to lend scientific, and even moral, legitimacy to existing ideas and practices. 'Social Darwinism', a term which appears to have come into use in the 1890s[1], refers to a pattern of thought which belongs more properly to Herbert Spencer, the English philosopher who had himself been working on a theory of evolution in very general terms and had written about the 'survival of the fittest' before Darwin.[2] While Darwin had written about natural selection in the plant and animal world,

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[1]P.D.Marchant, 'Social Darwinism', in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol.3, No.1, November 1957, p.47.

[2]D. R. Oldroyd, *Darwinian Impacts: an introduction to the Darwinian Revolution*, Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1980, p.207.

making careful deductions from empirical evidence, Social Darwinists such as Spencer borrowed his ideas freely, on the assumption that society, nations, races and classes developed in the same way as organisms and so were subject to the same scientific principle of natural selection. Therefore, competition between races and nations, different social groups and classes, men and women, was legitimised as part of the natural evolutionary process. Commenting on the wide and sometimes erroneous application of *The Origin of Species*, Marchant writes: '[Darwin's] work had something of a Biblical character about it, sufficiently imprecise and ambiguous to provide texts for all occasions and to furnish support for orthodoxy and heresy alike.'[3]

In the Social Darwinists' application of Darwinian theory, existing social arrangements were the right ones - the present victors in the struggle for survival must be those destined for survival according to the natural law of evolution. This is presumably because, as Halliday points out, the criterion for fitness (to survive) was success, social or economic.[4] Conversely, those who were deprived in these aspects were presumed to be of inferior genetic material and were deemed 'unfit'. Halliday has described Social Darwinism as 'a practice of culling the socially and economically deprived' which was tantamount to 'political oppression'.[5] The preoccupation with evolution and the struggle for survival was largely a middle-class phenomenon, and may be seen in the context of a broader reform movement which arose partly as a response to the perceived threat of working-class revolt and sought to preserve a social arrangement based on middle-class values.

Darwin's theory could be used as theoretical justification for social and political struggles of various kinds, sanctioning any force or discrimination involved. Thus imperialism could be seen as an altruistic process which would aid the survival and

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[3]Marchant, 'Social Darwinism', p.51.
[4]R.J.Halliday, 'Social Darwinism: a definition', in *Victorian Studies*, Vol.XIV, No.4, June 1971, p.404.
[5]*ibid.*

prosperity of a superior (Anglo-Saxon) race. If lesser races were extinguished in the process, this was only hastening the inevitable. A range of pseudo-sciences - among them craniometry (brain measurement) and phrenology (reading the 'bumps' on the head) - lent support to evolutionary theories by identifying 'evidence' of, for example, the natural inferiority of other races.

But while the Anglo-Saxon race seemed confident of its own natural superiority, there was, by the 1890s, a growing sense of insecurity, a feeling that, by comparison with Germany and the United States, Britain was in decline as a great imperial power, and even anxiety lest the Empire be found, in Darwinian terms, not fit for survival. To restore Britain to greatness, 'national efficiency' became a catch-cry, aimed at exhorting the population to greater efforts in most areas of their lives. G. R. Searle sees this ideal as the unifying motivation in British political thought between 1899 (when the Boer War exposed the poor physical quality of the nation's soldiers) and 1914. Searle writes that the 'breaking-down of historical writing into well-worn categories like 'Imperialism', 'Social Reform', 'National Defence' and 'Education' simply fragments a subject that has a unity and significance of its own for those who set out to describe it'.[6] While it may be difficult to appreciate Searle's reasons for wanting to abolish useful 'fragmentary' categories, it is possible to see many of the streams of thought in Britain at the time as expressive of this general ideal of national efficiency.

To ensure the progress of the race, there were specialised roles for men and women. The complementarity of the sexes was the essential basis of socio-economic life: femininity was defined in contrast to masculinity. As a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, the place of work for most men was away from the family home. It has become customary for historians to speak of males and females moving within separate 'spheres' - women in the 'private sphere' of the family home and men in the 'public

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[6]G.R.Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: a study in British politics and political thought, 1899-1914*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971, p.3.

sphere' of work and community. However, while public and private spheres were quite distinct and women clearly belonged to the latter, men were free to move between the two, and, as Tosh has pointed out, a man's sense of masculine identity derived from his position in both the public world of work and the private domestic scene.[7] Middle class boys were expected to prepare for their future role by cultivating a style of masculinity (expressed as various concepts of 'manliness') which would equip them to provide leadership and service to Empire, both within Britain and in the colonies, while girls were to see their primary role as that of mothers, on whom depended the progress and, indeed, the very survival of the race. Women provided the domestic infrastructure which enabled men to undertake their work outside the home. However, the gender ideals discussed in this chapter were predominantly a concern of the middle- and upper-classes; the working classes remained largely oblivious to loftier notions of proper gender behaviour. To those (males and females) committed to hard physical labour, many elements of middle-class ideals would have been irrelevant. Movements such as scouting which aimed to spread middle-class ideals 'downwards' have sometimes been seen as indoctrination.[8]

Ideals of femininity and the education of girls

The popular perception of female roles in late Victorian England rested upon several assumptions: a basic respect for science, which gave credibility to evolutionary ideas, a sense of imperial obligation, emphasising the importance of national efficiency and racial survival, and an essentially conservative middle-class quest for social stability - to counter the perceived evil effects of industrial progress and universal male franchise - which saw increased importance placed on family life and the traditional

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[7]J.Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity?', in *History Workshop Journal*, 38, Autumn 1994, pp.179-202, p.184ff.

[8]An example is the scouting movement, which has been described as 'not a disembodied, altruistic exercise, but a thoroughly political act with significant social consequences'. Rosenthal, *The Character Factory,* p. 201.

female mothering role. This role had, in effect, three components, all of which received critical attention during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with implications for female education in Britain and Australia: firstly, mother as reproducer, secondly, mother as nurturer, and thirdly, mother as moral influence. The third of these, and often the second, were seen to embrace even those women who were not mothers in a physical sense.

Carol Dyhouse has argued convincingly that late nineteenth-century conservative attitudes to the role of women cannot be seen as the *outcome* of Social Darwinistic thought; rather, the new terminology, with talk of evolutionary progress and fears of 'racial suicide', was merely a new way of stating and defending old arguments, now with a new scientific and moral force.[9] There did, however, seem to be new cause for alarm. Census figures since 1881 showed the British population to be declining, and the obvious target for such concerns was the child-bearing section of the population, women in their role as reproducers of the population. Bacchi has drawn attention to what she has called the 'real problem' - not the declining birth-rate among English-speaking peoples of the world, but concern that 'the best stock were being outbred by the unfit'.[10] This was the major concern of the eugenics movement, which aimed at improvement of the race through selective breeding. But population numbers *per se* were seen as important by those who argued that Britain needed greater numerical strength to match its main rival nations in economic and military power. In this light, women as reproducers were only performing their patriotic duty.

The 'quality' of the population became of greater concern after 1899, when the poor physical standard of recruits for the Boer

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[9]C.Dyhouse, 'Social Darwinistic ideas and the development of women's education in England, 1880-1920', in *History of Education*, Vol.5, No.1, 1976, p.55.

[10]C.Bacchi, 'Evolution, Eugenics and Women: the impact of scientific theories on attitudes towards women, 1870-1920', in E.Windschuttle (ed.), *Women, Class and History: feminist perspectives on Australia, 1788-1978*, Sydney: Fontana, 1980, p.136.

War was exposed. Again, the onus was on mothers, who were seen as failing in their nurturing role. In 1899, England and Wales had an infant mortality rate of 163, (that is, 163 babies out of every thousand died in their first year).[11] Davin has explained at some length how this problem, and the inadequate nourishment and care of older children, were seen in terms of the national interest and were invariably attributed to maternal ignorance or neglect, rather than to poor living conditions.[12] In 1904 a parliamentary report by the Physical Deterioration Committee made fifty-three recommendations covering a broad range of factors in the living conditions of working-class mothers. The widespread discussion which followed seems, however, to have resulted only in renewed emphasis on the need to educate mothers, and local authorities set up classes in cooking, hygiene and child care.[13]

Of the moral role of women in the home, Houghton writes: '[T]he Industrial Revolution created a psychological and amoral atmosphere for which an idealized home with its high priestess offered a compensating sense of humanity and moral direction.'[14] The wife and (particularly in the late Victorian period) the mother, took on almost supernatural importance as the guardian of moral, as well as physical, well-being.

Delamont and Duffin, in their exploration of the cultural and physical world of the nineteenth-century woman, have depicted the life which the middle-class girl was expected to lead.[15] Femininity, at least for middle-class girls of the period, meant submission and inactivity. In a 1977 article, Greer Litton Fox identified three strategies for regulating the behaviour of women in society, all of which could be seen as applicable to the late nineteenth century woman. The first two, 'confinement' (to the

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[11]A.Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', in *History Workshop*, No.5, 1978, p.10.
[12]Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', p.55 and *passim.*
[13]*ibid.*, p.27.
[14]W.E.Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957, p.393.
[15]S.Delamont and L.Duffin, *The Nineteenth Century Woman: her cultural and physical world*, London: Croom Helm, 1978.

home) and 'protection' (by chaperones) are external protection strategies, while the third type, 'normative restriction', though appearing to allow for more independent movement in society, works through a life-time process of 'self-control through the internalization of values and norms'.[16] This process depends on a socialization structure beginning at birth which dictates that women must behave in all situations of life in a way that society deems 'feminine', with a range of social and emotional punishments for non-compliance. Fox concludes that women's reward - protection by men - is negated by the social limitations, which 'facilitate the hegemony of men in a sex-stratified world'.[17] The anxieties of the age and the new importance attached to motherhood focussed attention on women in a way that both advantaged and disadvantaged them. Bacchi comments that the suffragists and campaigners for higher education, far from challenging the dominant maternal ideology, capitalised on the new dignity which it gave to women to win the vote and opportunities for higher education.[18]

Such opportunities did not come easily, however. Higher education was seen as a threat, not only to the ideal of femininity but to relations between the sexes. It was feared that education would make women unwilling, or even unable, to have children. From about the 1860s, there was concern that mental strain made girls physiologically unfit for motherhood. Herbert Spencer wrote in 1867 that 'absolute or relative infertility is generally produced in woman by mental labour carried to excess'.[19] Spencer was assuming that current laws of physics applied to the human body: according to the principle of conservation of energy, a body had a limited amount of energy to expend and if women wasted energy on attaining intellectual education they would be drawing upon the fund needed for their reproductive function. Fears that intellectual education could

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[16]G.L.Fox, '"Nice Girl": social control of women through a value construct', in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol.2, No.4, 1977, p.806.

[17]Fox, "Nice Girl', p.817.

[18]C.Bacchi, 'Evolution, Eugenics and Women', p.152.

[19]Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Biology* (1867), cited in C.Dyhouse, 'Social Darwinistic Ideas', p.43.

cause infertility, inability to breastfeed and even psychiatric disorders were supported by some prominent members of the medical profession.[20] It was also believed that girls allowed to develop academic interests might be disinclined towards motherhood, and the resulting dereliction of duty would undermine the whole social structure and endanger the future of the race.

According to Burstyn, it was the perceived threat to traditional relationships between the sexes which made higher education for women so contentious, and 'the terms of the debate...only changed ... when education came to seen, in the twentieth century, as something broader than occupational training, when the middle-classes abandoned their single-mindedness about business and professional success and broadened their vision to include the general cultural development of each individual.' [21] Mangan has described the Victorian concept of femininity as 'demand[ing] of women a docility, commitment to domesticity and subservience'.[22] Burstyn considers the ideal of womanhood to have been less a response to conditions in Britain at the time than an expression of 'deep-rooted beliefs about the relationships of men and women that proved impervious to changes in the conditions of English society.'[23] She writes that higher education became possible after 'women's sphere changed in response to the drive toward professionalism, not because the middle-classes believed their ideal of womanhood had been mistaken'.[24] If education of women were to be acceptable, it would need to be seen as preparation for work in the women's sphere - in the home or in nurturing and service occupations which could be seen as a modern extension of women's domestic role.

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[20]Dyhouse, 'Social Darwinistic Ideas', p.45-46.

[21]J.Burstyn, *Victorian Education and Ideal of Womanhood*, London: Croom Helm, 1980, pp.167, 140.

[22]J. A. Mangan and J. Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality: middle-class masculinity in Britain and America 1880-1940,* London: Manchester University Press, 1987, p.4.

[23]Burstyn, *Victorian Education,* p.167.

[24]*ibid.,* p.172.

Opportunities for girls' education

The Schools' Inquiry Commission of 1867-68 found that existing forms of education for middle-class girls had mainly social, not academic, aims. Until about the age of 10, girls were most likely to be educated at home (by a governess or perhaps a parent), after which they might attend a day school for two or three years. At about the age of 12, some would be sent to select boarding schools until about 17 years of age, when they would come home or go on to a finishing school. Commissioner Bryce commented that finishing schools were 'not so much an educational agent as a tribute which the parent pays to his own social position'.[25] The enclosed nature of these - and later - boarding establishments for girls and their function as centres for intensive training in femininity would place them very nearly in Litton Fox's 'confinement' category for feminine control.

The type of education girls received at home and at school was designed to make them skilled in 'feminine' accomplishments including decorative sewing, music, singing, perhaps dance or elocution and sometimes languages. However, the quality and content varied greatly, with some daughters of intellectual parents or those in nonconformist households receiving education of a high academic standard and others being schooled by poorly-educated and untrained governesses. This variability, combined with the acceptance that women's role in the home was subservient, contributed to the lack of status accorded to girls' education. Dyhouse comments that most middle-class parents did not consider academic education important for daughters; their education was more for social purposes, to ensure they grew up as 'decorative, modest, marriageable beings'.[26]

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[25]From the Report of the Schools' Inquiry Commission, cited in C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, p.42.

[26]Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p.42.

From the late 1840s, new, academically-oriented girls' schools were founded, the rise of which has been well documented.[27] These schools pioneered new standards for a relatively small number of middle-class girls whose parents, for a variety of reasons, preferred their daughters to have a more serious education, perhaps making them more eligible marriage partners for having cultivated minds. There was growing admiration for the reformed public boys' schools of the period, where academic and moral education went hand-in-hand. Some few saw, realistically, that some women would have to work outside the home, before, or even instead of, marriage (there was a population surplus of women towards the end of the century), and education was a means of preparing them for this role.

The new schools for girls represented an advance in educational opportunity for girls, but revisionist twentieth-century feminist writers have denied that they had any significant effect in redefining female roles. Dyhouse comments:

> Formal education did not and could not free women from the constraints of socially-defined concepts of 'femininity' and female behaviour. The new schools and colleges in some ways even reinforced these concepts and helped to reproduce the very same ideas and forms of behaviour which girls had learned from childhood onwards in the family.'[28]

Dyhouse writes that the new schools were acceptable only because they operated within the framework of the Victorian feminine ideal, which she has defined as 'economic dependency', characterised by 'service' and 'self-sacrifice'.[29] Delamont sees 'double conformity' - the need to adhere both to the standards of ladylike behaviour and to the male standards of the educational and cultural world - as the 'central theme' in women's education from the 1840s.[30] The task of proving that girls could be ladylike and scholarly at the same time was difficult in a period

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[27] e.g. M.Bryant, *The Unexpected Revolution: a study in the history of the education of women and girls in the nineteenth century*, London: University of London Institute of Education, 1979.

[28] Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p.175.

[29] *ibid.*, p.2.

[30] S.Delamont, 'The Contradictions in Ladies' Education', in S.Delamont and L.Duffin, *The Nineteenth Century Woman*, p.140.

where the two were often seen as mutually exclusive, and headmistresses had to be careful not to offend the ideals of their clientele. Thus the feminine ideal of service was honoured, but extended, to take in service in the social and civic roles. Miss Beale, headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies' College, allowed the girls to play hockey and cricket, but not in inter-school competition, thus acknowledging the physical and moral benefits of sport but stopping short of the heights of 'masculine' competitiveness practised in the boys' public schools. She and her contemporary educational reformers had to defend their educational practices against medical and biological arguments of the type referred to earlier which questioned the wisdom of academic study for girls. Physical exercise and regular medical examinations provided proof that they were aware of the importance of physical health and were not over-taxing delicate constitutions.

Delamont discerned two distinct female roles as emerging from the development of the new schools, neither offering any challenge to the prevailing domestic ideal of femininity or to the accepted sexual division of labour. Once educated, a woman could pursue either of two paths - that of the celibate career woman or the cultured marriage partner ('an articulate companion who could swap Greek epigrams or scientific formulae').[31] If a girl chose a career she had to relinquish any idea of marriage, and if she chose to marry, she could have no career other than that of (intellectually stimulating) wife and mother. Dyhouse comments that the 'choice between marriage and career, between sexuality and intellect ... remained a crippling one'[32]

Even if the new schools could not override traditional ideals of femininity, they were, by their nature as all-female establishments removed from the domestic setting (where everything was arranged around the needs of the male head of the house), places where incidental events could have led some

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[31]Delamont and Duffin, *The Nineteenth Century Woman,* p.184.
[32]Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p.78.

girls to question women's traditional role in society. Purvis alludes to the possibility of 'feminist awakenings' being sparked by individuals or books encountered in the school environment, and of the all-female staff - particularly the headmistresses and senior teachers - being seen as role models for individual female success, defined without reference to men.[33]

Sport in Girls' Schools

The Taunton Commission, reporting in 1868, had commented on the lack of physical exercise in girls' schools. Miss Beale acknowledged this need at her college by allowing afternoons free from the mid-1860s for this purpose. However, until about the 1880s, all that was offered in girls' schools were moderate activities aimed at improving deportment - walking, drill (with dumb-bells and wands), dancing or gentle calisthenics. The issue of sport in girls' schools was controversial, the Victorian feminine ideal being quite the antithesis of the vociferous physicality associated with games as they were played in boys' schools. As with arguments against the higher education of women, the concern was not simply a desire to preserve ladylike attitudes, but underlying fears and threats to the future of the race if the present generation of girls were to be diverted from the proper fulfilment of their primary role. Medical and scientific arguments expounded fears of damage to reproductive organs or infertility in the sporting female. Proponents of girls' education who were aware of the physical and moral benefits of sport (these were predominantly women who had enjoyed sporting activities at Oxford or Cambridge) had to accommodate such fears and preferably demonstrate that girls' sport was compatible with present feminine ideals. This they achieved by focussing on the issue of health and thereby turning the Social Darwinist arguments to their advantage: as an antidote to hard academic work, especially when coupled with regular medical inspections and systematic exercises, games would assist the healthy development of the mothers of the next generation. Girls were

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[33]J. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England*, Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1991, pp.90-92.

to be seen as being trained in femininity - although in the process they were actually acquiring many characteristics which belonged to life outside the 'female' sphere, such as independence, courage, physical strength, even ambition.[34]

For girls' sport to gain acceptance and respectability, however, concessions had to be made. Sport had to be different in style from that of boys' - it could not be allowed to be aggressive, noisy, or even too visible - in short, girls' sport had to be ladylike. Hockey, lacrosse and netball were considered suitable. Judith Okely has described some of the differences between sports which, even in the 1950s, were considered mainly for males or mainly for females. 'Male' sports, such as rugby, allowed body contact, aggressive use of legs and feet and fast, free running, whereas '[i]n the girls' games speed is reduced, the body peculiarly controlled or burdened. When playing hockey or lacrosse, an intermediary was required between our bodies and the opponent', and in netball the rules and confined space inhibit movement. Tennis and cricket, according to Okely's interpretation, do not have exclusively male qualities and hence were permitted to females.[35]

Girls' sport, far from challenging the male variety, in a sense perpetuated female separateness and accentuated their physical inferiority. Whereas boys' sport was overtly physical, was played with loud enthusiasm, occupied a prominent part in the school culture, and accorded hero status to victorious individuals and teams, sport in girls' schools was played less conspicuously. Its existence was rationalised in terms of physical benefit, team and school solidarity. Although the competitive element was not lacking altogether, it was supposed to be restrained within ladylike boundaries. There was no link between playing field and battle field and the patriotic educational aim of improving the health, intellect and morality of women and thereby providing suitable mothers for the imperial race would not have

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[34] *ibid.* p.90.

[35] J. Okely, 'Privileged, Schooled and Finished: boarding education for girls', in S. Ardener (ed.), *Defining Females: the nature of women in society*, Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited, 1993, pp.116-117.

been of immediate concern to the participants. Notwithstanding its restricted nature, girls' sport was physically liberating, and did give girls experience of competitive play. By the end of the century, girls' schools were giving 1-3 hours per day to physical exercise of some kind. By 1906, Miss Beale's Cheltenham College had 26 tennis courts, two fives courts, twelve acres of playing fields and a fully-equipped Swedish gymnasium.[36]

The rise of gymnastics was a separate, though linked, development. In girls' schools, the combination of gymnastics with games under the coordination of a gymnastics and games mistress comprised a physical education programme far more systematic than in most boys' schools of the period. The movement to establish physical education teacher training colleges and introduce physical education as a school subject - a movement which caught the crest of the sporting wave in girls' schools and capitalised on the rising concern for public health and national fitness - has been acknowledged by Fletcher as a remarkable female achievement.[37] The Swedish system of Per Henrick Ling was a programme of gymnastics formulated on scientific principles and aimed at the harmonious development of the whole body. In Britain, Madame Bergman-Osterberg founded her own college in 1885 to train teachers in this system, infusing them with her crusading zeal for 'individual and race perfection'. She believed that middle class girl students were the starting-point whereby physical and moral qualities could be transmitted to future generations.[38] By 1915, there were six training colleges, Swedish gymnastics was taught in most of the independent girls' schools in Britain and had been introduced at Eton, Harrow and Bedales.

Hargreaves acknowledges that, while it 'did nothing to minimize the polarization between masculine and feminine', sport was a

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[36] K. E. McCrone, 'Play up! Play up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public Schools', in J. A. Mangan and R. J. Park (eds.), *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: sport and the socialization of women in the industrial and post-industrial eras,* London: Frank Cass, 1987,p.108.

[37] S. Fletcher, *Women First: the female tradition in English Physical Education 1880-1980*, London: The Athlone Press, 1984.

[38] Fletcher, *Women First.* p.23.

means by which the 'legitimate use of the female body was redefined'.[39] It did extend the range of behaviour available to women, and thus made possible other extensions.[40] One visible effect was modification to feminine dress codes, with the introduction of less restrictive garments such as the gym tunic. This functional, if inelegant, garment signified a loosening of social restriction, an assertion of female control over fashion and a trend towards dressing for comfort and freedom of movement.[41]

While outwardly conforming to the conservative values of the period, sport introduced girls to experiences which enabled them to develop different aspects of their personality. McCrone has commented that the whole educational experience resulted in girls' being 'permitted good health and physical stamina' and being 'taught that excellence, accuracy, thoroughness, achievement, courage and initiative were appropriate for ladies'.[42] Thus they learned attributes which conflicted with traditional Victorian femininity.

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[39]J. A. Hargreaves, 'Victorian Familism and the Formative Years of Female Sport', in J. A. Mangan and R. J. Park (eds), *From Fair Sex to Feminism,* pp.130-144, p.141, p.130.

[40] K. E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914*, London: Routledge, 1988, p.288.

[41]Dress reform societies were also campaigning for less restrictive clothing for women for health reasons. See McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, p.220.

[42]K. E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, p.90.

Empire, masculinity and the education of boys

Although men, as a category, enjoyed greater physical freedom than women, they were also constrained by codes of gender-appropriate behaviour, an aspect which was not always acknowledged by Fox and other feminist writers who contextualized society as patriarchal. As previously observed, the dynamics of gender in society also involves control of the meaning of masculinity, and the subordination of deviant forms. Discussion of the nineteenth century public school system will illustrate that these institutions were powerful controllers of hegemonic masculinity.

Reflecting on Victorian masculinity, Tosh has argued that the varieties of 'manliness' emanating from the public schools give only a partial picture, since they depict men in isolation, both from women and from the social order of which they were a part. He sees masculine identity as both 'social' and 'psychic' in nature, and deriving, in Victorian society, from a man's participation in three main areas - home, where he was master of a socially-appropriate domestic setting, work - his 'calling' in life, which gave a dignified status, and his membership of public associations, which symbolised men's power and supported the idea that all-male company was a sign of true masculinity.[43]

The formation of masculinity is determined, Tosh asserts, by these three components in combination and by the relative importance which a particular age accords to each. Conflict arises when the balance changes, as in the mid-Victorian era, when the home component was elevated to new importance, or later in the century, when males in large numbers affirmed their masculinity in (all-male) scouting and other adventurous associations, fleeing (according to Tosh) the routine and feminine control of the home.[44] Conflict arose also from the uncertainties in men's lives within each of the three areas - shortage of money

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[43]Tosh, 'What Should Historians...', pp.184-187.
[44]*ibid.*, pp.187-189.

or loss of job status would be obvious dangers, as were the perceived threat from the New Woman or homosexuals, since both were seen to be to undermining the dominant masculinity and, therefore, the patriarchal social order.[45]

Tosh sees late-nineteenth century imperialism as offering experiences which reaffirmed masculinity, by allowing physical involvement in volunteer forces - particularly by male clerks whose identity was being threatened by the infiltration of females into the workplace - as well as vicarious participation, through the popular imperial adventure novels, in what Tosh sees as 'fantasies of mastery' over inferior and/or effeminate races.[46] Mrinalini Sinha has argued that the history of the construction of masculinity during the nineteenth century - so often limited to a discussion of the evolution of manliness in the public schools - should encompass a much broader, imperial, frame of reference, to acknowledge 'the full constitutive impact of the colonial experience in the making of British masculinity'.[47] Her study illustrates the significance of the late-nineteenth century colonial Indian experience to the formation of both colonial and metropolitan British masculinities, as well as depicting how conceptions of gender and race were used in the construction of the colonial power structure. A collection of studies edited by Christopher Gittings analyses imperialism as an agent in the construction of masculinities in Britain and her colonies, giving particular emphasis to the role of children's literature in prescribing images of ideal masculinity which persisted well into the twentieth century.[48] Joseph Bristow has analysed the contributions of popular writers such as Rider Haggard, George Henty and Joseph Conrad to the construction of archetypal English adventurer-colonisers, models of cool-headed

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[45] *ibid.*, pp.191-193.

[46] *ibid.*, pp.196-198.

[47] M. Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: the 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995, p.10.

[48] C. Gittings, *Imperialism and Gender: constructions of masculinity*, New Lambton NSW: Dangaroo Press, 1996.

heroism and faultless morality.[49] Susan Bassnett has counterposed the Rider Haggard depiction of the 'strong, resilient' English gentleman - the highest rank that a man can reach upon this earth' - with his evil women, who serve only to underline the masculine nature of goodness.[50]

Though not overtly concerned with their role in the construction of masculinity, Mack's 1941 study of the public schools extended outside school walls to embrace social and imperial function. He writes that by 1870 the middle classes had 'made of the public schools institutions which were adjusted to their needs and, for the moment at least, to the necessities of the mid-Victorian world'.[51] He sees the 'regimented manliness'[52] of the schools as reflecting the needs and spirit of the age, which, particularly from the Boer War period, centred on the need to maintain the empire. The concentration on competitive sport (which later writers called athleticism) with the associated idea of sacrifice of the individual for the team, derived in part from the spirit of fierce competition in the political and economic climate of the time.

If Mack's assessment is correct, the public schools can be taken as embodying the aspirations of the middle classes, and for this reason, their part in the construction of masculinity through the cultivation of 'manliness' - even if it 'certainly isn't the master concept which will unlock the puzzle of Victorian masculinity'[53] - needs to be considered. The schools were seen as instruments of imperialism, as providers of both administrative and (later) military leadership. Their influence on the curriculum, organisation and ethos of Australian schools has been widely

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[49] Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: adventures in a man's world,* London: Unwin Hyman, 1991.

[50] Susan Bassnett, 'Lost in the Past: a tale of heroes and Englishness' in Gittings, *Imperialism and Gender*, pp.47-61, pp.51-52. The quotation is from Rider Haggard's *Allan Quartermain.*

[51] E. C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Public Opinion Since 1860: the relationship between contemporary ideas and the evolution of an English institution*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, (Reprint of 1941 edition) 1971, p.104.

[52] Mack, *Public Schools*, p.126.

[53] Tosh, 'What Should Historians ...' p.183.

acknowledged, and was not restricted to the corporate institutions which are usually seen - at least in their earliest years - as antipodean imitations. Their code (or codes) of manliness, therefore, are of relevance to any discussion of ideals and ethos in Australian education. Manliness was an élitist code of behaviour which permeated the lower ranks of society by various means, including public school novels (a genre which was widely read) and scouting.

Newsome's *Godliness and Good Learning* is a study of the evolution of the public school ethos during the nineteenth century.[54] The title encapsulates the spirit of Arnold's reforms - the inter-relatedness of religion and academic learning which was, Newsome observes, 'wholly natural at a time when the [evangelical] religious spirit dominated national life.'[55] It has been suggested that Arnold's use of sermons as central to the life of the school may have partly derived from the example of Wesley's Kingswood School, which had been founded for the sons of preachers in 1749: certainly this and other Methodist schools later incorporated 'Arnoldian' organisational features, such as prefects and games.[56] For Arnold, manliness was equated with an earnest Christian maturity. The connection between the Latin *virtus* (virtue) and *vir* (man) was made explicit, so that boys were left in no doubt that manliness stood for moral excellence. Though the concept was strongly gendered, it had (at this stage) little to do with men as men in a physical sense. If the concept of manliness excluded women, it also excluded much that was relevant to the male identity - it was (to quote Tosh again) 'cerebral and bloodless'.[57]

The late nineteenth century version of manliness evolved, in Newsome's view, in response to the changing hopes and ideals of the middle class. 'Muscular Christianity', as it became known,

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[54]D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: four studies on a Victorian ideal*, London: Murray, 1961.
[55]*ibid.*, p.228.
[56] A. G. Ives, *Kingswood School in Wesley's Day and Since*, London: Epworth Press,1970, p.138; p.165.
[57]Tosh, 'What Should Historians...', p.182.

recognised the physical aspect of masculinity, and in fact was sometimes seen by critics to be much more muscular than Christian, but although it manifested itself in an at times excessive love of competitive games, it was not without spiritual and ethical elements. Its main focus was the training of character through organised team games. There were variations in emphasis - H. H. Almond of Loretto emphasised healthy living, clean air and exercise as necessary to both physical and moral health. Haley has commented that total health, in the sense of *mens sana in corpore sano* 'a harmony of mind and body leading to an ethical or spiritual perfection'[58] was 'a dominant concept for the Victorians, as important in shaping thought about human growth and conduct as nature was to the Romantics'.[59] He sees the institutionalizing of games in the late nineteenth century as indicating that sport had shifted towards this concept, derived meaning from it and expressed the ethical ideals of the society; games such as cricket had their own moral structure and environment which were held to be symbolic of the morality of life itself.[60] Such a connection is implicit in a multitude of sermons of the time - even Dean Farrar, headmaster of Marlborough from 1871 to 1876, and not a strong advocate of games, commented that games helped boys to learn qualities which would help them to do their duty 'bravely and happily' in 'the great cricket-field of life'.[61]

Haley's observation of a preoccupation with total health, while eminently applicable to Almond of Loretto, seem less convincing when applied to some of the more mainstream public schools. Notwithstanding Haley's expansive definition of health, it could still be argued that the major preoccupation throughout was character. In recent times, the concept of 'character' has taken on a neutral meaning, but in Victorian times its meaning,

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[58]B. Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, London: Harvard University Press, 1978, p.21.

[59]*ibid.*, p.4.

[60]*ibid.*, pp.258-60.

[61]J.A.Mangan, 'Athleticism: a case study of the evolution of an educational ideology' in B. Simon and I. Bradley, *The Victorian Public School: studies in the development of an educational institution*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975, p.148.

whether applied to the individual or the nation, referred to a collection of socially acceptable moral qualities. The quality of individual character was assumed to be the basis for social, national and imperial progress. Character, rather than intelligence or academic success, made the English gentleman.

Vance's studies on the evolution of ideals of manliness underline the importance attributed to character. He sees manliness as 'a concept that was always changing in the Victorian public school'[62] and derived from at least four sources - the medieval chivalric ideals of courageous and honourable behaviour matching nobility of birth, the charitable benefactor model from Christian writings, the English tradition of physical sturdiness and the moral manliness expounded chiefly by Thomas Arnold. Vance perceives a shift in the closing stages of the nineteenth century away from Christian ideals towards Hellenism, with the aesthetic appreciation of physical vigour and beauty beginning to overtake the moral aspect. Militaristic imperialism, strongly sacrificial in tone, was a major component of late nineteenth century 'manliness' and was reinforced through school magazines, hymns, sermons, cadet corps and competitive athleticism, although Mangan has warned that variations between schools and more precise knowledge of practices in these schools could mitigate this picture of crude militarism.[63] The language of religion was combined with athleticism and patriotic militarism in the poetry of Sir Henry Newbolt. Boys were taught to recite such poems as 'Vitae Lampada', in which 'playing the game' stood for that purposefulness, courage and loyalty which, when transferred to the battlefield, could end in the ultimate sacrifice, and 'Clifton Chapel' where loyalty to school and country and courage in battle are accorded religious reverence. Mangan has noted the 'Newboltian vision of the chapel' as 'the home where the deeds of imperial heroes were

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[62]N. Vance, 'The Ideal of Manliness', in B. Simon and I. Bradley, *The Victorian Public School*, pp.115-128, p.115.

[63]J. A. Mangan, "The Grit of Our Forefathers': invented traditions, propaganda and imperialism', in J. M. Mackenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, p.136.

recorded':[64] in 'Clifton Chapel', the 'noble ghosts of war', the heroes who died for their country and empire and whose names are engraved on the chapel walls, are the highest form of manhood:

> You'll live to follow none more pure
> Than that which glows on yonder brass.[65]

Athleticism had been diverted into the realm of patriotism and had become a form of military training. Rupert Brooke captured the pride, even gratitude, of a generation thus trained and poised to face the terror of war:

> Now, God be thanked Who has matched us with His hour,
> And caught our youth, and wakened us from sleeping,[66]

Vance comments that Brooke, formerly a 'magnificent athlete' at Rugby, 'welcomed war as the supreme athletic opportunity', as well as a release from a dissatisfaction and lack of purpose shared by many of his contemporaries.[67] Vance adds that manliness, 'reflect[ing] the changing atmosphere of Victorian society' had become 'a recruiting campaign' and was finally exposed for its narrowness and futility in the horrific reality of war.[68] Peter Parker's *The Old Lie* (1987) is a comprehensive discussion of the means by which the public schools inculcated a masculine ideal based on the ideal that self-sacrifice for one's country was glorious and honourable, an ideal which the ugly horrors of modern warfare revealed as a cruel illusion.[69] J. A.

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[64] J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal*, New York: Viking Press, 1986, p.49.

[65] H. Newbolt, *Poems: new and old*, London: John Murray, 1912, Second edition, 1919, p.94.

[66] '1914: I. Peace' in Rupert Brooke, *If I Should Die*, London: Phoenix, Abridged Edition, 1996, p.3.

[67] N. Vance, *Sinews of the Spirit: the ideal of Christian manliness in Victorian literature and religious thought*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p.201.

[68] Vance, 'The Ideal of Manliness', p.128. See also Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: the great war and the public school ethos*, London: Constable, 1987.

[69] Parker, *The Old Lie*. Parker's title comes from Wilfred Owen's poem 'Dulce et Decorum Est' which depicts the reality of a soldier dying from a gas attack as a refutation of 'The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est/Pro patria mori.'

Mangan sees various ideologies coexisting in the public schools along with the publicly-expressed Christian ideals of manliness. In particular, secular ideas related to Social Darwinism were prevalent, and the reality for boys in the schools was a life of 'physical and psychological struggle for survival against hunger, cold and callousness in one form or another' which convinced them that 'life is conflict, strength comes through struggle and success is the prerogative of the strong'.[70] This provides a picture of a private morality which could readily incorporate aggressive militaristic ideas.

Imperialism, character and education

The evolution of ideals of manliness in the public schools could be viewed in the context of changes in the concept of the ideal British character. The intrinsic link between the male code of conduct and Britain's sense of itself as an imperial nation is one of the major themes of a study of the social and cultural meaning of imperialism by H. John Field.

Setting aside the many and varied attempts to define imperialism as a political process, Field prefers to explore the social response, in particular, the connection between what he calls a 'general preoccupation with individual character and its wider ramifications' in the late Victorian era and 'serious, sustained support among the population for the imperial connection'[71] Field suggests that the drive to commit the nation to the cause of empire was an attempt to protect a decaying social order, and that in the process, late Victorian English society 'made explicit, and reaffirmed...the process through which its social character was formed.'[72]

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[70]J. A. Mangan, 'Social Darwinism and upper-class education in late Victorian and Edwardian England', in J. A. Mangan and J. Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality*, pp.152, 142.

[71]H. J. Field, *Toward a Programme of Imperial Life: the British Empire at the turn of the century*, Oxford: Clio Press, 1982, pp.26, 28.

[72]*ibid.*, p.239.

While the New Journalism played a crucial role in awakening an imperial consciousness among the 'masses', élites became committed to empire largely through serious literature, including Seeley's *The Expansion of England*, (delivered as lectures during 1881 and 1882 and published in 1883). Seeley, professor of Modern History at Cambridge, reinterpreted English history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - usually told in the Whiggish fashion as a march towards constitutional liberty- as the story of the natural extension of English power across the seas, creating, not an Empire in the conquering sense, but 'a very large state' wherein all were united by the 'natural ties which unite Englishmen ... nationality, language and religion'.[73] This view presented the colonies virtually as English counties, with no separate national identity. Where others have emphasised Seeley's innovative historical methodology, his pioneering of British imperial history or his advocacy of Imperial Federation, Field sees Seeley's major didactic aim as a moral one: the encouragement of commitment to empire as the 'action ethic' for individual character regeneration and the maintenance of empire.[74] Seeley viewed the state as a morally uplifting focus, and was convinced of the divine destiny of 'Greater Britain'. He saw it as a serious duty of historians to draw moral lessons from imperial history aimed at improving the individual and national character.[75] The crucial link between individual moral character and the future of the empire was also made in other serious commentaries of the time, notably *National Life and Character: a forecast* (1893), written by Melbourne educationist, politician and intellectual C. H. Pearson, which offered patriotism in the form of commitment to empire as the one salvation for a decadent nation.

In a 1984 study which sought 'to explore the centripetal effects of Empire, in creating for the British a world view which was

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[73]J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: two courses of lectures*, London: Macmillan, 1883. pp.233-234.

[74]H. J. Field, *Toward a Programme*, pp.47-48.

[75]P. Burroughs, 'John Robert Seeley and British Imperial History', in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.1, no.2, 1973, pp.191-211.

central to their perceptions of themselves' in the late nineteenth century, Mackenzie identified 'an ideological cluster' comprising 'a renewed militarism, a devotion to royalty, an identification and worship of national heroes, ... a contemporary cult of personality ... and racial ideas associated with Social Darwinism'.[76] This imperial vision, he argued, was so pervasive that it could be considered a 'core ideology'.[77] In *Propaganda and Empire*, Mackenzie described the diffusion throughout society of these essentially middle class ideals by means of the theatre, cinema, exhibitions, radio, education, juvenile literature and imperial propaganda societies. The scouting movement, which began in the early twentieth century, has been seen as the 'character factory' which sought 'to inculcate in the lower-class boys those values and character ideals that the more privileged received in the public schools'.[78]

Attempting to explain the widespread popular support for Empire in the late Victorian period, Field suggests that certain character traits predisposed the individual towards commitment to Empire - traits which conformed to a 'socially formed and affirmed normative behaviour pattern' which could be termed 'Imperial Man'[79]. This type, the product of 'socially educated reason', would be ruled by 'an acutely intensified, historically specific sense of duty' and would subordinate private emotions and individual goals to the collective goal of empire.[80] This description would seem to sit well with the late nineteenth century public school ethos. J. G. C. Minchin in *Our Public Schools. Their Influence on English History* (1901) asserted: 'Long before the British public at large had been fired with a faith in the British Empire ... that was the faith in which every English public-schoolboy was reared.'[81] Although an

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[76]J. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: the manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984, p.2.
[77]*ibid.* pp.253,3.
[78]Rosenthal, *The Character Factory,* p.7. The term 'character factory' was actually used by Baden Powell himself, see Rosenthal p.6.
[79]Field, *Toward a Programme*, pp.232-233.
[80]*ibid.*, pp.233-4.
[81]Quoted in Mangan, *The Games Ethic*, p.48, also in P. Parker, *The Old Lie*, p.61.

acknowledged propagandist for the public schools, here Minchin is not exaggerating. The role of headmasters in promoting the cause of Empire has been examined by Mangan, who concludes that in imperial loyalty, as in other matters, they 'played the role of agents of hegemonic persuasion'.[82] One headmaster, J. E. C. Welldon (Harrow 1881-1895), stated quite clearly:

> The boys of today are the statesmen and administrators of tomorrow. In their hands is the future of the British Empire.'[83]

Mangan has described the links between public school imperial patriotism and the Empire Day Movement, which was initiated in the early twentieth century by a former public school student, the Earl of Meath, who had attended Eton.[84] This movement aimed at training the youth of the Empire in good citizenship and emphasised the same ideals of patriotic duty and discipline which were essential components of the public school tradition.

Empire and curriculum

Mackenzie's research led him to conclude that 'imperialism came to dominate school studies in the humanities' - not just in history but also geography, English and religion.[85] Nineteenth century English literature was rich in images of imperialism. The identification of imperial growth with the progress of civilisation was by no means exclusively a British preoccupation: in this imperial age Britain shared a European conviction of natural superiority,[86] and took seriously its duty to bring civilisation to the lesser races. Authors and poets promoted the imperial cause, sometimes borrowing tales from ancient Greece or Rome or the legend of Camelot to depict heroism in the cause of peace and

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[82]Mangan, *The Games Ethic*, p.22.

[83] *ibid.* p.36. The quotation comes from a paper on 'The Imperial Aspects of Education' which Welldon read to a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on 14 May 1895.

[84]Mangan, 'The Grit of Our Forefathers', especially pp.127-135.

[85]Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p.174.

[86] see, for instance, Victor G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: European attitudes towards the outside world in the Imperial Age*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969.

order. Sir Walter Scott's novels had revived interest in the chivalric age, and there were elements of chivalry in public school ideals of manliness.[87] Alfred Tennyson, singularly honoured by elevation to the peerage and widely read thoughout the Empire, wrote many poems based on the Arthurian legend, depicting in this ancient setting the virtuous benevolent ruler bringing Christian virtue, peace and order to pagan lands - an analogy with Britain's imperial mission in Asia and Africa. V. G. Kiernan sees Tennyson's Arthur in the epic collection 'Idylls of the King' as a representation of an exemplary Englishman and an imperial hero:

> an Arthur turned into an English gentleman, refined and rarified, but a muscular Christian too, a king on horseback; a type of the heroes like General Gordon who were building the empire, liberating its peoples supposedly from the darkness of bondage and superstition.[88]

Other popular poems by Tennyson told tales of courageous Britons battling heavy odds, as in 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', where

> Into the valley of Death
> Rode the six hundred.

Tennyson's poetry and other imperial literature studied in British schools was also a staple of English courses in Australia, so, to avoid repetition, more detailed analysis of English literature will be given in the sections on South Australian schools.

Popular reading during this period included imperial adventure novels which typically depicted courageous white men battling heavy odds in uncivilised frontiers of Africa or India. The underlying conviction of British racial superiority and the consequent moral duty of British males to maintain and defend the empire were concepts considered especially relevant for English public school boys and their counterparts in the white colonies. 'Adventure stories', writes Patrick Dunae, 'provided

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[87] Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: chivalry and the English gentleman*, New York: Yale University Press, 1981, especially chapter 11.
[88] V. G. Kiernan, 'Tennyson, King Arthur and Imperialism', in *Poets, Politics and the People*, London: Verso, 1989, p.136.

boys not only with escapist fiction, but also with a sense of history and an awareness of their imperial heritage.'[89] Joseph Bristow considers the representation of 'archetypal adventurers' in the imperial adventure novel as an enduring stage in 'the imperialist genealogy of hegemonic masculinity',[90] while Robert Dixon sees this genre functioning as a reassertion of masculine and Anglo-Saxon supremacy amid fears of degeneration and feminisation of the race.[91] Novels such as *With Clive in India* (1884) by G. A. Henty and *Allan Quatermain* (1888) by J. Rider Haggard related tales of the bravery and genius that had built the Empire. Rider Haggard dedicated *Allan Quatermain* to his son, in the hope that the acts and thoughts therein would 'help him ... to reach ... the highest rank whereto we can attain - the state and dignity of English gentlemen.'[92] The very appearance of Sir Henry Curtis, 'a splendid-looking man ... altogether a magnificent specimen of the higher type of humanity' indicates the archetypal English gentleman. His sense of adventure and bravery in the fight, born of his British heritage, make for exciting narrative:

> Faster and more furious grew the fighting .... Presently there was a great swing of the axe, a crashing sound, and another dead Masai.[93]

Sir Henry's own tribute to the dead Quatermain perhaps epitomises Haggard's ideal of the best of British masculinity:

> We shall never see his like again if we live a hundred years. He was the ablest man, the truest gentleman, the firmest friend, the finest sportsman, and, I believe, the best shot in all Africa.[94]

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[89] Patrick A. Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914', in *Victorian Studies*, Autumn 1980, pp.105-121, p.121.

[90] Bristow, *Empire Boys*, p.166.

[91] Robert Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure: race, gender and nation in Anglo-Australian popular fiction, 1875-1914*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp.5,13.

[92] J. Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888, Dedication page.

[93] *ibid.*, p.80.

[94] *ibid.*, p.275.

Novels such as this will be encountered in the libraries of Adelaide boys' schools as staples of recreational reading.

Until the late nineteenth century, British history was taught largely as a compilation of facts, with emphasis on political history such as wars, internal conflicts and legislation, although from the 1870s there was more attention to detail and some discussion of economic and (especially after the appearance of Richard Green's *A Short History of the English People* in 1874) of social factors.[95] Although the selection of facts itself allows scope for considerable bias in the picture of a nation's history, as learning (in history as in other subjects) became more than memorisation of lists, there were many more possibilities for the expression of opinion and bias and more scope for an essentially Whiggish historical interpretation of British heritage to engender pride in middle class achievements and constitutional advances.

Seeley's *The Expansion of England* is usually credited with bringing about a redirection in British historiography and in the teaching of history in schools in England and the colonies.[96] Seeley aimed to evoke a historical consciousness of and commitment to the unfolding of the destiny of a 'Greater Britain', in the sense as used by Sir Charles Dilke,[97] that is, an Empire composed of fellow Englishmen at home and abroad. The stress on commonality of language and heritage in an Empire which came about as 'a natural growth, a mere normal extension of the English race'[98] ignored jarring incidents or the possibility of colonial claims to separate nationality. It was selective history, consciously directed towards a moral for the present. On the very first page, Seeley wrote:

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[95]G. M. D. Howat, 'The Nineteenth-Century History Text-Book', in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol XIII, No. 2, 1965, pp.147-159.

[96]See, for example, P.Burroughs, 'John Robert Seeley and British Imperial History', in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.1, no.2, 1973, pp.191-211; R. Aldrich, 'Imperialism in the Study and Teaching of History', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *'Benefits bestowed'? Education and British Imperialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, pp.23-38.

[97]C. W. Dilke, *Greater Britain: a record of travel in English-speaking countries during 1866-1867*, Fourth edition, London: Macmillan, 1869.

[98]J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, p.233.

> It is a favourite maxim of mine that history...should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future. Now if this maxim be sound, the history of England ought to end with something that might be called a moral.[99]

This book, first published in 1883, sold 80,000 copies in the first two years and was in print until 1956. Seeley's imperial approach to history dominated teacher training and history texts. Aldrich has acknowledged his role in promoting history as a vehicle for the socialisation of British children.[100] History came to be seen as an instrument of moral training. The 1904 Regulations for Secondary Schools made it a compulsory subject.[101] Not all developments in history teaching followed Seeley's example, however; later teaching focussed on heroic individuals rather than the state, more in the style of Thomas Carlyle's view of history as the biography of great men, and indicating that Seeley's focus on the history of the nation was perhaps of insufficient interest to younger readers. However, the broad purpose of teaching imperial history with a moral aim was to persist.

E. H. Dance, in *History the Betrayer* has commented upon the selective nature of written history, in particular, the tendency of nations to simplify their own history to make it accord with favourable national traditions, and the selective nature of school history books - necessarily the shortest and 'often the most tendentious of all'.[102] The 'Whig interpretation', with its proud emphasis on parliamentary democracy, gives an unbalanced interpretation, but, Dance explains, so too does the 'Tory interpretation', which he identifies with a bias towards British Imperialism, obsession with the white man's burden and 'the corollary conception of the historical unworthiness of races which are 'coloured'[103].

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[99] *ibid.* p.1.
[100] Aldrich, 'Imperialism' in Mangan, *Benefits Bestowed*, p.30.
[101] P. Gordon and D. Lawton, *Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978, p.22.
[102] E. H. Dance, *History the Betrayer*, London: Hutchinson, 1960, p.15.
[103] *ibid.* p.26.

Valerie Chancellor's analysis of opinion in English history texts in *History for their Masters: opinion in the English history textbook: 1800-1914* [104] examines texts in circulation from the passing of the 1832 and 1867 Reform Bills to the advent of popular education after the 1870 Education Act and the apogee of British imperialism. Posing the general question of whether, following the introduction of mass education, there was conscious indoctrination of young (particularly working-class) future voters, Chancellor analyses over 150 texts for opinions expressed on a variety of issues, including politics, morality, religion and 'England and her place in the world'. Regarding the last aspect, she finds a variety of opinions regarding patriotism and empire. Comparing textbooks of the late nineteenth century with earlier publications which encouraged a moderate patriotism, she finds a 'much more nationalistic approach' in '[t]he stress on the grandeur of British dominions and the ideal of empire, descriptions of a noble, national stereotype compared to inferior races [and] homilies on the need for patriotic duty'. Nevertheless, she states, many authors 'maintain[ed] a critical attitude to the conduct of their own nation abroad.' Early in the century, the colonies were presented in economic terms, often as liabilities, but Empire later came to be seen as a sacred trust involving serious obligations. Even at the height of imperialism, Chancellor insists that '[t]he tradition that power entailed moral duties stood firm against the claims of a 'my country right or wrong' attitude'.[105]

Significantly, Chancellor found that attitudes to war and soldiers underwent a change during the course of the nineteenth century. Whereas early in the century war was denounced as immoral and cruel, corrupting those who fought, by the end of the century, there was distinct admiration for war-like qualities such as bravery, loyalty and attention to duty, and war heroes, ancient and modern, filled many pages of history textbooks.[106]

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[104] V. E. Chancellor, *History for their Masters: opinion in the English history textbook: 1800-1914*, Bath: Adams & Dart, 1970.
[105] *ibid.* pp.137-38.
[106] *ibid.* pp.70-73.

Considering claims that history textbooks were vehicles of propaganda, Chancellor agrees that opinions were expressed with a certainty and forthrightness which gives this impression to modern readers. She maintains, however, that many of the views expressed 'appear to have been a natural reflection of the social background and outlook of the authors of textbooks'.[107] These authors, belonging to the rising upper middle-classes whose moral standards were an outcome of the evangelical movement, had as their main aim not the teaching of uncritical attitudes, but encouraging individuals to judge according to the moral standards of the age. Even monarchs were judged according to these standards and received criticism where it was due. If textbooks failed to note disturbing new trends such as atheism, republicanism or women's rights, it was because these were seen as potentially disruptive. Chancellor concedes that, although the authors were not engaged in a deliberate propaganda exercise, the 'voluntary censorship' they exercised made them 'perhaps in a more subtle way a brake on changing opinion'.[108]

Nevertheless, many historians commenting on the imperialist content of history textbooks in both Britain and Australia use the word 'propaganda' freely. Mackenzie, in *Propaganda and Empire*, defines propaganda as 'the transmission of ideas and values from one person, or group of persons, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipients' attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced'.[109] Perhaps the onus is on the historian to investigate the nature of the 'intention' - as Chancellor has clearly done - and yet Mackenzie's definition seems to be so 'soft' as to incriminate a good percentage of the history books ever written.

Horn uses the term 'propaganda' to describe 'the encouragement of enthusiasm for the imperial cause'[110]. She addresses efforts in

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[107] *ibid.* p.140.

[108] *ibid.* pp.139-42.

[109] Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p.3.

[110] P. Horn, 'English elementary education and the growth of the imperial ideal: 1880-1914', in Mangan, *Benefits Bestowed,* p.41.

English elementary schools by 'the propagandists of imperialism', whose 'prime objective... was to instil in the rising generation pride in an achievement which had painted so much of the world map red'[111], and provides ample evidence, particularly after the outbreak of the Boer War, of increased emphasis on empire, patriotism and citizenship. Following the progress of the war and its British heroes, history and geography texts which increasingly focussed attention on the empire, and the celebration of Empire Day were the major elements in this patriotic movement.

Glendenning's investigation of late nineteenth and early twentieth century British history texts found national and racial bias in relation to China, Africa and India.[112] More recently, a collection of essays edited by Mangan investigated racial images in school curricula and textbooks in Britain's dominions and colonies, depicting an 'imperial curriculum' which promulgated a powerful ethnocentrism by means of racial stereotypes.[113] A case study by Firth and Darlington examining history texts and the monthly *Commonwealth School Paper* in New South Wales revealed consistent racial and national bias, especially before the First World War. As part of imperial discourse, students were given a picture of a hierarchy of races, with the British at the apex and the Australian aboriginal people at the bottom. In the inter-war years, a new Australian patriotism emerged, but old racial stereotypes and glorification of imperial militarism persisted. Not until the 1930s did a more sceptical attitude arise in history teaching, resulting from a changing historiography and the influence of the League of Nations.[114]

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111 *ibid.*, p.40.

112 F. Glendenning, 'School History Textbooks and Racial Attitudes, 1804-1911', in *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1973, pp.33-44.

113 J. A. Mangan (ed.), *The Imperial Curriculum: racial images and education in the British colonial experience*, London: Routledge, 1993.

114 S. Firth and R. Darlington, 'Racial Stereotypes in the Australian Curriculum: the case-study of New South Wales', in Mangan (ed.), *The Imperial Curriculum*, pp.79-92.

Similarly, Bessant has documented the 'indoctrination' of Victorian primary school children with imperial sentiments in a study which, like that by Firth and Darlington, focuses on School Papers and texts used in primary schools and also on the influence of the Empire Day movement. Bessant considers 'propaganda' an appropriate term for the aims and means adopted, which involved an element of 'distortion of reality'.[115] However, the idea of colonial education as deliberately-imposed cultural imperialism as elaborated in Carnoy's *Education as Cultural Imperialism*[116] has been contested. Whitehead has argued that British colonial education policy was not imperialistic in the negative and single-minded sense of being a deliberate strategy designed to perpetuate British culture and power and ensure colonial subservience. Although his examples are taken from the African experience in the inter-war years of the twentieth century, his evidence suggests that British colonial educational policy had always been less clearly articulated than its critics have assumed, 'fraught with much uncertainty and confusion of purpose' and often pragmatic in nature. His conviction that assessments of British imperial educational policy should be objective and sensitive to the complexities of colonial rule can be taken as applicable to settlement colonies such as Australia.[117]

A similar plea for objectivity comes from Ross Johnston who, calling for a reassessment of the whole British imperial experience, maintains: 'Britain ... did not ruthlessly impose her model.... Colonial rule, by its very nature, meant some degree of imposition from above ... [but] it allowed considerable local

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[115]B. Bessant, *Working Papers in Australian Studies No.98: British Imperial Propaganda in Australian Schools 1900-1930*, London: Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, n.d. (1995?), p.1.

[116]M. Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, New York: D. McKay Co., 1974. Carnoy used historical case studies to illustrate his theory of schooling as 'an institution for colonization, social control, and hierarchical skill production', not just in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but in the present. See p.15.

[117]C. Whitehead, 'British colonial educational policy: a synonym for cultural imperialism?', in Mangan, *Benefits Bestowed*, pp.206-228.

initiative.'[118] Considering the role of imperialism and socialisation in history education in Britain, Aldrich writes that, notwithstanding the more 'highly visible manifestations' of these elements, 'important counter-currents have also flowed throughout the last two hundred years', with 'opposition and indifference' also being displayed in society and reflected in history education.[119] This caution could serve well for a study of Australian education at a time when loyalties were sometimes conflicting and ambiguous. It is possible that the imperial influence was, as Whitehead suggests, less organised and less deliberate than is usually assumed and allowed for other currents of influence - such as Australian nationalism or other ethnic interests - operating in the local environment. More importantly, the compatibility of imperial and national loyalties and the possibility of dual loyalties must be borne in mind. Birrell observes that historians have tended to see imperial propaganda in the schools as an easy explanation for Australia's early enthusiasm for the World War, and urges 'more studies of the way imperial and national loyalties were intermixed at the school level before we can accept the more extreme statements about imperial indoctrination'.[120]

Peter Musgrave's 1996 study titled *To Be An Australian?* is an analysis of school texts and newspapers and observances of a patriotic calendar in Victorian government and Catholic primary schools between 1895 and the 1960s.[121] His evidence from many aspects of the curriculum demonstrates 'invitations' to assume an Australian identity in four dimensions: the geographical (identification with the land, climate, flora and fauna), historical (the heritage of the people), political (the present structure and its traditions) and individual (the gendered personal qualities

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[118] W. R. Johnston, *Great Britain Great Empire; an evaluation of the British Imperial Experience*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1981, p.203.

[119] R. Aldrich, 'Imperialism' in *Benefits Bestowed*, p.35.

[120] Birrell, *A Nation*, p.247.

[121] P. W. Musgrave, *To Be An Australian? Victorian school textbooks and national identity 1895-1965*, Melbourne: The Textbook Colloquium, Monash University, Paradigm papers No.1, 1996. Also P.W. Musgrave, 'How Should we make Australians?', in *Curriculum Perspectives,* Vol. 14, No. 3, September 1994, pp.11-18.

deemed appropriate for Australian boys and girls). His use of the term 'invitations' and the question mark in the title indicate Musgrave's reluctance to impose concepts of propaganda or compulsion. He provides evidence that an Australian identity was encouraged through the study of Australia's (British) historical heritage, and through a patriotic geography, botany and zoology. Catholic schools likewise encouraged an Australian identity, with some modifications but no conflict with religious beliefs. Musgrave has demonstrated some tensions and inconsistencies between the Australian and imperial views, but does not see the imperial world-view as precluding the encouragement of Australian identity.

Research on this topic relating specifically to South Australian schools is scarce. Elizabeth Kwan's research into the role of South Australian government primary schools in forming children's attitudes to country and nation from 1852 to 1939 found that only for a short period after federation was there an effort to make 'good Australians first'.[122] Before this time, children were encouraged to see themselves as citizens of Great Britain, living in South Australia. Three reforming educators worked towards a redirection of loyalties, so that children would see themselves firstly as Australians: Professor George Henderson, Professor of Modern History and English Language and Literature at the University of Adelaide 1902-1923, Alfred Williams, Director of Education 1906-1913 and Bertie Roach, Editor of the South Australian Education Department's newspaper, the *Children's Hour* from 1906-1931. Henderson fostered the study of Australian history at university and, with Williams, encouraged teachers to adopt the New Education methods, which involved studying local surroundings and cultivating an identity with the land. The government publication, the *Education Gazette,* and the *Children's Hour* published articles on Australian geography and flora and fauna. The celebration of Empire Day took on an Australian focus, designed to cultivate an Australian patriotism,

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122 Elizabeth H. Kwan, 'Making "good Australians": the work of three South Australian educators', M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981; and 'Making "Good Australians"', in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No.29, June 1991, pp.38-49.

as the basis of imperial citizenship. Kwan sees this Australian initiative, and the concept of a dual allegiance to Australia and Britain, as disappearing after the outbreak of the War, when imperial loyalty was reinstated as the norm.[123] Her study gives an insight into intersections of imperialism with Australian nationalism and educational trends which will be followed up in the study of Adelaide High School.

Whereas Kwan's research does not relate the cultivation of national identity to the construction of gender, research by Maureen Nimon into South Australian children's reading in the second half of the nineteenth century is concerned with the construction of images of masculinity and femininity and their links with imperialism or alternative national identities.[124] Concentrating on school and leisure reading for primary school age, Nimon found that children were given consistent images of traditional roles more appropriate to Britain and Empire than to Australian conditions. Girls were to be virtuous, caring home makers, and the occasional portraits of the active modern girl (such as Judy in Ethel Turner's *Seven Little Australians*) do not reflect the higher educational opportunities or voting rights newly available to Australian females. British ideals were dominant also for boys, who were to emulate the standards of manliness and sense of duty appropriate for the maintenance of Empire.

In secondary schools, the intersections of gender with the problematic national identities of South Australians of this period are further complicated by religious denominational variations. The construction of gendered identities in school sites during this period thus involves a complex of discourses relating to imperialism, Australian nationalism, gender, education and religion. These aspects will form the basis of the following brief introduction to late nineteenth century South Australia.

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[123] E. Kwan, 'Making "good Australians"', (Thesis), pp.195ff.

[124] Maureen Nimon, 'Children's Reading in South Australia, 1851-1900', Ph.D. Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1987.

CHAPTER 4:

South Australia: loyalties, men, women and religion.

The Jubilee International Exhibition of 1887: a celebration of dual loyalties.

> God Bless them both, old England and the new,
> God keep them both for ever hand in hand;
> Each helping each - each to the other true -
> Old England and our fair Australian land. [1]

Outside the specially-constructed neo-classical Exhibition Building on North Terrace, Adelaide, militia and volunteers held back thronging crowds to allow the carriages bearing local dignitaries to pass through. Tuesday 21 June 1887 was a bleak Adelaide winter day, certainly not the 'Queen's Weather' organisers had hoped would grace the official opening of the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition. The event was staged over six and a half months as a large-scale simultaneous celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the colony of South Australia and the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, and had been visited by more than 750,000 people by closing day in mid-Summer on 7 January 1888.[2]

The idea of an Adelaide exhibition, in the tradition of the 1851 Crystal Palace and later colonial Exhibitions, had been first mooted in 1879 and was eventually brought to fruition largely through the persistent efforts of Adelaide's Mayor, Edwin T. Smith.[3] Newspaper accounts and the Jubilee Handbook[4] proclaimed the appropriateness of celebrating South Australian

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[1] Chorus from the *Exhibition Cantata* , sung at the opening of the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition, 21 June, 1887. *The South Australian Advertiser*, 22 June 1887.

[2] C. McKeough and N. Etherington, 'Jubilee 50', in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, Vol. 12, 1984, pp.3-21, p.3. South Australia's population at the time was just over 317,000.

[3] *ibid.* pp.3-5. Edwin Smith was Mayor of Adelaide 1879-1881 and 1886-87.

[4] H. J. Scott, *South Australia in 1887: a handbook for the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition*, Adelaide: Government Printer, 1887.

achievements in conjunction with the Jubilee of the Queen whose coronation in 1836 had occurred just 174 days after the birth of the colony.[5] The Exhibition showed the colony to be as proud of its uniqueness and its achievements as it was of its British heritage. The opening proceedings, reported in detail in the Adelaide *Advertiser*, express this mixture of local and imperial pride: 'God Save the Queen' was followed by 'The Old One Hundredth' then the 'Exhibition Cantata', which, though judged by *The Advertiser* as musically 'much less striking and meritorious than the occasion deserved', expressed in its lyrics (written by South Australian-born G. H. Cossins) the unifying emotional ties between 'old England and the new' and colonial pride in 'Our island home, Our island free, Australia!'[6] After opening addresses by the Mayor and the state Governor, Sir William Robinson, the South Australian composition 'Song of Australia' was sung, after which Sir Charles Todd, pioneer of the telegraphic cable from Adelaide to Darwin, was invited to the front platform to send a telegram to Queen Victoria. After the 'Halleluja Chorus' and the National Anthem, three cheers each for Queen Victoria, the Governor and the Mayor completed the celebration.[7]

The telegram, a gesture of affection for the Queen, was also a ceremonial advertisement of South Australia's technological prowess, the construction of the cable to Darwin in 1872 having become a great source of local pride. *The Advertiser* proudly announced the following morning that the message had arrived in London, *via* the Singapore and Madras line, after just one hour and thirty minutes' transmission time.[8] The exhibition itself was less 'international' than its name suggested, exhibits being chiefly products of local and imperial industry. McKeough and Etherington point out that exhibitions had become more chauvinistically imperial in nature as the century progressed: ideals of free trade and international harmony which suited the

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[5] *ibid.* p.16.

[6] Quotations are from the Chorus and Opening Solo of the *Exhibition Cantata*, as reprinted in *The Advertiser* 22 June 1887.

[7] *The Advertiser*, 22 June 1887, p.6.

[8] *ibid.*

1851 model became less relevant in a world which had seen Civil War in America and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870.[9]

The introduction to the Jubilee Handbook acknowledged the wisdom of the 'fathers and founders' of the colony, who ensured its financial independence and the 'sturdy settlers' who conquered the land, making it productive and bringing to it many of the benefits of modern civilisation, all in a mere fifty years.[10] At the entrance to the Exhibition Building stood busts of Mayor Edwin Smith and Sir Samuel Davenport, Executive Commissioner for the Exhibition. A host of local products and manufactures and handicrafts with Australian motifs were displayed. Among the exhibits depicting colonial pioneers was a photograph of John MacDouall Stuart, successful at his sixth attempt to cross the continent from south to north, holding the British flag on the shores of the Indian Ocean. This photo - symbolic of South Australian pride in what it had achieved both for itself and for the empire - would seem to capture the spirit of the Exhibition.

Some of the controversy surrounding the occasion illustrates how local and imperial loyalties intersected and sometimes conflicted. McKeough and Etherington have described the opposition from rural areas to the proposed Exhibition. Objections centred on the amount of money to be spent on a metropolitan event, understandable criticism in the light of several years of drought in agricultural areas. Smith was able to placate opponents with the news that the project would provide over 500 jobs.[11] More friction came two months after the Exhibition opened, when the Colonial government introduced protective tariffs on imported goods, refusing exemptions even for Jubilee exhibits. Laying the blame on 'a cash-hungry government determined at all costs to avoid taxing land or income'[12] would seem a partial explanation; considering the earlier rural opposition, it could be argued that South

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[9]McKeough and Etherington, 'Jubilee 50', pp.5-6.
[10]Scott, *Jubilee Handbook*, pp.15-16.
[11]McKeough and Etherington, 'Jubilee 50', p.5.
[12]*ibid.*, p.7.

Australians, in being supportive of Empire, were also protective of their own local interests and prepared to be assertive if need be. As a celebration of the imperial connection, the Exhibition would not be allowed to obstruct the economic progress of a colony still at a tender age of development and, indeed, still recovering from severe drought and economic recession.[13] In this can be discerned one of Roe's five elements of nationalism discussed in Chapter Two: assertion against England (or the rest of the world), which was not necessarily anti-Britishness.[14] Perhaps it was Britishness, Australian style.

South Australian Britons

Established in 1836, South Australia had been systematically colonised and populated by voluntary immigrants, two factors which set it self-consciously apart from the Eastern colonies. Founded on ideals of civil and religious liberty, it was to be a land of social opportunity for its mainly middle-class British settlers. Not that these could be considered a homogeneous group: 'Britishness', as Partington observes, was itself the product of a conglomerate of influences, ancient and modern, and Britain was a cultural mix of not always unified English, Irish, Scots and Welsh.[15] But they brought with them shared customs and ideals of freedom which appealed to later immigrants, particularly the large numbers of Germans who came to the colony from 1838 onwards, many seeking the religious or political freedom denied them in their homeland.

What Pike terms 'the myth of South Australia's social distinction'[16] based on pride in its convict-free origins, is characteristic of Roe's 'ethical' aspect of nationalism.[17] South

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[13]The *Jubilee Handbook* contained a table of 'Comparative Statistics for the last Fifty Years', showing increases in Population and Banking Deposits and demonstrating the delicate balance between Imports and Exports. p.17.

[14]Roe, 'An Historical Survey of Australian Nationalism', pp.661-664.

[15]Partington, *The Australian Nation,* pp.vii-ix.

[16] D. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857,* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957, p.497.

[17] Roe, 'An Historical Survey of Australian Nationalism', pp.668-671.

Australia's frequent reference to itself as a 'province' rather than a colony, implied a preference for identification with the home country rather than with the other colonies. Only nine years after the foundation of South Australia, the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* proudly commented on the

> very want of distinctive colonial character about the South Australians that constitutes the peculiar feature of the province ... English society, manners, language and habits have been successfully transferred, and most heartily ashamed and sorry should we be if the children of our colonists were ever to degenerate.'[18]

Twopeny (a newspaper journalist and South Australian Commissioner for Exhibitions, who lived and worked in Adelaide, Sydney and Melbourne) observed in *Town Life in Australia* (1883) that the colony of South Australia, 'conceived by political economy and born of religious nonconformity ... has ever been the most sober and respectable province of Australia.'[19] South Australians proudly celebrated the anniversary of the proclamation of the province on 28 December each year.

South Australia gained its own Constitution in 1856 and a system of responsible government followed. The legislative structure was basically British but innovations and adaptations, such as elections by secret ballot (the first in the world) were evidence of a desire to create democratic forms to suit the new environment. If the development of political institutions may be identified, as Roe suggests, as an expression of nationalism, the extent to which Australian nationalism was a local growth or an outgrowth of the British heritage is always a matter for (sometimes unnecessary) conjecture. In this case, the continuity with British parliamentary government is clear-cut. Twopeny wrote that 'the adaptability and less complicated social machinery of a young colony have permitted the carrying into execution of many valuable measures long before they emerged

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[18]Partington, *The Australian Nation*, p.121.

[19] R. E. N. Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, Fascimile edition, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1973, p.161. [Reprint of first edition, London: Elliot Stock, 1883.]

from the region of theory in their native land', and believed that in South Australia itself '[n]owhere is the theory of government by the people more fully and fairly illustrated.'[20]

The popular adoption of the 'Song of Australia' as the colony's own 'national song' was a South Australian expression of an Australian identity. The song was composed by German South Australian Carl Linger, with words by C. J. Carleton, in 1859, for a 'Song of Australia' competition conducted by the Gawler Institute on the occasion of its second anniversary.[21] Caroline Carleton's words were selected from 96 competitors,[22] demonstrating both the popularity of the competition and the appeal of her words, to the judges at least, as reflecting the sentiments of South Australians. Sung by generations of South Australians and not unknown in other states, 'Song of Australia' begins triumphantly with a celebration of Australia as a land of natural beauty:

> There is a land where summer skies
> Are gleaming with a thousand dyes.

The second verse sings of the happiness of life in a land

> Where the glad voice of childish glee
> is mingling with the melody
> Of nature's hidden minstrelsy

while the third extols the economic potential of a land

> Where gold lies hid and rubies gleam,
> and fabled wealth no more doth seem
> The idle fancy of a dream'.

Agricultural success in a

> land where honey flows
> Where laughing corn luxuriant grows

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[20] Twopeny, *Town Life*, pp.148, 166.

[21] J. Horner, 'Carl Ferdinand August Linger (1810-1862)', in D. Pike (General Ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.5, 1851-1890*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1974, p.91.

[22] *ibid.*

is the focus of the fourth, and in the final verse, it is the proud, free British heritage which is celebrated:

> There is a land where floating free,
> From mountain top to girdling sea,
> A proud flag waves exultingly, exultingly;
> And Freedom's sons the banners near
> No shackled slave can breathe the air
> Fairest of Britain's daughters fair

Each verse ends with the refrain:

> Australia Australia Australia![23]

The blend of local and imperial pride was again evident on the occasion of the visit of Prince Alfred to Adelaide in October 1867, when he was shown an exhibition of local produce and machinery and laid the foundation stone for the Victoria Tower of the Post Office. Like the city of Adelaide itself, its main thoroughfare (King William Street), the central square (Victoria Square) and various other civic features, this was a local achievement given a royal name, most obviously as a gesture of colonial loyalty but also as a public sign of royal approval. Prince Alfred also laid a foundation stone for the new Wesleyan Methodist secondary college at Kent Town, a gesture which was perceived as a signal honour, this being the first time a member of the royal family had laid a foundation stone for a dissenting institution.[24]

It is not without significance that the music to South Australia's own national anthem was composed by a German immigrant. South Australian Germans prior to the outbreak of the War were admired for their loyalty to their new land and their ideals of frugality and hard work had fitted well into the pioneer colony.[25] They considered themselves politically South

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[23] 'Song of Australia', in *Allan's Australian Music Books, No.22*, n.d. p.7.

[24] J. F. Ward, *Prince Alfred College: the story of the first eighty years 1867-1948*, Adelaide: Gillingham and Co. Ltd., 1951, pp.13-14.

[25] Ian A. Harmstorf, "True Germans are Patriotic South Australians': South Australian Germans before 1918', in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No.17, 1989, pp.124-133.

Australian, while retaining their rich German subculture.[26] Ian Harmstorf, who has written widely on South Australia's German immigrants, believes that this subculture 'by acculturisation may have been strong enough to alter substantially the dominant British culture' had it not been suppressed in the hysteria of war.[27] From 1914, Germans were suspected of dangerous allegiance to modern militarised Germany, even though they were British subjects, many of them South-Australian born, and some even had sons fighting against Germany. Deliberate submersion of the German culture was due partly to the political influence of Sir Henry Galway, State Governor 1914-1920, who lived in fear of political intrigue by local Germans.[28] Nevertheless, South Australian society and education derived lasting benefits from German immigration. In this study of South Australian secondary schools, the enriching influence of German culture, particularly in music and physical education, will be observed, as will occasional evidences of the anti-German feeling which swept through South Australian society.

The dominant British culture gave no recognition to an indigenous Australian heritage. The indigenous peoples had numbered more than 12,000 at the time of white settlement in South Australia. The Proclamation document read on 28 December 1836 which formally established South Australia as a province of Great Britain contained a long resolution regarding the protection of the native population, who were 'equally entitled to the privileges of British Subjects'.[29] Government officially took responsibility for their physical, moral and educational needs, but apart from humanitarian and anthropological interest, the indigenous peoples were largely ignored and by 1881 their numbers had decreased to an

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26 *ibid.* p.130.

27 I.A. Harmstorf, *Insights into South Australian History, Volume Two: South Australia's German History and Heritage,* Adelaide: Historical Society of South Australia Inc., 1994, p.68.

28 P. A. Howell, 'More Varieties of Vice-Regal Life', in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No.9, 1981, pp.16-17.

29 Quoted in R.M. Gibbs, *A History of South Australia*, Adelaide: Balara Books, 1969, p.124.

estimated 5,628.[30] At the 1887 Jubilee Exhibition, representatives from two aboriginal missions provided cultural entertainment, including 'tableaux of savage life', a mock battle, and (to demonstrate the civilizing effect of the missions) hymn singing and a recitation of 'The British Flag'.[31] Fragments of the mysterious aboriginal culture were collected, and in 1897 the South Australian museum proudly held 87 aboriginal skulls.[32]

Men and women in South Australian society

Religious equality (which resulted from the separation of church and state), the challenges of a strange climate (particularly the 'annual trial by ordeal' of Summer[33]) and the struggle to make a living from the land, all had a levelling effect on the population. Although South Australia was observed to be very English in character, Pike comments that social worth or respectability was achieved differently in the colony from in the home country. It was not an automatic birthright, nor could it be acquired by the adoption of appropriate manners or lifestyle, but had to be earned by routes peculiar to colonial society. The first 'road to respectability' identified by Pike was early arrival in the colony. The next three - thrift, temperance (or even total abstinence) and individual piety - were closely associated with the self-abnegating aspects of the Evangelical religion espoused by a large number of immigrants, while the last, ownership of land, a more positive aim, was seen as achievable, even for those who could not easily afford it, through wise management of earnings.
Land ownership was considered the 'surest' road to respectability and 'the supreme measure of success'.[34] It is possible to read Pike's five 'roads' as the prescribed middle-

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[30]Aborigines were not included in census figures until 1971. Figures above are taken from H.J.Scott's *Jubilee Handbook*, which contained a section on aborigines, concerned mainly with missionary activities, p.21.

[31]McKeough and Etherington, 'Jubilee 50', p.14.

[32] C. Healy, *From the Ruins of Colonialism: history as social memory*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997, discusses the 'collection' of Aborigines by Australian museums as part of the colonisation process. pp.93-102.

[33]Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* p.498.

[34]*ibid.*, pp.509-516.

class masculinity for the colony. For men to achieve this ideal, women had an important role to play.

The Wakefield Plan, on which the settlement of South Australia was based, involved the emigration of British men and women to the colony in equal numbers. Women were expected to make a practical contribution to the pioneering efforts. They often did all the domestic work, for there was no convict labour as in the Eastern colonies, and servants were scarce. Looking back in 1878, Catherine Helen Spence, who had arrived in the colony with her parents in 1839 and was to become a prominent woman in Adelaide public life, observed that the financial progress of the colony was due to '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.' Commenting on some of the social implications of the male-female working relationship, she wrote that '[p]erhaps never in any human society did circumstances realize the ideas of the community of labour and the equality of the sexes so fully as in South Australia in its early days'. With men and women in equal numbers, 'women were not so scarce as to be spoiled or so abundant as to be neglected....a certain degree of usefulness combined with good temper was recognised as the chief recommendation for a wife' and thus 'a wife was not looked on as a hindrance or an expense, but as a help and a comfort'.[35] This pioneering life of practicality and usefulness stood in stark contrast to the more sedate ideals of middle-class femininity in Britain at the time. However, Chris Nance has commented on the tenacity of the nineteenth century British feminine ideal in South Australian political and newspaper rhetoric, despite the reality of women's lives being far more utilitarian and less subservient than this ideal.[36]

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[35]C. H. Spence, 'Some Social Aspects of South Australian life: by a colonist of 1839 - C. H. Spence.' Reprinted from the *South Australian Register*, Adelaide: Government Printer, 1878, p.2.

[36]C. Nance, 'Women in Colonial South Australia', in *Tradition*, 18, June 1978, pp.14-18.

But the reality of women's lives in the Australian situation was leading to some adaptation of the English middle class female stereotype. Research by Bernice McPherson has found representations of 'a discernible 'Australian Girl" - usually a cultured, healthy, fun-loving girl, more independent than her English counterpart - in the works of various photographers, artists, poets and authors of the late colonial period,[37] while Helen Reid writes that 'the South Australian middle class girl ...[b]y virtue of her natural spirits encouraged by outdoor activity and the abundance of healthy food ... was extroverted and joyous'.[38]

In *The Real Matilda*, Miriam Dixson argued that the inferior status of Australian women in the twentieth century resulted in large part from their subservient and often cruel treatment in colonial times. But she saw South Australian women as the notable exception.[39] She did not pursue the difference or indicate in what ways this may have altered the status of women in South Australia in later years. A later feminist historian, Patricia Grimshaw, observed of Australia in general that 'ideas of partnership within marriage, and of women's enhanced status, were clearly flourishing among newly settled colonists and, indeed, the very circumstances of pioneering life in some ways accelerated their absorption'. She adds, furthermore, that it is possible that 'factors peculiar to pioneering societies ... led to an earlier acceptance of ideas of sexual equality.'[40] Grimshaw's observations would appear particularly applicable to South Australia, where women immigrants were recruited for their practical usefulness as well as their anticipated moral influence. In considering the 'woman

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[37] Bernice McPherson, 'A Colonial Feminine Ideal: femininity and representation', in *Journal of Australian Studies* No.42, 1994, pp.5-17.

[38] Helen M. J. Reid, 'The Middle Class Australian Colonial Girl', *Orthodoxies and Diversity: collected papers of the twenty fourth annual conference*, Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, 1995, pp.347-358.

[39] M. Dixson, *The Real Matilda,* p.12: 'During the formative times of all States, except South Australia, women were widely treated with contempt, in its many variations, and often with brutality.'

[40] P. Grimshaw, 'Women and the Family in Australian History', in E. Windschuttle, E. (ed.), *Women, Class and History: Feminist Perspectives on Australia 1788-1978*, Fontana, 1980, pp.42,44.

question' in South Australia, Carol Bacchi has noted that even though the experience of women in the colony's pioneering years was a departure from the Victorian British ideal, the fact that South Australian women were expected to do more around the home 'strengthened the idea that the home was their proper sphere'. This, with almost universal marriage for South Australian women until about 1876, meant that the basic role of woman as home maker remained unchanged.[41] It should be noted, however, that the colonial practice of women doing some physical work traditionally associated with men - for instance, German women shearing sheep at Hahndorf,[42] or women managing a property single-handed during the Victorian Gold Rushes, when, according to Spence 'at least three-fourths of the male population' left South Australia[43] - represented a considerable expansion of the notion of the domestic sphere and an enlargement of women's physical role, necessitating and legitimising new uses of the female body.

The contrast with the British ideal was plainly brought out in a later novel about the pioneers of the early 1840s. In Jane Doudy's *Magic of Dawn* (1924), two women (one the wife of a Major) walk along in plain dress carrying aprons on the way to helping a neighbour with her washing and one exclaims: 'Fancy ... what hands of horror our London friends would hold up if they saw us in this rig, going out as washerwomen. We who were supposed to do nothing more useful than strum on the piano or harp, and paint silly little pictures'. After a comment on the absence of domestic servants, she concludes: 'I like this life, oh, so much better than the old one; it is so much more natural and free.'[44]

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[41] C. Bacchi, 'The 'Woman Question' in South Australia', in E. Richards (ed.), *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986, p.405.

[42] J. W. Bull, *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia* ...., Adelaide: 1884, p.91, cited in Gibbs, *A History of South Australia*, p.63.

[43] C. H. Spence, 'Some Social Aspects', p.2.

[44] Mrs. Henry A. Doudy, *Magic of Dawn: a story of Sturt's Explorations*, London: Hutchinson and Co., Second edition [n.d.] , pp.25-26. First published London [1924]. Jane Doudy (as Miss Jane Stanes) was the first headmistress of Adelaide's Advanced School for Girls in 1879.

Temperance movements organised by women, which were strong in South Australia in the late nineteenth century, have been interpreted as a feminist attempt to redefine masculinity, as part of a wider 'struggle for cultural control between masculinists and feminists' in the 1880s and 1890s.[45] Others see the aim as merely social reform, with no special feminising agenda.[46] It is likely that the women's crusades were motivated in large part by evangelical religious ideals, and did not seek any fundamental change in the gender order - there were, after all, many male supporters of temperance campaigns, particularly among Methodists. Nevertheless, as a minority of women began to speak in public on reform issues such as temperance and female suffrage, they demonstrated new possibilities for the role of women which might imply a need for a readjustment of gender relations.

Religions in South Australia

Anthony Trollope is believed to have been the first to use in print the phrase 'city of churches' to describe Adelaide. Observing the large number and variety of churches in the city in 1872, he commented on 'the ambition of various sects to have it seen publicly that their efforts to obtain places of worship worthy of their religion have been as successful as those of their sister sects'.[47] David Hilliard has estimated that by 1891 there were at least 32 churches and chapels, plus a synagogue and a mosque, within Adelaide's city square mile.[48] The number of spires may have been an indicator of competition, but was also testimony to South Australian ideals

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45 M.Lake, 'The Politics of Respectability: identifying the masculinist context', in *Historical Studies*, Vol. 22, No.86, April 1986, p.129.

46 C.McConville, 'Rough Women, Respectable Men and Social Reform: a response to Lake's 'Masculinism'', in *Historical Studies*, Vol.22, No.88, April 1987, pp.440, 439.

47Quoted in D. Hilliard, "The City of Churches" in B. Dickey (ed.), *William Shakespeare's Adelaide 1860-1930*, Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians, 1992, pp.61-86, p.61.

48 David Hilliard, 'Religion in South Australia in the 1890s', in M. Blencowe and R. van den Hoorn (eds.), *South Australia in the 1890s*, Adelaide: Constitutional Museum, 1983, pp.111-123, p.111.

of neutrality and freedom with regard to religion, and the value which the inhabitants placed on religious worship. Twopeny commented in 1883 on Adelaide's church-going habits and the general 'piety and real goodness' of the population. On the negative side, he observed that '[w]ant of culture, Phariseeism, and narrow-mindedness find a more congenial home there than anywhere else in Australia' but conceded that although '[t]he Adelaidian may be unpleasantly conceited and self-satisfied in religious matters ... he is kind and hospitable, religious and moral.[49]

From the beginning of the settlement, the religious composition of South Australia's population was substantially different from that of the Eastern colonies or Great Britain. It was an overwhelmingly Protestant colony, with Catholics comprising only about half the proportion in New South Wales and Victoria. The proportion of non-Anglican Protestants was comparatively large. As demonstrated in the table below, at the time of the 1881 census the combined totals of the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches made up over one-third of the population. The Church of England comprised only 27%, much lower than in Victoria or New South Wales, and Catholics only 15.2%, while the Lutheran population (7%) was considerably higher than in those states.

[49]Twopeny, *Town Life,* p.123.

Anglican (Church of England)	27.1%
Methodist	22.6%
Baptist	5.0%
Congregational	3.5%
Catholic (Roman Catholic)	15.2%
Lutheran	7.0%
Presbyterian	6.4%
Total Christian	92.7%

Table II: Religious denominations, as percentages of total population of South Australia, 1881 Census.[50]

Each of the various denominations cultivated its own distinctive style of Christianity and sought to nurture its youth through family life and involvement in a variety of religious and social activities. Some denominations established their own secondary schools. The colleges established in Adelaide by three of these denominations - the Church of England, Methodist and Catholic communities - form a major part of this study. It is appropriate, therefore, to give some background on the development of these three denominations within the South Australian context. The Methodist and Catholic Churches are discussed in more detail, as in this study they are the two main variants on the English-imperial theme in the educational ethos of the English public schools. (The Scots Presbyterians in South Australia did not found colleges until after the first World War.)

The Church of England in South Australia[51]

The Church of England in South Australia had to adapt to conditions very different from those at Home, where it was a

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[50] Adapted from D. Hilliard and A.D.Hunt, 'Strands in the Social Fabric: Religion', in Richards (ed.), *Flinders History*, p.229.

[51] The Church of England in Australia officially changed its name to the Anglican Church of Australia in 1981. However, the term 'Anglican' had been in widespread use long before this. In this study, the Church is referred to under both names.

privileged national church. In the new colony, ideals of religious liberty and equality meant, in practical terms, that all denominations had to be financially self-supporting. However, despite early financial hardship, the Church of England enjoyed a prestige which set it apart from the other denominations, and the founding in 1847 of St. Peter's College, a school established in the English public school tradition, helped build its influence. David Hilliard notes that by the end of the nineteenth century, many members of the South Australian 'gentry' who were of Dissenting origin attended the Church of England, attracted by the connection with the prestigious college, the church's emphasis on 'order, patriotism and tradition', and the greater social freedoms allowed its members.[52] The strong links with Britain and the public school tradition were maintained. The three Adelaide Bishops appointed between 1882 and the First World War were former English public school boys and graduates of Oxford or Cambridge.[53]

In common with other denominations, the Church of England had a host of societies and clubs to cater for the religious, intellectual and social needs of the people. There were literary societies, sporting clubs and various associations for boys and girls, men and women. One example is the Mothers' Union, founded in South Australia in 1895 with Lady Victoria Buxton, the Governor's wife, as president. This association enshrined the ideal of mother as moral guardian: Bishop Harmer told the mothers at their first annual service in St. Peter's Cathedral in 1896 that 'the mother's knee should be the shrine and sanctuary of the house.'[54] But by their participation, even in this association in which the primacy of woman's domestic role was reaffirmed, women were actually establishing a presence outside the home, socialising and practising organisational skills in the public sphere, albeit in a typically female sector of

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52 David Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order: a history of the Anglican Church in South Australia*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986, p.49.

53 Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order*, pp.52-3, p.127. In fact, it was not until 1957 that Adelaide Anglicans had an Australian-born Bishop. Dr. Thomas Thornton Reed was a third generation Australian, educated at St. Peter's College.

54 Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order*, p.72.

unpaid philanthropism or fundraising. As Thistle Anderson commented in her sometimes caustic observations of Adelaide society in 1905: 'The most characteristic custom of female Adelaide is church-going - any church committee, prayer meeting, or bazaar, will tear her away from domestic duties.'[55]

It may be expected that, via the Church of England, the staunch imperial patriotism and ideals of Christian manliness which were being instilled into students in English public schools were imported directly into South Australia. The extent to which St. Peter's College and the girls' school Tormore House (unofficially a Church of England school) adopted or modified English ideals of masculinity and femininity, and whether the inculcation of British imperialism could accommodate the encouragement of an Australian nationalism, will be investigated in the forthcoming chapters.

South Australian Methodists

Prior to 1900, Methodists in South Australia were divided into four sub-denominations: Wesleyan Methodists, Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians and (until their merger with the Bible Christians in 1888) the Methodist New Connexion. In 1900, the remaining three groups united as the South Australia Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia. The Methodist Church in its various forms had grown rapidly in South Australia, attracting recruits from other less active denominations and providing 'a basis for community in a new society.'[56] Cornish immigrants to the copper mining areas added to their numbers.

In his history of Methodism in South Australia, Arnold Hunt distinguishes six different categories of Methodists in South

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55 Thistle Anderson, *Arcadian Adelaide*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1985, (Reprint of First Edition 1905), p.54.
56 Hilliard and Hunt, 'Strands in the Social Fabric', p.205.

Australia by 1870[57]: the 'top layer' was mainly composed of Wesleyans, and included successful businessmen and politicians. The founders of Prince Alfred College and of the more prominent Methodist churches, such as Kent Town and Archer Street, belonged to this category. The second, and largest, group was comprised of less wealthy farming families in country areas. There was a third group, a minority, of pastoralists or former pastoralists, a fourth group comprising mining families (mainly immigrants from Cornwall and Devon) living in the country areas of Moonta, Kapunda and Burra, another category made up of 'shopkeepers, a variety of men with commercial interests, public servants, and professional people such as doctors and teachers',[58] and, lastly, a group consisting mainly of tradesmen and labourers.

Methodists were expected to conform to strict standards, shunning the worldly pleasures which distracted from the spiritual life, working diligently and honestly and spending frugally. Alcohol and gambling were to be strictly avoided. Sunday was to be observed in church attendance, reading the Bible and other edifying books, attending revival meetings and other pious activities. By the 1880s, South Australian Methodism was committed to teetotalism. A junior temperance society, the Band of Hope, sought 'to educate the young in the principles and practice of sobriety' and in the 'moral duties of industry, honesty, truthfulness, cleanliness, kindness and the creation of disgust for all bad or offensive habits, Sabbath-breaking, swearing, gambling and such like.'[59] At about the age of seven, children signed the pledge to abstain from alcohol.

Within Methodism, as in most mainstream churches of the time, men occupied the main leadership roles (although two women did become travelling evangelists during the 1890s, conducting

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57 A. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: a history of Methodism in South Australia,* Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985, pp.99-102.
58 *ibid.* p.102.
59 *Wesleyan Laws and Regulations*, 1885, quoted in Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, p.157.

missions in country South Australia[60]). Men were expected to cultivate speaking and leadership skills to equip them to speak out on moral matters and perhaps to undertake lay preaching. Literary Societies trained young men in public speaking and encouraged the reading of worthwhile literature. Methodist women played an indispensable supportive role in the church, singing in choirs, playing the organ for services, teaching Sunday School, organising tea meetings and fundraising occasions such as fetes and, through membership of charitable societies such as the Dorcas Society, visiting the sick and distributing food and clothing to the needy. Methodist women, as a body, showed more commitment to a public role than their Catholic or Church of England counterparts. Some had been founding members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which since 1886 had crusaded energetically against the personal and social evils of alcohol, and some had worked in the Women's Suffrage League, campaigning for the vote for women with the firm conviction that women's voices would bring about improved moral standards in political and social life.[61]

Working for the moral improvement of society was seen as a serious religious duty. For both men and women, exercising the right to vote to ensure the election of upright men to parliament was part of this duty. Some prominent Methodist churchmen became involved in politics, where they could exercise a more direct effect on legislation; Sir John Colton, one of the founders of Prince Alfred College, was one leading Methodist who worked energetically in church, political and educational fields. Methodists upheld a wholehearted imperial loyalty and church leaders, with few exceptions, favoured conscription in the Great War. However, despite the official line, many South Australian Methodists actually voted against conscription in the referenda.[62]

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60 Hilliard, 'Religion in South Australia', p.113.
61 Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, p.155.
62 *ibid.* p.289.

The Methodist newspaper, the *Australian Christian Commonwealth,* gave advice to youth in separate columns for girls and boys. These columns, which offer insight into distinctive Methodist styles of masculinity and femininity, will be referred to in the following sections in relation to education at Prince Alfred and Methodist Ladies' Colleges.

Catholics in South Australia

Like their counterparts in the other Australian states, Catholics in South Australia in the early 1880s were predominantly Irish, relatively poor and uneducated. However, the state's early Catholics had included English, Scottish, German, Polish and Austrian as well as Irish, and, in fact, an English layman, William Phillips, was 'one of the founders of the Catholic Church in South Australia', regularly gathering together Adelaide's Catholics for prayer meetings.[63] The first priest, Father William Benson, who arrived in 1841, was Welsh-born. A group of Austrian Jesuits accompanied Prussian Silesian immigrants in 1848, establishing a seminary and boys' secondary school at Sevenhill, near Clare, 140 kilmetres north of Adelaide. Their first seminarian was English-born Julian Tenison Woods, who later set up a network of Catholic schools in cooperation with the Scottish-Australian Mary MacKillop. Woods also for a time assisted MacKillop in her efforts to found the Sisters of St Joseph, the first Australian religious order. Partington views the opposition faced by Woods and MacKillop as part of a hierarchical power struggle between Irish and non-Irish (chiefly English Benedictine) interests, which resulted in an Irish victory and the perpetuation in Australia of Irish Catholic traditions.[64] The Irish takeover in South Australia took time: Schumann gives figures of 53% non-Irish clergy in 1864, and

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[63]M.Press, *From Our Broken Toil: South Australian Catholics 1836 to 1905*, Adelaide: Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1986, p.16.
[64]Partington, *The Australian Nation*, pp.67-72.

still 37% in 1871[65] and the Austrian Jesuit influence was still strong in the 1880s.

However, Adelaide's Irish-born Bishops recruited more and more clergy from their homeland and, in 1878, an Irish teaching order, the Christian Brothers, to found an Adelaide boys' college. Catholicism and Irishness became almost synonymous, and when *The Southern Cross* was founded in 1889, its first editorial announced it as an organ of Catholic interests, giving 'special prominence' to Irish affairs.[66] The Australian title on the paper's masthead was adorned with an Irish harp and shamrocks.[67] Margaret Press, in her history of South Australian Catholicism, states that it was directed at 'readers who were presumed to be at once Catholic, Irish and Australian.'[68] *Southern Cross* readers were told:

> We must not forget, either as catholics or as Irishmen, our duties and obligations as Australians. Happily, in these free lands, under the genial rays of the Southern Cross, the paths of religion, patriotism, and public duty coincide, and our paper, adopting that constellation as a national emblem ... will be conducted in harmony with these three great principles.'[69]

O'Farrell states that Irish nationalism in Australia was 'never simply an expression of loyalty to Ireland: it was always also a part of the processes of settlement, a mode of testing the Australian environment and of Irish-Australian interaction with it, a way of defining who and where Irish Australians were.'[70] He observes a strong element of 'sentimental nostalgia' in the expression of Irish nationalism in Australia, for example, in the use of the antiquated Irish harp as a symbol. Irish Australia had, in O'Farrell's opinion, a vision of Ireland that was 'strongly

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[65] R. Schumann, 'Roman Catholicism in South Australia in the early 1890s', in Blencowe and Van Hoorn, *South Australia in the 1890s,* pp.315-322, p.315.

[66] *The Southern Cross* , Vol.1, No.1, July 5, 1889, p.8.

[67] Commencing with the issue for August 9, 1889.

[68] M. Press, *Colour and Shadow: South Australian Catholics 1906-1962,* Adelaide: Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1991, p.18.

[69] *The Southern Cross,* Vol.1, No.1, July 5, 1889, p.8.

[70] O'Farrell, P., *The Irish in Australia,* Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1986, p.197.

historical and rigorously idealistic.... [e]ssentially... not an involvement in Ireland's contemporary life, but rather an identification with past glories, particularly its reputation as an island of saints and scholars in the days before the British came'.[71] Clement Macintyre[72] has observed this nostalgic expression of Irish identity in the St Patrick's Day marches in Adelaide, by contrast with the more political character of marches held after the Easter Rebellion in Ireland in 1916. The earlier celebrations served 'to evoke romantic images of a long-suffering Ireland waiting to take its part as a loyal and independent nation within the British empire' - in the words of one of the speakers at the 1908 celebration: 'England should give the Irish people a chance to show how they would love her under free government'.[73]

Partington has referred to the 'dual and even triple loyalties' held by some Australian Irish Catholics - 'to Irish-Catholic traditions, English constitutional principles, and the life of the new colonial societies'.[74] One exponent of all of these in South Australia was Patrick McMahon Glynn, who arrived in South Australia in 1882 and worked as lawyer, journalist and politician. He was elected a member of the Federal Convention, later becoming a federal minister and Attorney-General. He was a president of the South Australian branch of the Irish National League and, although he often expressed impatience with Irish politics, he supported Home Rule. He also regarded Queen and Empire with respect and affection. In a speech farewelling members of the Imperial Contingent to Africa in 1899, he spoke of 'the splendid relations of filial devotion and parental pride that subsisted between the colonies and the mother country' and praised the imperial loyalty of the troops who were fighting for 'the greatest Empire the world had ever known'.[75]

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71 *ibid.* p.219.

72 C. Macintyre, 'The Adelaide Irish and the Politics of St. Patrick's Day 1900-1918', in R. Pelan *et al.*, *Papers Delivered at the Seventh Irish-Australian Conference, July 1993*, Sydney: Crossing Press, 1994, pp.182-196.

73 *ibid.* p.189

74 Partington, *The Australian Nation*, p.60.

75 G.O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn: a founder of Australian Federation*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1965, p155.

Some Catholics combined hostility to British rule in Ireland with a deep respect for British political traditions of justice and freedom and true affection for Queen Victoria. At the festivities for St. Patrick's Day in 1900, the two toasts at a luncheon (attended by the Mayor, the Premier and some Ministers) were 'The Queen' and 'The Day we Celebrate'.[76] When *The Southern Cross* reported the Queen's intention to visit Ireland that same year, and commanded that Irish regiments wear sprigs of shamrocks in their headgear, her gesture was hailed as 'recognition of the devotion of her Irish soldiers' in the Boer War, 'a flash of inspiration on the part of a noble-natured woman' and 'an act of trust in the affections of the Irish people'.[77] The paper assured its readers that '[e]ven when goaded by tyranny and acts of oppression into acts of violence the Irish people have never breathed a word against their Queen although at times they have protested most vigorously against the overbearing acts of her Ministers.' The writer hoped that 'henceforth the Rose, the Thistle, and the Shamrock shall be entwined inseparably.'[78] The paper's call for a cable from the South Australian Irish to greet the Queen on her arrival in Dublin occasioned extensive debate at a meeting of the local branch of the Irish National League. Chairman MacMahon Glynn favoured a simple message of loyalty without political overtones, but the majority preference for some reference to Home Rule resulted in a message conveying 'hearty greetings on the occasion of her visit to Ireland' and the 'hope that God may spare her to open an Irish Parliament.'[79]

The conscription debate saw Catholic clergy and laymen on both sides (Patrick MacMahon Glynn, for instance, supported it) and a neutral stand at an official level which regarded the vote on conscription as matter for individual decision. The *Southern Cross* published advertisements for both sides. The very public anti-conscription stand taken by Melbourne's Archbishop Mannix does not appear to have led many Catholics to change

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[76]*The Southern Cross*, March 23, 1900, p.190.
[77]*The Southern Cross*, March 23, 1900, p.193.
[78]*The Southern Cross*, Editorial, March 23, 1900, p.188.
[79]*The Southern Cross*, March 23, 1900, p.201.

their minds, even in Victoria,[80] while the religious intolerance evident in many of his outbursts undoubtedly created fresh divisions among Catholics and Protestants throughout Australia and fuelled charges of Catholic disloyalty to Empire.

An examination of Adelaide's Christian Brothers' College up to and through the war period illuminates the nature of religious and ethnic loyalties taught by this Irish order to Australian Catholic youth. The college will be examined as a site for the construction of a distinctive Catholic masculinity. The corresponding study of the Convent of Mercy girls' school, which had Argentinian origins and less Irish influence, may be expected to show some variations from the predominantly Irish boys' institution.

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[80] Michael McKernan, 'Catholics, Conscription and Archbishop Mannix', in *Historical Studies*, Vol.17, No.68, April 1977, pp.299-314.

CHAPTER 5:

The boys' schools 1880-1919 - PART I:

Masculinities and national identities expressed in school rhetoric and organisation.

Introduction

The recognition of schools as crucial institutional sites for the construction of masculinities has prompted some historians to reappraise Australian boys' schools. To a large extent, this involves looking at old evidence in a fresh light.

Some previous research, while not explicitly addressing masculinity, has illuminated the process by which Victorian English codes of manliness were transported to Australian schools. Sherington, Petersen and Brice, in their history of corporate schools in Australia entitled *Learning to Lead,* showed the boys' schools as reproductions of English public schools, sharing the same ethos and organisational features and overseen by headmasters imported directly from English public schools.[1] The authors found that the 'Arnoldian' system, implemented first in Church of England schools, was subsequently adopted in schools of other denominational traditions.

More recently, Martin Crotty's study of two élite Victorian schools concluded that the Anglican Geelong Grammar School and the Methodist Wesley College adopted the English public school ethos virtually *in toto*: These two colleges were 'enclaves of middle- and upper-class English culture, where Australian

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[1] Geoffrey Sherington, R. C. Petersen and Ian Brice, *Learning to Lead: a history of girls' and boys' corporate secondary schools in Australia*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987.

boys could be developed into colonial versions of the idealised English gentleman.'[2]

However, in some schools, adherence to religious and/or ethnic traditions meant the English public school tradition was less influential. A comparative study by Sherington and Connellan of an Anglican and a Catholic Marist institution in Sydney illustrates the resistance of the French Brothers to incorporating games in the school programme.[3] Research by Ian Brice into a selection of Australian Presbyterian and Catholic schools in the pre-World War period has demonstrated the tenacity of Irish cultural traditions by comparison with the Scottish.[4] Not all Australian schools, therefore, were necessarily inculcating the uniform public school ideal of 'imperial man'. The pre-War period especially is of critical importance in the investigation of discourses of religion and national identity and the possibility of variant forms of masculinity in denominational schools: the demands of imperial defence would soon result in the militarisation of the masculine ideal across denominational boundaries.

Whereas historians of education have tended in the past to view Australian high schools as merely imitators of corporate school culture[5], recent researchers have reinterpreted them as more innovatory institutions which contributed in various ways to the

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[2] M. Crotty, 'Making English Gentlemen from Australian Boys?: the manly ideal in two élite protestant schools of Victoria, 1875-1920', in *Australian Studies* Vol.13, No.1, Summer 1998, p.65.

[3] G. Sherington and M. Connellan, 'Socialisation, imperialism and war: ideology and ethnicity in Australian corporate schools', in Mangan (ed.), *Benefits bestowed'*, pp.132-149.

[4] Ian D. Brice, 'Ethnic masculinities in Australian boys' schools - Scots and Irish secondary schools in late 19th century Australia.' Paper delivered at the ISCHE XXI Conference, Sydney 1999. A revised version in *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal or the History of Education,* (forthcoming).

[5] C. Turney, 'The advent and adaptation of the Arnold public school tradition in New South Wales', in *Australian Journal of Education*, in two parts. Part I of the article: Vol.10 No.2, 1966, pp.133-144; Part II: Vol.11 No.1, 1967, pp.29-43; B.Bessant, 'The Influence of the "Public Schools" on the early High Schools of Victoria', in *History of Education Review* Vol.13 No.1, 1984, pp.45-57.

modernisation of Australian society.[6] Craig Campbell's study of Adelaide High School depicts an institution which quickly forged a 'resolutely meritocratic' culture, where the children of the new employed urban middle class could gain the necessary credentials for a range of professional and white collar occupations.[7] At a stage when secondary education was still only beginning to establish itself as a way of life for adolescent males, this school may be seen as a crucial site in South Australia for the construction of a modern adolescent masculinity which regarded the hard-won acquisition of academic credentials as essential preparation for later career and family breadwinner roles.

A study of approaches to the construction of masculinity in different institutional contexts may be expected to reveal not only variations in gender discourses but also some commonalities of approach. An historical investigation designed to incorporate periods of relative stability and the world-wide upheaval of war can indicate the extent to which constructions of masculinity are historically contingent, as well as illustrating the various ways, in school rhetoric, organisation and curriculum, in which these constructions are put before boys within an educational setting.

(A) THE RHETORIC OF SCHOOL ETHOS

The Collegiate School of St. Peter - 'For Queen and Empire's sake'.[8]

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[6] Craig Campbell, Carole Hooper, Mary Fearnley-Sander, *Toward the State High School in Australia: social histories of state secondary schooling in Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia, 1850-1925*, Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, 1999.

[7] Campbell, *Toward the State High School,* p.71; see also C. Campbell, 'Secondary Schooling, Modern Adolescence and the Reconstitution of the Middle Class', in *History of Education Review* Vol.24 No.1, 1995, pp.53-73.

[8] From an untitled poem by M.L.W., *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.VIII No.4, April 1900, pp.192-3.

The foundation stone of St. Peter's was laid on the Queen's Birthday, May 24, 1849 by Augustus Short, first Bishop of Adelaide. John Tregenza's 1996 history of 'the founding years' of St Peter's College depicts a school styled in large part by the man who was its Head Master from 1854 until 1878 - the Reverend George Farr.[9] A graduate of Christ's Hospital and Cambridge, Farr was imbued with English public school ideals, aiming, like Arnold at Rugby, to produce gentlemen first, then scholars. Ideals of courtesy, truthfulness and service to others were preached from the chapel pulpit and prefects were endowed with the authority to enforce the Head Master's standards on the younger boys. Producing 'gentlemen, whether Christian or otherwise,' Tregenza writes, (for enrolments at St Peter's included some Jewish boys) 'had been Farr's over-riding concern as a Head Master.'[10] Returning to the college as a guest speaker at Speech Day in 1890, Farr reiterated his ideals in typical Arnoldian terminology, addressing the boys as 'gentlemen' and asking the prefects and sixth form boys to remember how important was their influence on the younger ones, for even one head boy could leaven the tone and character of the whole school by his example.[11]

In some respects, St. Peter's College was quite unlike its English predecessors. It was located in a capital city and by the 1880s the curriculum included commercial subjects, modern languages and sciences. Most of the boys were day-students and many remained at school only two or three years. However, a succession of English Head Masters ensured that the school's ethos was identical with that of a late nineteenth century English public school. When the school magazine began in 1884, it became an important organ of official rhetoric, and articles on English schools, life at Oxford and Cambridge and trips 'home' kept alive the links with English traditions. Head Master from 1879-1881 was the Rev. William Bedell Stanford, whose teaching staff of nine in 1880 consisted of two graduates from

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[9] J. Tregenza, *Collegiate School of St. Peter, Adelaide. The founding years 1847-1878*, Adelaide: The Collegiate School of St. Peter, 1996.

[10] J. Tregenza, *Collegiate School*, p.210.

[11] *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol. III No.5, March 1891, p.67.

Cambridge, one from Oxford and two from Irish Universities. The remaining four were German, teaching modern languages (Herr Kirchner), drawing (Herr Drews), music (Herr Püttman) and gymnastics (Herr Leschen). Stanford believed the 'real educational work of the school' was 'moral training and the formation of character'.[12] The Rev. P. E. Raynor, appointed Head Master in 1890, was educated at Winchester College and Cambridge and had been an assistant master at Marlborough and Wellington Colleges.

As in the English public schools, an essential component of character formation was the cultivation of imperial loyalty. School loyalty, sometimes itself called 'patriotism', was intended to be the means by which boys learned patriotism for the broader imperial context, and sport was one crucial area where they could be trained to put the interests of the community first. Stanford castigated those 'disloyal' day boys who did not join in school games, or even joined in other elevens playing against the school, thereby losing 'the healthy discipline of feeling themselves members out of school as well as in ... of a great public body like this.'[13]

Sir Henry Newbolt had described the public school boy's total identification with his school in the poem 'Clifton Chapel':

> Henceforth the School and you are one.[14]

Old Scholars who demonstrated this ideal were accorded special praise. Stanford made special mention in his annual report of a former pupil who had acquitted himself exceptionally well in the examination for admission to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst and had written 'a kind and manly note to ask for a half holiday for his old school.'[15] The recognition given to this Old Scholar indicates the esteem in which the imperial military

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12 Head Master's Report, *School List* Christmas 1880, SPCA 150. [The *School Lists* are unpaginated.]
13 *ibid.*
14 Newbolt, *Poems,* p.94.
15 *ibid.*

college and its careers were held, but what Stanford appeared to particularly appreciate was the student's acknowledgment that his individual success was part of the school's corporate achievement. The Speech Day addresses of South Australian Governors and Bishops, themselves products of English public schools, often reinforced ideals of school loyalty and *esprit de corps*. In 1891, Governor Lord Kintore, an Old Etonian, pleaded eloquently for the boys to see their school as the ultimate focus of all effort :

> Boys, you must prove yourselves worthy of your college. Strain every nerve and muscle to uphold its credit; hold aloft its colours in every contest, and strive to crown them with the laurels of victory. Never admit such a word as defeat, and never know when you are beaten.[16]

The school saw itself as having the serious duty of training a colonial élite to occupy public leadership roles and to be guardians of British culture. In 1880, Stanford introduced an annual Shakespearean play to foster an interest in Shakespeare and to help boys cultivate 'the power of bearing themselves well and speaking so as to be heard before an audience'.[17] Public examinations in elocution were conducted before the audience on Speech Day. Anxiety that the quality of the English language - like the British race itself - was in danger of declining in the colonial environment was shared by many in educational circles. The examiner in 1883, an eminent Old Scholar, called upon some of the contestants to 'cure themselves of colonial twang'. The Governor supported his remarks, adding that 'in a young country like South Australia, where there was a generation growing up to fill political positions, elocutionary powers would be of the greatest service.'[18]

The appointment of the Rev. Henry Girdlestone in 1893 was heralded by a cable from the Bishop of Adelaide, who had interviewed and selected him in England: 'Excellent man,

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16 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.III No.9, March 1892, p.121.
17 Head Master's Report, *School List* Christmas 1881.
18 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol. I No.3, Speech Day Number, 1884, pp.3-4.

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Girdlestone, Stroke Oxford Eight, Honours Maths and Science'.[19] He became the first Head of St. Peter's to hold a science degree, possibly due to a desire at official levels to strengthen the school in an area in which Prince Alfred College was proving its dominance. A man of impressive physical stature, dignified bearing and strong religious principles, Girdlestone was the embodiment of late Victorian 'Muscular Christianity'.*(Fig.I)* He saw the school's responsibility as 'helping a boy to learn those habits of personality and industry that go to form a man'[20] and believed that this was best achieved by total immersion in school life, free of outside 'distractions'. He often spoke of the home as a distraction from the good work of the school, and took a dim view of 'a boy who is late because it is wet, who stays away because it is hot, who does not come to school because he is wanted at home; or the family cow has strayed'.[21] In 1914, he spoke in envy of the English boarding schools: 'our greatest public schools are solely boarding schools. Have not boys too many extraneous influences today?'[22] Even in 1915, filled with pride at the service of five hundred of 'his boys' in the World War, Girdlestone lamented that '[s]choolboys of the present ... were in need of a stricter upbringing: in their homes there was 'absence of control, even direct encouragement to idleness and indifference'.[23] After-school and weekend school sport was one way of extending the hours of contact with the school and minimising other distracting influences.

During Girdlestone's long reign (1894-1915), games assumed a greater prominence, for, as he explained: 'I know that many think that games are carried too far in schools, but I think they should be estimated as one of the instruments we have to educate character and make a man.'[24] And the then Governor of South Australia, Lord Tennyson, son of the poet and an old

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19 A. G. Price, *The Collegiate School of St. Peter 1847-1947*, Adelaide: The Collegiate School of St. Peter, 1947, p.29.
20 Head Master's Report, *School List* December 1900.
21 Head Master's Report, *School List* December 1901.
22 Head Master's Report, *School List* December 1914.
23 Head Master's Report, *School List* December 1915.
24 Head Master's Report, *School List* December 1899.



THE HEADMASTER.

Fig. I. Henry Girdlestone, Head Master, Collegiate School of St. Peter, 1894 -1915
St. Peter's School Magazine, No. 81, December 1912, facing p.1.

Marlburian, reassured a speech night audience that 'as many men's characters are moulded on the playing fields as in the schoolroom'.[25] In 1912, Girdlestone enumerated some of the qualities cultivated by games and applied these to the male breadwinner role:

> To put self second to public interest, to carry out your captain's order, to organise and command others, to be prompt, to ignore nerves, endure hardness, keep the temper, and play the game ... these things are good, and earn bread and butter as truly as a knowledge of science or shorthand.[26]

Apart from occasional references to the Australian nation, the official rhetoric most often drew the direct link between school and empire loyalty. Girdlestone saw the participation of over one hundred Old Boys in the South African War and the winning of a Victoria Cross as proof that St. Peter's boys measured up to the imperial ideal.[27] The college was 'turning out a fine race of men.'[28] At the conclusion of the War, five large tablets containing the names of Old Scholar volunteers were unveiled in the Big Schoolroom by the Bishop, who commended the school's new heroes for their self-sacrifice, endurance and courage, and for proving the hardihood of the British race:

> The decadence of our race was in question. Our State and Commonwealth proved its manhood in righteous battle ... [29]

Federation was greeted with the holiday requested by the Governor to mark the occasion. For Girdlestone this, too, was an occasion for school and imperial pride:

> South Australia can be proud of this school. We can enter into the federal bond with a consciousness that in our schools we are second to none, and that we are doing much to build up a great race, a strong element in a strong empire.[30]

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25 *Observer* 21 December 1901, p.36b.
26 Annual report, *School List* December 1912.
27 Annual Report, *School List* December 1901.
28 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.IX No.47, December 1901, p.361.
29 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.IX No.50, September 1902, p.428.
30 Head Master's Report, *School List* 1900.

However, Girdlestone's annual reports to the school in the pre-war period from about 1907 show that he continued to be concerned by what he perceived to be a decline in the mental and physical toughness of boys, which was contributing to a degeneration of the British race. Fears for the future of the race were common in political and journalistic rhetoric of the time in Britain and underlay the imperialist ethos of the public schools (see Chapter Three). For Girdlestone, declining racial standards were in large part an educational problem: present-day boys appeared to lack the mental toughness of previous generations of English boys who had been brought up on the rigours of the classics. In 1913 he told parents that he believed the educational system was losing its power to develop character - the Universities no longer required students to have studied Greek, hence there was only one Greek student in the Primary examination class.[31] Dismayed that some boys preferred school work to cadet camp, he told parents at Speech Day in 1907: 'I sometimes wonder if boys enjoy the thrust and strain of nerve and muscle for its own sake as boys before them.' He continued:

> If our race is to hold its inheritance, if this particular part of our race is to enter into the full enjoyment of the rich heritage of this land of Australia, it must be a hard race, and it must encourage among boys and young men unconscious individuality .... that individuality which is the guarantee of a great race.[32]

The 'rich heritage of this land of Australia' was, naturally, not the indigenous heritage but the heritage of the British race. The indigenous races represented the antithesis of British civilisation and their seemingly leisured way of life was a threat to British standards. In 1909, Girdlestone quoted the opinion of 'an eminent professor of sociology' who theorised that races who settle in a new land have a tendency to revert to the characteristics of the original dwellers and asked: 'Have we got before us a fight against the leisurely indifference and want of enthusiasm that distinguishes the native?' The solution, again, was for the boy to become absorbed in school interests:

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[31] Head Master's Report, *School List* 1913.
[32] Head Master's Report, *School List* 1907.

> To grow into the right man a boy must be thoroughly absorbed - his whole energy devoted to the thing of the moment. ....I do not believe there is one iota of merit in a boy being encouraged to look outside his school circle for his interests. These are distractions ... and will teach them through life to be ready to follow any cross scent.[33]

A few years later, he spoke powerfully of the chivalrous devotion which a boy should bear his school:

> In days of chivalry each knight bore a favour of his queen .... Some of your sons have an ideal queen to worship; inspirer of deeds and thoughts, who is no maid of human birth, but the Boon-mother of their school brotherhood. Her name has been able to nerve a faltering purpose, to steel a heart, to send a man to death's door with her name on his lips. Of no school is this more true than of St. Peter's.[34]

His personification of the school as 'an ideal queen to worship' and the references to the mystical influence of her name as inspirer of noble deeds have a religious tone. (There is a striking similarity to the terms in which CBC boys were encouraged to worship the Blessed Virgin.) Ian Brice has argued that 'the transcendent value in the late nineteenth century public school ethos was *the school itself*', that the 'cult of the school' as 'an organic, even mystical body' had displaced religion or love of country as the chief inspiration.[35] Girdlestone's words, and the absence of much overtly religious rhetoric at that school, strongly support such an interpretation.

A record of an unofficial nature which demonstrates the kind of school loyalty Girdlestone hoped to foster is a scrapbook compiled by a student, Cyril Thomas, who attended the school from 1906 to 1914 and later became a Life Member of the St. Peter's Collegians' Association.[36] School reports and a homework diary giving Thomas's weekly marks and place in the class indicate that he was only a fair student, but his teacher in the Lower Fifth in 1913 wrote: 'In my whole teaching career, I

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33 Head Master's Report, *School List* 1909.

34 Head Master's Report, *School List* 1912.

35 Ian D. Brice, 'Which Patriotism? Australia's élite schools and national - or imperial - identity.' Paper presented at the ISCHE XV Conference, *Education Encounters Peoples and Cultures: the colonial experience (16th to 20th centuries)*, Lisbon, 21-25 July 1993, p.4.

36 Scrapbook/album compiled by Cyril Thomas, SPCA 601.

have never taught a boy with greater pleasure' and a reference written by Girdlestone in May 1915 testifies to the 'excellent character - conscientious and absolutely trustworthy' of one who 'has not been among the most brilliant boys'. The many pages of photographs of sporting teams, cadets, teachers and students, school reports, souvenirs of various aspects of school life, newspaper cuttings about the careers and war service of schoolmates indicate that Cyril Thomas's identification with his school lasted throughout his lifetime.

Loyalty to school, as the basis for loyalty to Empire, thus underpinned much of the pre-war rhetoric of St. Peter's College, as it had in the English public schools, and the Muscular Christian ideal was directed to the formation of a version of imperial man appropriate to a colonial élite. The official rhetoric of the pre-war period of two other boys' schools, Prince Alfred College and Christian Brothers' College, and the co-educational Adelaide High School will now be investigated, followed by an analysis of the rhetoric at all four boys' schools during the period of the Great War.

Prince Alfred College: 'inheritors of a glorious past.'

Prince Alfred College was founded by a group of leading Wesleyans, mainly wealthy laymen belonging to what Hunt, in his history of South Australian Methodism, termed the 'top layer of successful businessmen',[37] who wanted their youth to have the opportunity to study 'all the branches of a sound commercial education with a classical and mathematical course for those who desire to study these higher departments of educational knowledge'.[38] The college's foundation stone was laid in 1867 by Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, giving the school a connection with royalty unique in South Australian education.

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[37] Hunt, *This Side of Heaven,* p.99.

[38] From a list of 'leading features' drawn up by the College Committee in June 1866, see R. Gibbs, *A History of Prince Alfred College*, Adelaide: Peacock Publications, 1984, p.26.

In contrast to St Peter's College, which appointed clerical Head Masters chosen by the Bishop, Prince Alfred appointed laymen with a strong Wesleyan background - the first two being sons of English Methodist Ministers - and these were selected in the early years by a prominent businessman who was the school's main benefactor, Thomas Waterhouse. In 1876, the school appointed its third Headmaster, Frederic Chapple, who had been a lecturer at the Westminster Training College for Methodist teachers. Like his predecessor, John Hartley, Chapple had degrees in arts and science from London University.

Chapple, like Girdlestone, was an enthusiastic exponent of 'Muscular Christianity'. He told the audience at Speech Day in December 1882:

> I am not afraid of the overdevelopment of bone and muscle, as some are. The strain of modern competition in life demands the sound body not less than the sound mind. It is still true that idleness and lack of occupation in leisure hours are fruitful parents of evil. Manly sports and hearty outdoor exercise are still important factors in producing a vigorous full-orbed manhood.[39]

Even though games had not been a strong part of the Methodist educational tradition, PAC soon proved itself a worthy rival to St Peter's for sporting as well as academic honours. Staff appointments were usually old boys of PAC, an indication of Chapple's desire to perpetuate the school's standards and ideals through those who were already thoroughly imbued with them. In October 1896, these appear to have been in short supply. Chapple's daughter was teaching in the lower forms, and for the senior forms it was announced 'it is hoped that two competent gentlemen will be obtained from England.'[40] The men who were selected, out of fifty-eight applicants, were both sons of Wesleyan ministers and both accomplished cricketers. Vanes, an Oxford M.A., was 'the best cricketer in Bath'[41] and Langley,

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39 *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* 22 December, 1882, p.6.
40 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.50, October 1896, p.465.
41 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.51, January 1897, p.1.

(B.A. London) was a 'dashing bat, a hard hitter, and a good bowler.[42]

Science education was a special strength. Soon after his arrival in 1876, Chapple built a science wing, where he did much of the teaching himself. By 1887, the college took pride in having an Old Scholar, Thomas Hudson Beare, as Professor of Mechanics and Engineering at Edinburgh University, and numerous other Old Scholars were successful in scientific fields. Practical subjects, such as carpentry and agronomy, and hobbies were encouraged to ensure boys knew how to keep themselves busy, and interest in natural history was fostered by the creation of a Field club and a school museum. This emphasis on science and practical skills and the useful areas of knowledge, and the importance placed on being constantly occupied and striving earnestly, were distinguishing features of PAC.

Despite the non-conformist background of its founders and early headmasters, the college demonstrated unbounded allegiance to the Crown and Empire and frequently emphasised its unique royal connection. Imperial allegiance features more prominently in the rhetoric and pages of the magazine at PAC than at Saint Peter's, suggesting that the Methodist college felt it needed to make constant efforts to be seen as an English public school equal in standing and loyalty to its older rival. Former headmaster Hartley, then Inspector-General of Schools and President of the PAC Old Collegians' Association, told Old Scholars at a dinner in June 1887 that 'while they did well to be proud of the fact that they were Australians, they had something still nobler to be proud of in the fact that they were Englishmen, inheritors of a glorious past' and that they 'belonged to a nation which could boast of some of the greatest statesmen, soldiers, sailors and poets that the world has ever seen.'[43]

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42 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.52, April 1897, p.21.
43 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.III No. 14, 22 July 1887, p. 5.

As at Saint Peter's, reactions to Federation and to participation in the Boer War were expressed in terms of imperial allegiance. There is no suggestion of Australian nationalism in school rhetoric; in fact, like Girdlestone, Chapple took great pride in producing British boys. PAC boys observed a half holiday in honour of Federation. At assembly Chapple read Lord Tennyson's letter speaking of Federation as an 'occasion ... of deep importance in the history of Australia' which makes them 'citizens of a vast Commonwealth'.[44] However, the visit to Adelaide of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in July 1901 appears to have engendered more enthusiasm. One writer in the magazine declared that, as a result of the visit, '[e]ven date-ridden history with its long line of sovereigns will be invested with a greater charm and a deeper living interest'.[45] The subject of the Governor's Speech Day address in December of that year was not Federation but the one thousandth anniversary of the death of King Alfred. Lord Tennyson spoke to the boys about the king known as the father of British freedom and a 'truthteller', and urged them to 'stand firm like King Alfred in the difficulties and dangers ... of our age', like Wellington's men at Waterloo, and, he added, 'like your own Football team in the Royal match last July, and you will win even greater victories than that which Wellington won at Waterloo.'[46] The address was reprinted in full in the *Chronicle*.

The PAC soldier-hero was ceremonially incorporated into school history when a number of Old Scholar members of the Imperial Bushmen's Corps visited the school in 1900, arriving in cabs donated by the headmaster. The rhetoric of the occasion was a combination of school pride and imperial loyalty, the soldiers being feted as imperial, rather than Australian, heroes. On entering the assembly room, they were greeted by spontaneous cheers and singing of 'Soldiers of the Queen'. The *Chronicle* related that Chapple told the boys to 'look at them, yes to look at them, for they were a splendid set of men.' The new cadet

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[44] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.67, December 1900, p.401.
[45] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.69, July 1901, p.453.
[46] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.71, January 1902, pp.504-512, p.507.

corps formed a guard of honour as the men drove away, 'heartily singing [the college football song] 'Go in Princes'.[47] Chapple would later refer to the contribution of the South African War to the making of South Australian manhood: 'those who had gone to South Africa had come back better men than they had gone away'.[48] Although the military ideal of masculinity was only beginning to be articulated in school rhetoric, it had always been implicit in the public school rhetoric of self-sacrificial loyalty.

In common with all the Adelaide schools, PAC cherished a cordial relationship with the state Governor. When the newly-arrived George Le Hunte visited PAC in 1903, he was cheered enthusiastically and the *Chronicle* reported that 'even the Union Jack on the flagstaff seemed to wave more vigorously in the breeze'.[49] Le Hunte, whose friendly addresses to the schools and interest in their sporting activities made him a popular visitor at all the schools and led to his being called 'the children's governor', had been educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was an experienced colonial administrator.[50] He donated a silver cup to the best bowler at each of the major boys' schools. PAC appreciated his 'kind and keen interest in all the concerns of the school', and the *Chronicle* commented on his attendance at the intercollegiate cricket match from the first ball of each day to the end of the match.[51]

The college's unique connections with Alfred, known as the Sailor Prince, allowed it to claim an affinity with English naval history. An envoy from the Navy League in England spoke to the senior forms in September 1904, calling on the boys to 'rejoice in their proud ancestry ' and to form a branch of the Navy League at the college. Chapple endorsed his comments, saying that 'if there were any place where such an address

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47 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.65, July 1900, pp.363-7.
48 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol. VI, No.110, September 1914, p.307.
49 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.78, January 1904, p.82.
50 D. Langmore, 'Sir George Ruthven Le Hunte', in B. Nairn and G. Serle (Gen. Eds.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.10, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986, pp.66-67.
51 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.87, January 1907, p.427.

should be enthusiastically received surely it was in a school always loyal to the throne and the Empire, and whose foundation stone had been laid by the Son of Queen Victoria, Alfred, the Sailor Prince.'[52] On the visit of Rev F. Matthews from the British Seaman's Mission in 1907 the 'sailor's college' theme was again taken up. Rev. Matthews was touring the Empire requesting subscriptions of one shilling each for medals made of copper from Nelson's old flagships. Chapple supported the appeal, telling the boys he believed 'every British boy ought to take a great interest in naval affairs'. PAC boys subscribed a total of eight pounds and nineteen shillings, well above the five pounds required for the school to receive a shield made from the same copper, mounted on oak from the 'Victory' .[53]

Chapple encouraged the boys to see themselves and their school in the tradition of the English public schools, sharing the same educational and cultural inheritance and the same duty to serve their Empire. At Speech Day in 1904, students recited Newbolt's public school poems 'Vitai Lampada', 'Clifton Chapel' and 'The Best School of All'.[54] When the President of the Methodist Conference of 1906 spoke to the boys on the importance of doing one's duty, he drew on Tennyson's 'Ode on the Duke of Wellington'.[55] An Old Scholar speaker at the Old Collegians' Dinner in 1907 told the gathering that PAC existed for 'the making of men - all round men' by means of an education whose 'lessons include the life lessons of courage, self-control, perseverance' because these were the attributes needed in the service of Empire:

> These are the things our country needs - and our Empire. Shall we not do our part of the task entrusted to the old school? We in harmony with the best traditions of the British race may help to paint the map red.[56]

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[52] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.78, January 1904, p.98.
[53] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.87, January 1907, pp.430-431.
[54] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.81, January 1905, p. 177.
[55] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.86, September 1906, p.380.
[56] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.81, January 1905, p.177; Vol.IV No.86, September 1906, p.380; Vol.IV No.89, September 1907, pp.537-541.

The words of this Australian Old Scholar demonstrate that he had adopted wholeheartedly the school's rhetoric of imperial manliness. That the British race had the divinely-ordained mission to 'paint the map red' and spread the benefits of its civilisation was not to be doubted. The college secretary, John Chinner, addressing the Old Scholars' Service in July 1911, asked: 'How comes it, that this vast land of ours is peopled by descendants of the British race?'. He referred to earlier landings by Portuguese, Dutch and French explorers, and concluded that 'the Divine Providence had reserved for this fair land a better destiny than the mercies of the Tyrant and the Inquisition. Reserved this country for a race whose hearts were ennobled by the passion of freedom.'[57]

Christian Brothers' College: Faith and Fatherland

Promoting the social mobility of working-class Catholics was a major aim of the Christian Brothers in Australia, just as it had been for the founder of the order, Brother Edmund Rice, in early nineteenth century Ireland. Along with Irish clergy, the Brothers were instrumental in making Catholicism in Australia predominantly Irish in character, and made a major contribution to the formation of an Irish-Catholic masculinity which has not yet received much attention from historians of gender.[58] The Adelaide college, the first Christian Brothers' boarding school in the world, attracted boys from country areas as well as from the city and led to the closure of the Austrian Jesuits' rural boarding school, St. Aloysius College, Sevenhill, in 1886.

Bishop Reynolds set a high standard on opening day on 20 January 1879 - the feast of Saint Sebastian - when he urged the boys to emulate that martyr by being 'good soldiers of Christ'.[59]

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[57] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.101, September 1911, pp.563-4.

[58] For Christian Brothers' College Adelaide, see Hamilton, 'Faith and Football.

[59] R. B. Healy, *The Christian Brothers of Wakefield Street 1878-1978,* Adelaide: Christian Brothers' College, 1978, p.32.

The expectation that Catholic boys should be prepared to fight and suffer derived from the tradition of Christian martyrdom as well as from the Irish perception of themselves as a persecuted people. The Catholic tradition of celibate religious meant that there was a wide gulf between the ascetic lives of the Brothers and the public, competitive professional and business world for which they wanted to equip most of their students. One student later referred to the 'unluxurious, austere surroundings [and] austere rules' of the college, where boarders lived in close proximity to the Brothers.[60] The school was centrally located, although the site was at first intended to be a temporary one. In contrast to the geographically and socially isolated St. Joseph's College in Sydney (established by the French Marist Brothers), this college was accessible and within easy distance of the other Adelaide boys' schools and sporting venues where the boys were encouraged to play hard. The Brothers' desire to prove their students the academic and sporting equals of other schools was a constant theme in the early years.

The superior from July 1878 and for the next eleven years was Brother Francis O'Brien, respectfully nick-named 'The Boss', who was, according to the college historian, 'a fine figure of a man ... a commanding, impressive presence, but gracious withal, and no one ever found it difficult to approach him.'[61] His first Annual Report, in 1882, demonstrates his ideals for the young college and illustrates those attributes he considered worth special reward. Praising the 'energy and perseverance' of the students who had comprised the first University (Junior) Examinations class, he referred to the overall school performance as proof that 'in our Catholic youth of Adelaide we have talent and ability fit to rank with any in the colony'. Prizes were given for attendance, home lessons and good conduct. As further incentive, the Bishop announced that the silver medal for good conduct would in future be gold. There were also prizes for instrumental music, singing and elocution.[62]

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[60] *Christian Brothers' College Jubilee Record 1878-1903*, p.12.
[61] Healy, *Christian Brothers*, p.49.
[62] *Advertiser* December 18 1882, p.6.

Hard work and perseverance were obviously key elements of the O'Brien rhetoric, for the Old Collegians Association, comprising his former students, adopted the motto 'Industry and Perseverance' upon its formation in 1886. Some students' work surviving from the period illustrates the same emphasis: one class wrote a composition in 1892 on the topic 'Perseverance overcomes all difficulties'.[63]

The Brothers' stress on perseverance was partly a response to the perceived disadvantages of their students: compared with boys from the other colleges, they were less wealthy and, being of Irish descent, were not the social equals of those in South Australian society who conformed with the dominant Imperial British image of the successful middle-class male, the hegemonic masculinity to which St. Peter's and Prince Alfred Colleges were educating their boys. It was part of the Irish spiritual mission to promote the advancement of Catholic men in society to positions of leadership and responsibility, and successive heads pleaded with parents to leave their boys at school long enough to gain the necessary credentials.

It is not too surprising that the Brothers, recruited from Ireland and teaching, at this stage, mostly first generation Irish-Australian boys, espoused a predominantly Irish national identity. At the Inaugural Banquet of The Old Collegians Association in 1886, the first toast was to 'The Pope' and this was followed by 'The Association', 'The College' and 'Our Native Land' - obviously Ireland. The only Australian toast was 'The Parliament'.[64] An event at the college in 1898 may have tempered the Irish bias. It certainly changed the way in which official functions were conducted, and led to closer relations with the Governor and more public expressions of loyalty to England. The school's historian characterises the headmaster of the time, Brother Gilbert Hughes, as 'energetic, determined, tactless', an Irishman whose two years' experience in the United

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[63]Essay dated June 22, 1892. Exercise book belonging to James Haskett. CBCA.

[64] Healy, *Christian Brothers*, pp.52-53.

States probably nourished his defiantly anti-British attitude.[65] At the opening of a new wing on May 1, 1898, the Governor, the Archbishop (O'Reily)[66] and guests were entertained with items from the school choir. His Excellency made a request to the Archbishop for 'God Save the Queen' as a finale, but when the Archbishop conveyed this request to Brother Gilbert, he replied that the boys were not taught that anthem. The Archbishop, who, though Irish, was the son of a colour-sergeant in the British army, was seriously offended by the insult to Her Majesty's representative and the headmaster was severely reprimanded. O'Reily and his successors made certain that protocol was observed on future occasions, and a defensive interpretation of the occasion has been written into the school's history: the historian, a Christian Brother, interprets the event as an aberration in the history of the college, emphasising that Brother Hughes 'seems to have been the only Irish Brother who left himself open to censure for disrespect or disloyalty to the Crown.'[67]

There does not seem to be any evidence of the National Anthem being sung on official occasions prior to 1898 (the 1892 Prize-giving ceremony, for instance, ended with the choir singing 'The Gondoliers' Good-Night'[68]), but, despite the lack of enthusiasm for Empire, CBC boys had taken part in a combined schools gymnastic display on the Jubilee Oval in September 1897 in celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. This had been organised by Hugo Leschen and included all the schools where he was gymnastics instructor.[69] Brother Gilbert obviously had no objection to the college's joining in this royal celebration -

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[65]Healy, *Christian Brothers*, pp.61,75.

[66] The Bishop of Adelaide took the title of Archbishop after Adelaide became an Archdiocese in 1887. (Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, p.235.) O'Reily chose to spell his name with a single 'l'.

[67]Healy, *Christian Brothers*, p.75. The incident is related on pp.71-75. Healy suggests that it arose from Hughes' lack of courtesy towards O'Reily.

[68]The programme is reproduced in Healy, *Christian Brothers,* p.63.

[69]R.C.Petersen, 'Varieties of P.E. at Way College', in *Orthodoxies and Diversity: collected papers of the twenty fourth annual conference*, Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, Sydney: 1995, p.325. Way College was absent from the demonstration because of a dispute over its physical education programme.

primarily a demonstration, like a previous one in 1893, of gymnastic skills - and his boys presumably sang 'God Save the Queen' on this occasion.

After 1898, imperial loyalty was duly expressed on public occasions. At the social held to celebrate the college's Silver Jubilee in 1903, the first toast, to the 'Pope and King, our spiritual and civil rulers' symbolised an equable 'God and Caesar' approach.[70] The personable character of Governor Le Hunte no doubt helped establish cordial relations. Le Hunte was asked to preside at Speech Day in 1903 but, being unable to do so, made a special visit to the college, where he was greeted by a student guard of honour (cadets performed this duty from 1906), the national anthem was sung and he was treated to musical and gymnastic displays. The Governor took the opportunity to urge the boys to show tolerance and broad mindedness - as their Archbishop did - towards people of other faiths.[71] The compliment contains a polite reference to isolationist Irish-Catholic attitudes of the time. Governor Le Hunte impressed the boys by acting as starter for some events at sports day in 1907,[72] and there was a festive Vice-Regal visit to the college that year, when 'the college buildings ... never looked better .... [with] [f]lags flying from the balconies, bunting around the gymnasium, pot-plants and greenery everywhere in profusion, the college flag flying in the breeze, and, finally, the cadets in their uniforms with rifles drawn up as a guard of honour'.[73] The college gave the Governor a ceremonious farewell on his departure for England at the end of his term. In 1910, the death of King Edward VII was marked by the closing of schools, including Catholic schools, the cathedral bell was tolled and a memorial service was held.

The expression of imperial loyalty at CBC was restrained compared with the imperialist fervour at the other boys' colleges. Sometimes it appears to be merely the polite avoidance

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[70] *Jubilee Record*, p.70.
[71] *Jubilee Record*, p.74.
[72] *CBC Annual 1907*, p.64.
[73] *CBC Annual 1907*, p.50.

of disloyalty. Towards the end of the war, New Zealand-born Brother Purton (later principal of CBC), who graduated M.A. in English Language and Literature from the University of Adelaide in 1918, wrote a pamphlet condemning 'the spirit of the Jingo and the Imperialist' which aims at aggrandisement, 'claim[ing] a sort of divine mission for its flag', and which treats other nations with contempt. He cited Cecil Rhodes as an example of an unscrupulous imperialist. By contrast, true patriotism was motivated by Christian principles of love, justice and truth.[74]

Nevertheless, other ideals of English public school education, such as the emphasis on character and the cultivation of the Christian gentleman, did find ready acceptance by the Brothers. An article in their Irish publication the *Educational Record* of 1909 on 'Character and its Formation' acknowledged that education was one of the formative influences on character (along with heredity, religion, environment and literature) and referred to Dr Arnold's ideals of gentlemanly conduct and intellectual ability and his personal moral example as 'a shining light' to his pupils, which accounted for 'the wonderful influence he exerted over his pupils in the training of their minds and in the moulding of their characters'. His influence showed the truth in Carlyle's belief that example was the best moral teacher.[75] Principal Brother O'Dwyer invoked 'Arnoldian' discourse in his 1910 annual report when he spoke of the 'pluck' and 'grit' essential to character:

> By character here is meant life dominated by good principles ....
> It is not always the boy of brilliant attainments that is successful.
> Very often he is left behind by one of limited talent but who
> possesses that pluck and grit that enables him to try the second and
> third time before acknowledging defeat.'[76]

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[74] D. G. Purton, *The Sources of a National Spirit*, Melbourne: Australian Catholic Truth Society No.303, n.d. (1918?), pp.15-16; pp.22-23.
[75] *The Christian Brothers' Educational Record*, Dublin: Christian Brothers, 1909, pp.138-148, p.144.
[76] *CBC Annual* 1911, pp.9-10.

Adelaide High School: motor cars and Christian manhood.

The Adelaide High School was established in 1908. It absorbed the Pupil-Teacher School (which had been instituted in 1900 for the training of elementary school teachers) and the Advanced School for Girls (founded 1879) and replaced the continuation classes conducted at some state elementary schools to prepare students for university examinations. The high school's first headmaster, William Adey, was South Australian-born and had attended rural elementary schools prior to becoming a pupil-teacher. In preparation for the headmastership position, he was sent to Melbourne Training College in 1907. He studied part-time at the University of Adelaide, but did not complete a degree. After leaving Adelaide High School in 1919, he continued to work within the state educational system, becoming inspector of high schools, superintendent of secondary education then for ten years Director of Education (1929-39).[77] Headmistress of the Advanced School for Girls, Miss Madeline Rees George, became head of the girls' section in the new school, and she was joined by several staff from her old school. Other staff were seconded from elementary schools.

Adelaide High School is the one coeducational school in this study (although the reality was more a dual' system, since the sexes were actually separated for most purposes). Historian Craig Campbell has criticised the readiness of educational historians to assume that Australian high school culture was merely an imitation of the Arnoldian precedent.[78] The Adelaide school, as a combination of a vocationally-oriented school and a University-focussed one, and an outgrowth of an elementary

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[77] B. Condon, 'William James Adey (1874-1956)', in B. Nairn & G. Serle (Gen. Eds.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Vol.7, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979, pp.15-16.

[78] Craig Campbell, 'Problems of culture, governance and social purpose: Founding South Australia's pioneering state high school', in *Voice, Vision and Identity in History of Education*, Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Annual Conference, University of Auckland 1998, Vol.I, p.38.

education structure, brought together a mix of cultures which made it difficult for the new school to define a culture of its own. The school's early academic successes contributed to the difficulty: Adey's annual reports reveal tension between a purely meritocratic approach to education which measured success in terms of examination results and the more character-based ideology of the colleges. A member of Adey's staff later wrote that the Headmaster established 'an atmosphere of industry and pride in school work'.[79] His annual reports praised students for working 'earnestly and industriously'[80] and gave lists of successful examination candidates, but these were always followed by the qualification that examination success was only one aspect of education. Personal qualities, citizenship and life-long interests were the more important aims of education:

> The [examination] results which I have enumerated ... only indicate one phase of the school work. The habits of self-reliance, truth, sincerity, initiative, and ready obedience to authority are of the utmost value, compared with which the mere passing of an examination sinks into insignificance. What the school is striving to do is to train, through the daily exercises and tasks, the body, the brain, and the heart: to fit its youth for true citizenship, and to create interests that shall be true and lasting. We wish to give them definiteness of aim and purpose, resource, and self-reliance.[81]

In 1913, when the school recorded its best results to date, achieving eight of the 13 South Australian general honours in the Higher Public Examination, first place in seven subjects and all three Tennyson medals (awarded in Junior, Senior and Higher Public) for English, Adey reiterated that examinations were not the sole purpose of the school:

> Though we claim the right to rejoice over the triumphs of our students in the public examinations, we do not wish to give them undue prominence .... These examinations are but as stepping-stones by which they climb. They are not the object of the climbing.

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79 *Adelaide High School: 75th Anniversary, 1908-1983*, p.17. From an obituary by R.A. West.

80 *South Australian Parliamentary Papers* 1909, No.44, p.34.

81 *SAPP* 1913, No.44, p.38.

The school, he continued, was 'too often looked upon as a place merely for the preparation of a boy in order that he may by and by become the possessor of £1,000 a year and a motor car', but 'the advancement in life that the High School should stand for is the advancement in all the powers of the soul which tend towards the highest ideals of Christian manhood.'[82] His comments on individual students' reports encouraged moral, as well as academic, excellence: of a student in the Primary class who had improved his class position from third to first, Adey wrote:

> Apart from the excellent scholastic results, Arnold is a boy who has a powerful influence for good among his mates. His conduct is gentlemanly.[83]

Internal organisational features of the English public schools were adopted. Teachers may have been encouraged to read books about the great English public schools: titles available in the Teachers' Library, which was housed at the high school, included *Arnold of Rugby* and *Life and Letters of Edward Thring*.[84] The moral value of games was acknowledged - in the school's first year Adey declared: 'We recognize that many of the most valuable lessons of life are learnt in the playing field'.[85] As at CBC, inter-school sports, including the more élite activity of rowing, provided interaction with the local colleges as public demonstrations of the status of the school and also gave evidence of a balanced approach to education. However, despite external conformities, the school did not merely replicate the Arnoldian tradition. Prefects were not introduced until 1912, and then only 'after careful consideration'.[86] There had never been the direct importation of public school ideals from England which characterised St. Peter's College, and academic excellence assumed a higher priority at the high school. Its clientele was also different, comprising a somewhat

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[82] *SAPP* 1914, No.44, pp.55-6, p.56.
[83] Report on the Conduct and Diligence of Arnold H. Ramster, Quarter ending June 29, 1912. Adelaide High School Archives.
[84] 'Catalogue of Books in the Teachers' Library', *The Education Gazette* October 10, 1906, p.232.
[85] *SAPP* 1909, No.44, p.34.
[86] *SAPP* 1913 No.44, p.38.

broader social spectrum, with students being educated for the trades, university entrance, teaching and commercial work.[87]

Within the first few years of its history, the deaths occurred of two of the school's founding fathers, Tom Price (the Welsh South Australian who became the state's first Labor Premier and Minister of Education) and Alfred Williams (South Australia's Director of Education). Both died in office, while they were still familiar figures to students: Williams had been an official visitor and Price's daughter attended the school. They were adopted as the school's own heroes and, in effect, their deaths helped the young school define a distinctive ethos which contained elements of egalitarianism and dual allegiance to Empire and Australia.

Both Price and Williams were local heroes from working class origins who believed education should be available to all children. Both were presented to students as exemplars of earnestness, hard work and service to others. Tom Price was a Welsh stonecutter who had left school at the age of nine, later attending night classes in Liverpool. He overcame poverty and lack of education in his own life, and in public life was a strong advocate of temperance and champion of the poor and helpless. He valued education highly and was an avid reader who admired Macauley's *Essays* and Ruskin's works and declared Carlyle's *Past and Present* 'the finest food that I ever had'.[88] At the opening of the school's Price Memorial Hall in 1911, two years after Price's death, the Director of Education (Williams) addressed students on the character of 'a man conspicuously simple in all his ways, and honourable, zealous, and earnest in all good work, who found the happiness of his life in devoted service to his country' and urged his young audience to emulate him in their own lives.[89] He concluded by reciting 'Song of Life',

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87 e.g. *SAPP* 1912, No.44, p.46.

88 T. H. Smeaton, *From Stone Cutter to Premier and Minister of Education: the story of the life of Tom Price, a Welsh Boy who became an Australian Statesman*, Adelaide: Hunter, Ellis and King, n.d. (1925?) p.16.

89 *The Price Memorial Hall, Adelaide High School: official opening; December 14, 1911,* Adelaide: State Education Department, 1912, p.18.

a poem by George Essex Evans which he believed appropriate to Price's life, for it exhorted 'Sing not of Rest .... Sing thou of Toil ... [for] all that is best is won through toil and sorrow'.[90] The Minister of Education referred to the Price memorial tablet on the wall, hoping that this first one would be 'the initiation of a custom which will help to create a South Australian sentiment'.[91]

Alfred Williams, son of a Cornish miner, was born in South Australia and spent his life in the state education system. While Headmaster of Norwood Public School, he was appointed Director of Education by the Price government in 1905. He worked tirelessly to improve educational opportunity in South Australia and was responsible for establishing government high schools.[92] On his death in 1913, the school reacted with genuine grief: 'Everything was hushed and quiet, the students and teachers alike moved in silence, stunned by the event'[93] and at the annual demonstration in December, the whole gathering stood in silence while the school recited Newbolt's 'Vitae Lampada' and Tennyson's 'Crossing the Bar', the latter accompanied by 'a subdued obligato' from the school orchestra.[94] Williams' life, like that of Price, was an example for youth: the headmaster spoke at assembly of his earnestness, hard work and service to the state, using as a text 'Labour itself is a joy' and in the following year, a memorial tablet was unveiled in his honour and the school sang the hymn 'Now the labourer's task is o'er'.[95]

Williams was one of a group of three South Australian educationists identified by Elizabeth Kwan as reformers 'whose

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90 *ibid.* pp.21-22.

91 *The Price Memorial Hall*, p.15.

92 Elizabeth Kwan, 'Alfred Williams (1863-1913)' in B. Nairn and G. Serle (Gen. eds.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Vol 9, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983, pp.495-6.

93 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.5 No.1, Easter 1913, p.3.

94 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.6 No.1, Easter 1914, p.8. (These two poems had been recited for Williams on his official visit to the school on 8 March 1912: *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol 4 No.1, Easter 1912, p.8.)

95 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.5 No.1, Easter 1913, p.10; Vol.6 No.4, Christmas 1914, p.19.

aim it was in part to make Australia central to children's understanding of country and nation.'[96] Kwan's research into South Australian government primary schools demonstrated a 'concerted effort to adapt the essentially English curriculum to Australian circumstances' during the term of Williams' directorate (1906-13),[97] emanating from his aim of making good Australians first and, thereby, good citizens of empire. This approach, which recognised and encouraged an emerging Australian nationalism, was consistent with Richard Jebb's analysis of colonial nationalism. A second nationalist influence identified by Kwan was Professor Henderson (Professor of Modern History and English Language and Literature at the University of Adelaide 1902-23) who encouraged his students to undertake Australian historical research, while at the primary school level, a monthly newspaper called the *Children's Hour*, edited by Bertie Roach (a teacher at the High School and the third of Kwan's pro-Australian educators) presented the history of Australian exploration and settlement, patriotic Australian verse and nature study to cultivate a sense of Australian identity among students in the government schools. An Australian emphasis in the education of young Australians also recognised an important principle of the New Education which Kwan identifies as influential in Williams' and Roach's thinking: it was sound educational practice to draw children's attention to the immediate surroundings first, before moving to more remote subjects.[98] Some reading relevant to New Education ideas was added to the Teachers' Library (housed at the High School) between 1906 and 1909, including John Dewey's *The School and Society* and *The School and the Child* and two volumes on Rousseau by John Morley.[99]

It will be seen in the following section that in various aspects of its organisation, and especially through its magazine, the High School was giving encouragement to the development of an

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96 Kwan, 'Making "good Australians"', p.56.
97 *ibid.*, p.ii.
98 *ibid.* p.263.
99 *Education Gazette* September 13 1909, p.210.

Australian identity, though usually in the context of imperialism.

'Onward Christian Soldiers': the militarisation of masculinity in the schools

After the enthusiastic accolades given to the Boer War soldiers, imperial loyalty in the schools settled into a more sedate form, and remained non-militaristic in tone until towards the end of the decade. Around 1909, changes in the rhetoric at PAC and St. Peter's indicate that the ideal of masculinity was becoming militarised. While the warrior ideal was, of course, already an element of the British masculine ideology, what was new about the twentieth century militarism in schools was that the students were taught not only to revere great warriors of the past but to see themselves as soldiers.

The Colonial Office's choice of state Governors reflected changes in imperial policy in response to the perceived German threat. In contrast to the genial professional administrator Le Hunte, the new Governor in 1909, Sir Day Hort Bosanquet, and his successor Sir Henry Galway (1914-1919) were both representative of the military model of 'imperial man'. An admiral in the Royal Navy, Sir Day stressed the necessity of military training for the 'ordinary South Australian lad' for its 'most excellent influence in the development of self-control'.[100] On his visit to PAC in 1909, he referred to the college's excellent academic and athletic record and its role in the Boer War and made particular mention of the role of physical training in fostering courage, self-reliance and endurance: 'it was the perfection of training in these qualities which had filled the annals of the Empire with the exploits of their soldiers and sailors.' He recommended the boys study 'the lives and actions of the great ancestors who had saved their country from destruction.'[101] Chapple showed his appreciation of the 'conquering' warrior tradition when he told the Old Scholars'

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[100] *School List*, St Peter's College 1911.

[101] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.95, September 1909, p.213.

dinner in 1909 that 'he still believed that the finest thing the world had produced was a real, true Englishman' (Cheers) and that 'all the conquering attributes of the British race had been developed by the spirit of independence that was instilled into the boys in their schooldays.'[102]

Schoolboys, as soldiers of the future, were taught to venerate veteran soldiers. In January 1912, the *PAC Chronicle* reported a 'very stirring address' by the Rev. Donald McNicol, former Chaplain to a regiment of Scottish Highlanders, to the Christian Union on 'Some Heroes I knew and Heroic Deeds I witnessed in the Boer War'. McNicol's talk was followed by the hymn 'Onward Christian Soldiers'.[103] The school immortalised its Boer War heroes in religious terms, and militarism and Christianity would become even more strongly linked during the Great War. Already, Old Testament figures were being promoted as warrior heroes. In 1913, a Cadet Church Parade was held, and Rev. McNicol conducted a service, preaching from the First Book of Chronicles on the bravery of King David's followers and the importance of physical fitness.[104]

Two companies of cadets were formed at St Peter's in 1905. They were addressed by the State Commandant on the necessity of an efficient army and navy 'for the progress, even the existence of the English race'. All the boys' schools in this study had cadet companies several years before compulsory training was introduced, primarily for character training, ceremonial duties and 'a useful introduction to those boys who intend to follow a military career'.[105] A change in direction can be detected by August 1909, when Governor Bosanquet visited St. Peter's, welcomed by a guard of honour of the new naval cadets, and spoke 'at some length' on the desirability of military training.[106] Later that year, veteran soldiers from the Crimea,

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102 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.95, September 1909, p.213.
103 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.102, January 1912, pp.603, 608-10.
104 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.107, September 1913, pp.56-8.
105 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.59, August 1908, p.8. [The magazine changed its numbering system in 1903.]
106 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.71, August 1909, p.1.

India and other campaigns spoke to the cadets, urging them to be 'willing and ready to serve their country'.[107] The Federal Government introduced its Compulsory Military Training Scheme in 1911, which brought about a reorganisation of cadet units in schools and a new seriousness of purpose. Military preparedness was becoming a crucial part of boys' education. In May 1912, the *PAC Chronicle* contained a poem written in marching rhythm and titled 'A Cadet', which celebrated the young soldier-in-embryo:

> Honour the boy who is a cadet!
> He can hardly be called a soldier yet,
> Not yet,
> But some day he will be called to fight;
> He is now a cadet, with that end in sight.[108]

The visit of Sir Ian Hamilton, Inspector-General of Overseas Forces, to Adelaide in March 1914 demonstrated the great respect with which military personnel were regarded by this time. 'More than usual preparations were made' to welcome him to St. Peter's College and the whole school stopped work and gathered outside while the General inspected the two cadet companies. The magazine recorded the school's appreciation that this 'distinguished soldier [who] in the press of so much business, should have spared the time to visit us' and emphasised Sir Ian's importance to the Empire: '[S]hould England have to fight in the near future our visitor would be one of the men on whom the burden of such a war, and the safety of our great Empire would rest.[109] At the St. Peter's Old Scholars' Foundation Day dinner in July 1914, the new governor, Sir Henry Galway, was introduced as a 'distinguished officer in the English Army'.[110] Galway was a graduate of Cheltenham College and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst and had held several administrative positions in the African colonies, where he had become known for punitive expeditions against the natives and the revival of capital punishment.

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107 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.71, August 1909, p.1; No.72, December 1909, p.21.
108 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.V, No.103, May 1912, p.681.
109 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, No.85, May 1914, pp.58-9.
110 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, No.86, August 1914, p.47.

While in South Australia, his outspokenness antagonised local politicians and the Colonial Office, but in war-time he won respect as 'the most effective voluntary recruiting agent in Australasia'.[111]

Many of Galway's speeches to boys' schools extolled the traditions of the English public schools. In September 1914, at a combined farewell for old boys of St. Peter's and PAC who had volunteered for the Expeditionary Force, he praised the 'educated intelligence' and 'higher characteristics' which the public school men of the Empire brought to the army ranks:

> [T]hey carried an educated intelligence into the business ... their presence meant a leavening of the higher characteristics which every public school boy took away with him .... In the fighting line they would be men indeed .... '[T]hose about to join in the battle line he would urge to hold as sacred those traditions learned at school and ... shed around them in the Australian contingent that public school spirit which had done so much to instil in the Empire those qualities so vitally necessary in the hour of need.

On the same occasion, Girdlestone referred to the 'fighting spirit [which] began with the boy on the oval' and the volunteers who 'hoped to get into a tight corner so that they would be able to do their best and show what was really in them.' He believed that the war cries of the two colleges, 'Buck in Saints' and 'Reds can't be beat' 'would be heard when they got into a tight corner, and would carry them through.'[112] At the PAC Speech Day in December, the Governor reiterated his theme that 'there is no finer driving power in the hour of danger than the public school tradition: the British public schoolboy, if he is worthy of the name, is invariably a good fighting man.'[113]

Most school rhetoric about Australian war involvement was Empire-centred. However, William Adey showed a rare sensitivity to the feelings of South Australia's German population in 1914 when he told the school assembly that they

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111 P. A. Howell, "Sir Henry Lionel Galway' in B. Nairn and G. Serle (Gen. Eds.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.8, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981, pp.611-612.

112 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, No.87, December 1914, pp.29-34.

113 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol. VI, No.111, January 1915, pp. 319,321.

population in 1914 when he told the school assembly that they 'could never fully appreciate the unpleasant position in which the Germans of South Australia were placed.'[114]

Religion was part of the rhetoric of militarism at all the schools. Methodist ministers encouraged the view that the war was being fought for a just cause and that therefore God was on the Empire's side: 'O God our Help in Ages Past' was often sung at PAC during the war years.[115] Some staff members, including Frank Rowell (a Boer War veteran and the commander of the school's cadet corps) enlisted, and at least three, including Rowell, were killed. Their names joined the list of old boys which was regularly read out at assembly.

CBC had nearly four hundred old boys at the front in 1916 when Governor Galway attended the unveiling of an Honour Board at the school.*(Fig.II)* The design of the board, which was donated by the Old Collegians' Association, represented the complexity of allegiances at the college. Constructed from Australian cedar, it bore the college crest in purple and white in the centre, with the Royal Standard and Australian Commonwealth flags on one side and the Union Jack and flag of Ireland on the other. Australian golden wattle and desert pea were depicted, intertwined with shamrocks. Along the sides were the flags of the allies - Belgium, France, Italy, Russia, Canada, Australia, New Zealand - and interwoven with these were Irish and Australian emblems. Religious emblems were noticeably absent. Imperial loyalty was incorporated, but was by no means a dominant part of the design. The unveiling ceremony gave precedence to Australian, rather than imperial, loyalty. Before the proceedings began, the board sat on the stage covered by two Australian flags, and at the unveiling, the choir 'burst into the hearty refrain, 'Come on Australia''.[116] McKernan's comment on war-time loyalty at the Marist Brothers' St. Joseph's College in Sydney: 'They were loyal

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114 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.6 No.3, Michaelmas 1914, p.9.
115 Gibbs, *History of Prince Alfred College*, pp.158, 160, 170.
116 *CBC Annual* 1916, pp.54-55, 60, 70-72.

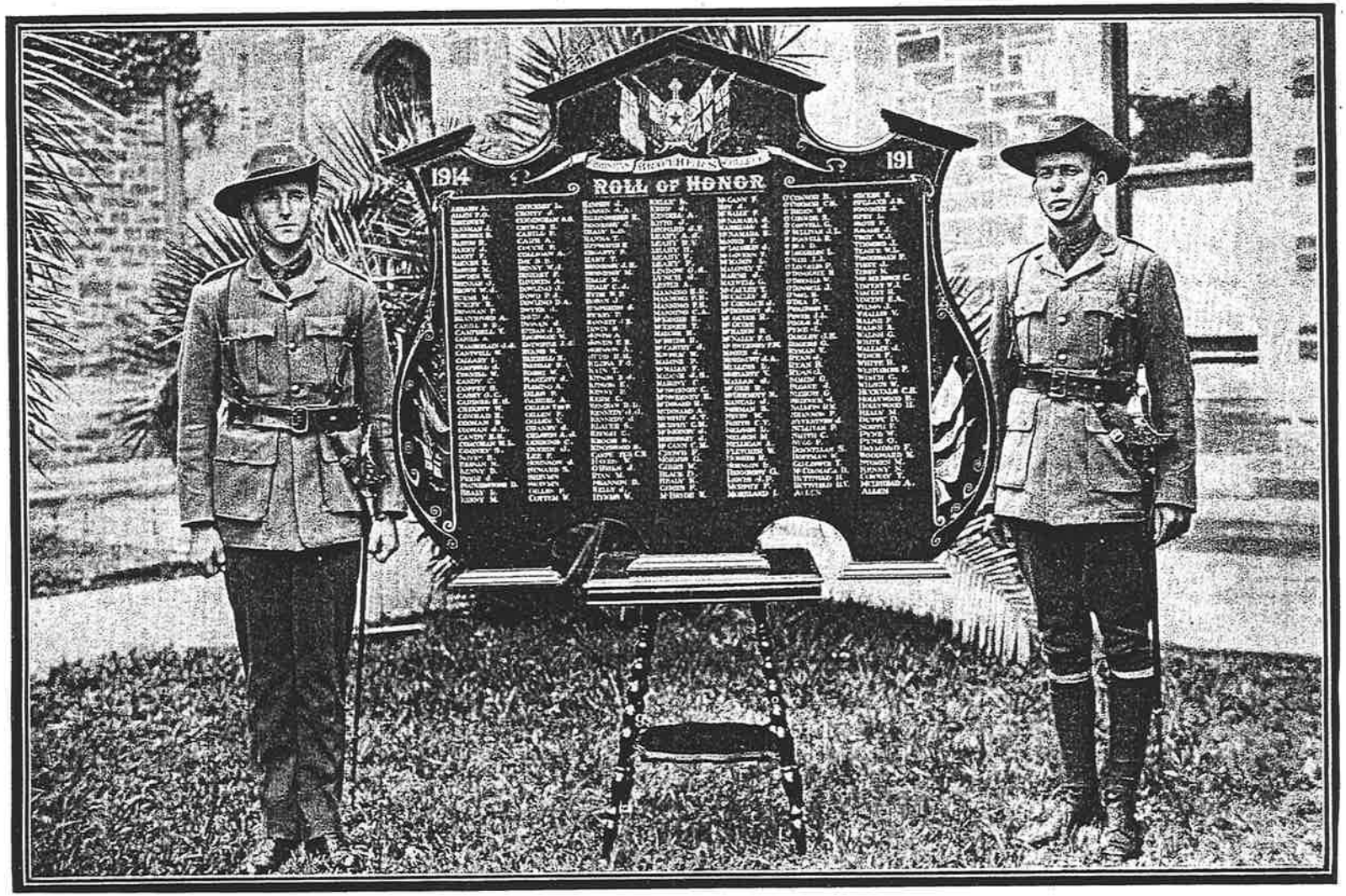


Fig. II. The Roll of Honour, CBC, 1916.
CBC Annual 1914-16, p.60.

and enthusiastic but much less concerned with the Empire than with Australia' could appropriately describe CBC Adelaide.[117]

Church spokesmen pointed to the large number of Catholic volunteer soldiers as proof that the widespread Catholic opposition to conscription did not mean disloyalty to the imperial cause. In his report for 1917, Principal Brother Doyle emphasised that 'of their own free will some five hundred of our boys have gone out to the fields of France or Palestine' and announced proudly that five had won the Military Cross.[118]

At all the schools there was frequent reference to war service as the proof of real manhood. At Adelaide High in early 1916, Adey gave an address based on the word 'Now' and quoted from Thomas à Kempis:

> Now is the time to act,
> Now is the time to fight,
> Now is the time to make myself a better man.
> If I am not ready now,
> When shall I be?[119]

Like his fellow-headmasters, Adey regarded the school's fallen soldiers as its greatest heroes. The self-sacrifice of Old Scholars was reassurance that Adelaide High School was educating men in the best English public school tradition:

> Many times we have considered the advantages of the old schools of England, where each has its history indelibly written for it by the long lists of heroes who have given of their best, even unto death .... We, too, have our heroes - men who have counted their own life as nothing when the call of Empire demanded the sacrifice.[120]

After the Armistice, Adey took pride in the knowledge that his boys had survived the strongest test of all:

> [W]e can rejoice in the fact that the most strenuous call in the battle

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117 M. McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1980, p.50.
118 *CBC Annual* 1917, p.14.
119 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol. 8 No.1, Easter 1916, p.19.
120 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.4, Christmas 1915, Editorial by W. J. Adey.

of life was not too much for hundreds of our boys.[121]

Similarly, Chapple's successor at PAC, William Bayly, told the Speech Day audience in 1915: 'Abundant evidence has reached us that our schoolfellows have played their part manfully in those heroic deeds which have made Australia famous throughout the world.'[122] St. Peters' Old Scholar soldiers again allayed Girdlestone's fears of the degeneration of the British race in Australia and reassured him that his school was producing men imbued with public school ideals. He told the annual meeting of the Old Collegians' Association in 1915 that the war 'had proved once more what a fine race the British was .... it made him realise that the old School had been made up of British boys.'[123] In 1919, announcing that a Memorial Hall would be erected at St. Peter's College to honour the dead, acting Head Master, T. Ainslie Caterer, quoted from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, where Ross reassures the grieving Old Siward that his son has proved his manhood in battle:

> Your son, my lord, has paid a soldier's debt:
> He only lived but till he was a man;
> The which no sooner had his prowess confirm'd
> In the unshrinking station where he fought,
> But like a man he died.[124]

(B) SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND RITUAL

School ethos in scenery and symbols

School architecture and internal décor depicted aspects of school ethos in visual form. At CBC, religious art proliferated: a reporter for the *Southern Cross* wrote in 1900: 'Everywhere

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121 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.4, December 1918, p.3.
122 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.114, January 1916, p.11. Bayly, B. A., B. Sc., had been a student and teacher at PAC and then headmaster at Geelong College in Victoria.
123 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, No.90, December 1915, p.71.
124 Annual Report, *School List* December 1919. The quotation is from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Act V, Scene VII.

one turns are works of art, either in the shape of statues, pictures or banners, all breathing that atmosphere of piety which it is so desirable to nourish in the hearts of youth.'[125] Boys at St. Peter's College must have been aware that their building and its spacious surrounds resembled similar élite educational institutions in England.[126] Engravings depicting the Battle of Waterloo and the death of Nelson purchased by the college during the 1870s were visual reminders of Britain's military greatness and the glory of death in the service of Empire.[127] From 1913, a snow sledge hanging over the western door in the Big Schoolroom was testimony to 'the pluck and grit' that could be displayed by Old Saints. This had been presented to the school by two St. Peter's College representatives on Mawson's Antarctic expedition, staff members Moyes and Kennedy, who had proudly planted a St. Peter's flag at the point 'furthest south' and toasted the King and their school during a dinner of roast seal.[128]

The library at Prince Alfred College in 1887 gained a portrait of the Honourable John Colton, a leader in the Methodist church who was one of the school's founders and benefactors and a successful businessman and politician who became twice Premier of South Australia. Colton exemplified public service and leadership by a Methodist layman. After the Great War, PAC's Assembly Room contained a painting of the landing at Anzac Cove and a photograph of Jimmy Throssell, an Old Scholar who had won the Victoria Cross at Gallipoli, both visible reminders of the ultimate masculine sacrifice. At Adelaide High School, the students daily looked upon a portrait of their founder-hero, Tom Price.*(Fig.III)*

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Adelaide schools had most of the organisational features of the English public schools.

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125 'Our Catholic Institutions: The Christian Brothers, Wakefield Street', in *The Southern Cross*, April 12, 1900, pp.238-9, 238.

126 Tregenza, *The Collegiate School of St. Peter*, p.40, notes the close resemblance to St. John's College, Oxford.

127 *ibid.* p.206.

128 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.82, May 1913, pp.61-62; No.83, August 1913, p.2.

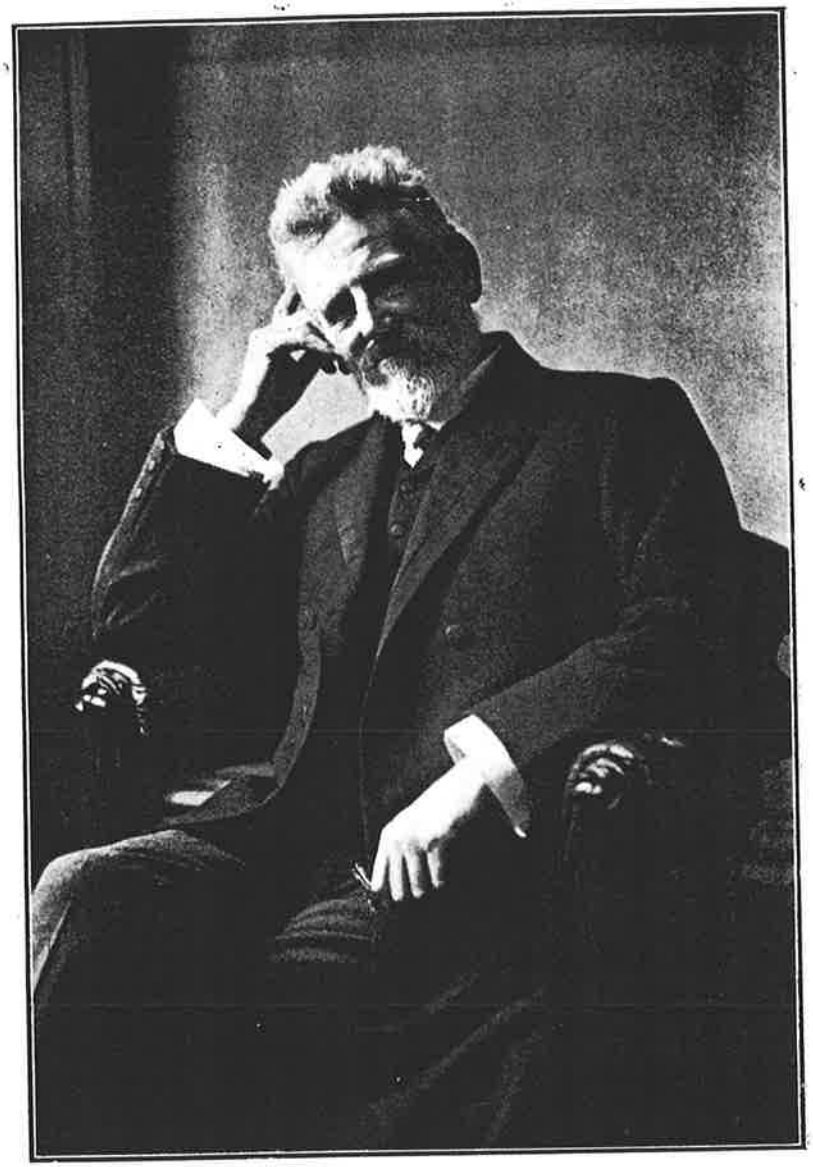


Fig. III. Tom Price: one of the founders of Adelaide High School.
T. H. Smeaton, *From Stone Cutter to Premier and Minister of Education; the story of the life of Tom Price, a Welsh boy who became an Australian Statesman,* Adelaide; Hunkin, Ellis and King, n.d. Frontispiece.

St. Peter's College had a chapel, quadrangle, magazine, prefects, uniforms, crest, colours, motto, and school songs. Boys were accustomed to English public school rituals such as Callover and in 1908 boarders began saying grace in Latin, a ritual introduced to make them more like the 'older schools'.[129] It is not surprising to observe similar features in Australian Methodist schools, since some of the English Wesleyan schools, notably Kingswood School under T. G. Osborn (Headmaster 1866-85), had adopted public school practices such as prefects and games.[130] PAC had most of the public school machinery, although there was no chapel and, until 1911, no prefects. At Adelaide High, the Assembly Hall, opened in 1911, was the secular equivalent of the Arnoldian chapel. Adey saw a hall as essential to the corporate spirit of the school, and the Price Hall became the site where the institutional memory of the school was constructed: assemblies were conducted to celebrate important occasions or welcome official visitors and the headmaster held regular assemblies where students sang the school hymn and heard edifying addresses on ideals of character. Here, too, they heard stories of war-time sacrifice, and raised their old scholars to hero status.

Headmaster Raynor (1890-93) gave St. Peter's its motto *Pro Deo et Patria* - for God and Country - and a badge. School badges were carefully-devised representations of school traditions and values, designed to instil a corporate spirit and adherence to school principles. The St. Peter's College badge bore the cross keys of its patron saint surmounted by the bishop's mitre worked in gold against a blue background. The crest was widely used, and was featured on the annual *School List* from 1890 and the newly-revived school magazine from September 1890. One effect was to distinguish St. Peter's boys outside the school, as the magazine had carried complaints that 'our [hat] ribbon has been imitated by Adelaide schools both high and low'.[131]

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129 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.67, May 1908, p.2.

130 Ives, *Kingswood School,* p.165

131 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol. III No.2, June 1890, p.16.

PAC's badge, designed in 1907, featured a red cross on a white background, representing St. George, the knightly patron saint of England, the ducal coronet of Prince Alfred and twelve scallop shells recalling the shield of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. The *Chronicle* explained:

> The meaning of the College badge is:
> (i) That we are an English school, and proud of that fact, and mean to follow the best tradition of our nation and of its schools....
> (ii) That we were founded by Wesleyans....
> (iii) That we were granted permission to bear the name of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, Queen Victoria's sailor son....[132]

This badge, flanked by Australian emblems - an emu on one side and a kangaroo on the other - and with the motto at its base, adorned the cover of the *Chronicle* from May 1908. At this stage, the school's motto was still the original *Ubi non est scientia animae, non est bonum* - That the soul be without knowledge is not good - a quotation from the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Proverbs. J. F. Ward, in his history of the school, wrote that whoever chose this motto 'no doubt ... regarded the words as embodying that union of piety and scholarship which, to the strictly Evangelical mind of the mid-Victorian non-conformist Englishman, was the highest ideal of a Christian gentleman.'[133] This motto would be changed after the War to *Fac Fortia et Patere* - Do brave deeds and endure.

The symbolism of the CBC college crest, like that of PAC, was both religious and patriotic. But, in contrast to PAC's, there was no reference to England or Empire. A cross was featured above a large star ('the star of hope', for guidance and comfort) surrounded by (Australian) wheaten sheafs and (Irish) shamrocks. The description of the crest in the *Annual* for 1913 contained a poem, in which one of the five verses concerned the shamrock:

> That dear old bond of love for Erin's shores

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[132] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.90, January 1908, p.596.
[133] J. F. Ward, *Prince Alfred College*, p.146. The English translation of the motto is that given by Ward, *ibid.*

And used of old, to emblem truth divine.

The reference to St. Patrick using the shamrock to 'emblem' the mystery of the trinity illustrated the inseparable link, in Irish Catholic eyes, between national identity and religion, faith and fatherland. The crest was also to be a guide to Catholic masculinity:

> No nobler badge could man or boyhood bear
> Through trials and the snares and shocks of time,
> To strengthen self-control and faith in prayer,
> Inspiring noble thoughts and deeds sublime![134]

This crest is less school-specific than that of PAC or St. Peter's. Where these both illustrate unique features of their schools' history, CBC's is a depiction of Irish-Australian Catholic manhood, an orientation which reaches outwards from the school, rather than engendering loyalty to the school itself.

Adelaide High's badge featured the letters 'AHS' on a shield beneath a lamp, presumably the lamp of knowledge. Below the shield was a scroll bearing the motto 'Non scholae sed vitae' - not for school but for life - which had been the motto of its forerunner, the Advanced School for Girls. Students were reminded that :

> The supreme end is not to acquire mere knowledge, but to acquire
> those habits, thoughtfulness, self-control, and concentration
> which will enable us to be strong, reliable men and women ....
> The performance of our daily tasks does not find its conclusions
> in mere examination results.[135]

School songs, committed to memory and sung by the whole school at assemblies and on ceremonial occasions, were a powerful expression of officially-endorsed ideals. At St. Peter's until the late 1890s it was customary for functions to end with 'Dulce Domum' (the Latin anthem said to have been composed by a Winchester boy in 1650[136]) and then the National Anthem (God Save the Queen). In 1899, two of the St. Peter's staff, E. I.

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134 *CBC Annual* 1913, pp.20-21.
135 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Midwinter 1909, p.1.
136 'School Songs' in *The Tormorean* December 1907, p.14.

Robson and music teacher Mr Hole, wrote 'Pro Deo et Patria' as the school's song, and this was first performed at the annual concert of that year. The words are an exhortation to earnest effort in all aspects of school life, with a view to building a fine school tradition worthy of the English institutions. Beginning almost apologetically with 'We may not boast three hundred years', the first verse concludes:

> But we have youth, and strength, and will
> And we'll go forward, not stand still
> Pro Deo et Patria.

The third verse illustrates the song's focus on the school in an Australian context, although 'Patria' would obviously denote the broader Empire:

> Australian boys have work to do;
> Look where our future stands in view;
> Muscles to make and brains to store;
> Stick to your books, tug at the oar,
> Work in the ruck and drive for four;
> You'll want your muscles, brains, and more
> Pro Deo et Patria.[137]

The theme is mainly secular, and references to rowing, football and cricket express a strongly athletic masculine ideal. There is no overt militarism, although the Latin motto invoked at the end of each verse is suggestive of the sacrifice involved in military service.

At PAC in the 1890s, songs associated with football, cricket and tennis became popular school songs. The chorus of the 1892 'PAC Football Song' (words by teacher G. G. Newman) carried considerable emotional force, and would later be applied to the bravery of old scholars in distant battles:

> Go in Princes! Princes, on the ball!
> Go in Princes! Princes one and all!
> You must never know defeat,
> For they say "Reds can't be beat",
> So whene'er the foe you meet,
> Go in, Princes![138]

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137 *St Peter's School Magazine* Vol.VIII No.38, September 1899, pp.135-6.
138 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol. IV No. 35, Dec. 12, 1892, p.351.

School magazines

In his history of PAC, Gibbs writes that Chapple 'used ... the *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* ... with great effect to build the school he wanted.'[139] At all the boys' schools, the magazines were edited by students, but were carefully monitored, and are therefore rich sources of images of approved manhood. Prior to 1910, these images - in photographs, obituaries or other items about students, Old Scholars and esteemed public figures - are mainly non-military, and it is possible to observe distinctive denominational and ethnic characteristics in the images of manhood being presented to boys. After this period, there is a large degree of convergence of ideals, with a militarised model of masculinity assuming preference. The magazines also recorded details of celebrations and rituals which are relevant to the formation of approved gender models. Sometimes they contain authoritative words of advice exhorting boys to follow certain approved ideals of manhood; more rarely, negative examples demonstrate the dire consequences of straying from approved ideals. The magazines featured various kinds of articles and photographs designed to raise the boys' awareness of their heritage, foster a sense of belonging and inculcate a sense of duty to protect and defend their nation. They are an important reflection of the varieties of national identities fostered in the different schools.

Imperial, Australian and Irish loyalties

School loyalty was a strong focus in the PAC and St. Peter's magazines from the beginning. The first edition of the *Prince Alfred Chronicle* (August 1884) announced its intention 'to foster and encourage the feeling of pride and interest in his School that should exist in every boy's heart.'[140] The *St Peter's School Magazine,* which began in the same year, had similar

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139 Gibbs, *History of PAC*, p.117.

140 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.I No. I, August 1884, p.1.

aims. In October 1886, St. Peter's started to serialise its own history. In both magazines, the focus was imperial. The British heritage and the continuity of the schools with the public schools of England were constantly emphasised, with regular articles about England's Universities and public schools and letters from England describing scenes and events.

There is very little indication in the St. Peter's magazine of any attempt to cultivate an Australian nationalism. A rare exception is an article contrasting Adam Lindsay Gordon's 'From the Wreck' and Browning's 'How they brought the good news from Ghent to Aix' which appeared in the college magazine as early as March 1885. The writer suggested that in several ways Gordon's work was imitative of the Browning poem, although the two settings were very dissimilar, the European landscape being so rich in historical interest and the Australian so devoid of it. He recommended that readers 'make a more intimate acquaintance with the most popular of Australian poets.'[141] The author's admiration appears to rest on the poem's imitation of British precedent rather than in its engagement with an Australian landscape - in fact, he suggests that the featureless landscape detracts from the poem's interest. Judith Wright has commented that Gordon, educated at Cheltenham College and Woolwich Military Academy, was influenced by Byron and Swinburne and suggests that this Englishness, as well as a certain 'theatrical Byronism', helped his appeal to Anglophile Australians who may not necessarily have appreciated the distinctively Australian aspects of his poetry.[142]

The first St. Peter's editorial after Federation demonstrated a consciousness of the new Australian nation and the school's 'sacred duty of training many who will perforce, as the years pass by, become the leaders of the people in this State as well as in the wider and more responsible sphere of the new born Commonwealth.'[143] The 'School Notes' likewise reminded boys

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141 *St. Peter's School Magazine,* Vol.I No.6, March 1885, pp.7-8.
142 Judith Wright, 'Australian Poetry to 1920', in Geoffrey Dutton (ed.), *The Literature of Australia,* Melbourne: Penguin 1964, pp.55-99, 67-69.
143 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.IX No.44, April 1901, p.271.

that '[i]n making ourselves worthy members of the School we take the first step towards making ourselves worthy members of our new nation', but made it clear that the Empire was to be the ultimate focus of their loyalty:

> Federation ... should stand as an important landmark in our lives, and give us broader ideas and wider views, as being units in the great imperial nation of which Australia is part.[144]

A poem in the college magazine in 1904 signified the peaceful and confident ceremonial imperialism of the pre-war period:

> Ho! raise the flag of England,
> The College flag hard by,
> And let the two go waving
> Through all eternity.[145]

Royal events were commemorated by the two colleges, although the death of Queen Victoria (January 22 1901) occurred during school holidays and so the impact on the schools as communities was somewhat lessened. Some mementoes of British imperialism - spears and shields souvenired 'from beneath a dead Zulu' in the Zulu Rebellion of 1906 - were presented to St. Peter's College in 1912.[146] Apart from references to military training at the school, imperial defence does not seem to have been a concern until 1909, when an article appeared on the obligation of the colonies to contribute to their own defence, and a poem recounted heroic British naval victories and hoped that Nelson's spirit was still alive.[147] Militarism and Empire were coming to the fore by August 1914, when an article informed boys about 'Life at the Royal Military College'.[148]

The *CBC Annual* (begun in 1906) fostered both the Irish heritage and an Australian nationalism. An article in 1907 on 'Island Magee and its Memories' encouraged an awareness of the Irish Catholic heritage of persecution by the British. The

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144 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.IX No.44, April 1901, p.272.
145 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.55, May 1904, p.55.
146 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.81, December 1912, p.2.
147 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.72, December 1909, pp.29-32.
148 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.86, August 1914, p.14.

article began: 'Time was when there were many Catholics on Island Magee, but that was before the spoiler came with fire and sword to plunder, burn and slay', and there followed an account of a massacre in which many died noble deaths for Faith and Fatherland.[149] But there was also the occasional article in praise of England and in defence of Irish loyalty, such as the letter from an overseas traveller who described the coronation festivities in London as a 'pageant of splendour' which 'gave expression to the respect in which our present King is held throughout the world'[150] and an article about an Old Scholar author who wrote short stories with a Celtic flavour and had also written poems in praise of Imperialism, even though his ancestors had been anti-British.[151]

A sense of identity with the local Australian landscape was constantly celebrated in poems and scenic photographs. 'Reflections on Mount Lofty' by the anonymous 'Wattle' in the 1903 *Jubilee Record* and similar poems in the *Annual* from 1906 demonstrated an emotional attachment to the local scenery:

> Ah yes! thou'rt dear, so dear to me;
> Dear hills! where gums are growing,
> And where the purest, freshest breeze
> Is ever, ever blowing.[152]

'Beneath the Spreading Currajong' - a poem about evening on the banks of the Torrens River - appeared in the same issue as a long article by an Irish-born Old Scholar relating the joys of a world tour which ended with the pleasure of returning to 'the best country on God's earth - Australia.'[153]

While the Irish Brothers predominated on the staff of the school, its allegiances would remain complex. The 1903 publication showed the Brothers' strong attachment to the Irish

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149 *CBC Annual* 1907, pp.10-12.
150 *CBC Annual* 1913, p.47.
151 *CBC Annual* 1911, p.94.
152 *Jubilee Record* p.8.
153 *CBC Annual* 1906, p.56; pp.60-69, p.69.

heritage. A two-page section featured the Gaelic alphabet, prayers in Gaelic and a full-page photo of a golden Irish Harp - the most ornate, and only coloured, picture in the publication.[154] An article in *The Christian Brothers' Educational Record* in 1895 explained the reverence for the ancient tongue which led the Brothers in Ireland to play a part in the Gaelic revival: 'If the Jews prize Hebrew, and the Hindoos Sanskrit as sacred languages, should not Irishmen - actuated by patriotism and religion - cherish Gaelic with a veneration and love worthy [of] the saints, sages, and heroes of dear old Erin.'[155] CBC's 1906 Speech Night contained an Irish component typical of this annual occasion. The programme included musical, dramatic, elocutionary and gymnastic items. Two of the three items by the singing class were Irish, and while 'The Banner of Green' was sung a green flag bearing a golden harp was displayed. One class recited a poem called 'Erin's Flag' and six boys danced an Irish Reel. Not all the programme was Irish: a scene from *Henry VIII* was enacted and Herr Mumme's orchestra played the overture from Rossini's 'William Tell' and 'Polish Dance' by Krokowick.[156]

The visit of two envoys from the Irish Parliamentary Party to the school during an Australian tour in 1906 appears to have been a sedate affair compared with a similar visit five years later. On this earlier occasion, reports in the magazine admired the two for their 'impassioned oratory, kindly manners, charming personalities and sweet natures'[157] - all desired features of Irish manhood. Reports of a similar visit in 1911 - when Ireland's political problems had brought about fresh interest in present-day Ireland - shows far greater interest in the political content of the speeches than was evident on the earlier occasion. The principal, Brother O'Dwyer, welcomed the two as representatives of 'the greatest constitutional fighting force in the political world today'. Boys donated a total of £25/5/- to the Home rule Fund - 'a tangible proof of the

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154 *Jubilee Record*, pp.48-49.
155 *Educational Record*, 1895, pp.234-235, p.234.
156 *CBC Annual* 1906, pp.105-106.
157 *CBC Annual 1906*, p.33.

sincerity of young South Australia in the cause of Irish liberty'. In his Annual Report one month later, Brother O'Dwyer asked rhetorically: 'Need Australia fear that her sons will be found wanting in time of need when they make such sacrifices on behalf of Ireland's claim for national autonomy? It only proves what a precious treasure self-government is.'[158] One envoy advised the boys to 'always stand up for Australia and be proud of all it stood for'. The boys were given two days' holiday in the name of National Ireland.[159] Healy's claim that the Brothers 'kept aloof from politics'[160] seems difficult to sustain; nevertheless, the 1911 visit roused Australian patriotism as well as Irish, and helped to foster an Australian identity, albeit an Irish-Australian one.

The strong strain of Australian nationalism in the Brothers' education is apparent in an anonymous article on 'Manliness' written for the 1908 magazine, which concludes:

> Australia wants good, true, noble men, characterized by decision, determination, duty and devotion, and it is for us to supply them ... for the future. We ... are confident of the growth of a great and noble nation, which shall be a blessing to humanity and glory to humanity's God.[161]

The Old Collegians' Association's annual dinner in 1911 was celebrated on the first Wattle Day in South Australia, and for the occasion participants wore sprigs of wattle blossom attached to their rosettes of white and purple. The by now usual 'Pope and King' toast was followed by 'Australia'. The guest speaker, Old Scholar Rev. R. P. Denny, expressed the opinion that the wattle, Australia's national flower, 'was sure to be honoured throughout Australia as the shamrock in Ireland, though not perhaps with the same reverence as the latter, on account of its religious associations.' The evening's entertainment included a recitation of Adam Lindsay Gordon's 'The Sick Stockrider'.[162]

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158 *CBC Annual* 1912, p.12.
159 *CBC Annual* 1912, pp.51-54.
160 Healy, *Christian Brothers,* p.116.
161 *CBC Annual*, 1908, pp.10-11, p.11.
162 *CBC Annual* 1911, pp.23-28.

It had become traditional for CBC students to lead the annual St Patrick's Day march. The marches were celebrations of the traditions of 'Faith and Fatherland', and there appeared to be no conflict between loyalty to Ireland and loyalty to Australia:

> For love of faith and love of the country that gave our parents birth can go hand in hand with the love we bear our native land - our own sunny Australia - and a man is not less a good Australian because he loves Ireland at the same time.[163]

Macintyre has described the March 17 festivities in Adelaide prior to World War I as 'the expression of a small community's pride in its cultural origins, and of the legitimacy of the political aspirations of the Irish people.'[164] From 1911, there appears to have been a revival of political interest. At the St. Patrick's Day sports on the Exhibition Oval that year, the 200-strong marching team finished their performance with a configuration of the letters 'HOME RULE'.[165] In the following year, the march was led by the newly-formed Irish Pipe Band, composed mostly of CBC Old Scholars. The 1912 *Annual* reported that '[o]ld and young felt that this year's celebration meant more than the mere 'wearing of the green', possibly because the Home Rule Bill was 'in the hands of its framers' and because of 'the messages of hope and confidence from the Envoys' (whose visit had occurred just four months previously). The report continued:

> Are we not the descendants of Irishmen, and are not our teachers Irishmen or Irish-Australians? and is it not a characteristic of the great order, the Irish Christian Brothers, to inculcate the inseparable doctrines of Faith and Fatherland - a great factor in their success as trainers of youth?[166]

The Midwinter Break-up regularly featured the 'College Football Chorus' and 'God Save the King'. During the war years, choruses such as 'Till the Boys Come Home' and 'Over There' were

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163 *CBC Annual* 1909, p.61.
164 Macintyre, 'The Adelaide Irish' in Pelan *Papers Delivered at the Seventh Irish-Australian Conference*, p.191.
165 *CBC Annual* 1911, p.37.
166 *CBC Annual* 1912, p.63.

sung.[167] In 1918, the singing class sang the Irish song 'Mother of Mine', prompting the Archbishop to comment that they 'would never ... understand all the love and tenderness of a mother's heart. That was beyond a man's ken.'[168] The song and the Archbishop's comment both signify an idealisation of the mother-image which was as much an expression of Irish gender ideals as of a war-time reinforcement of traditional masculine and feminine roles.[169]

The Adelaide High School Magazine expresses a dual Australian-Imperial allegiance. First published in 1909, when the League of Empire was flourishing, it shows the strong influence of the fervent imperialism of Madeline Rees George. There were 'Empire pages' containing a calendar of significant events and anniversaries, poems and accounts of the school's imperial celebrations, such as St. George's Day, Empire Day and Trafalgar Day, when special school assemblies were held and patriotic songs sung. Tributes to great men of Empire such as Cecil Rhodes and Lord Kitchener stirred enthusiasm for the imperial mission, and poems such as 'England! Mother!' (1909) demonstrated a religious devotion to the Empire.

> England! mother! we adore thee,
> All our homage lies before thee,
> And our hearts for a oblation,
> Offer thee their adoration.[170]

An article titled 'England and Australia' in the following edition maintained:

> English. The characteristics of our British ancestry are born into our very natures.

The British heritage was the inspiration for Australians:

> Shakespeare's tongue for our counsels,
> And Nelson's heart for our task.[171]

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167 *CBC Annual* 1916, p.16; 1918, pp.21-23.
168 *ibid.* p.22.
169 Hamilton, 'Faith and Football' describes a nostalgic romanticising of the family as a feature of Irish masculinity, p.77.
170 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Easter 1909, p.11.
171 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Midwinter 1909, pp.6-7.

Although these sentiments might indicate an imperial alignment similar to that at St Peter's and Prince Alfred colleges, they were balanced by a substantial Australian content. The first issue contained a contribution called 'What the aims of an Australian should be', which called for that kind of patriotism which is 'the deep, whole-hearted interest a person should have for his native land - a patriotism that should make him sacrifice many things for the welfare of the country.'[172] The author, 'Australian', criticised a 'certain class of people' (presumably those excessively pro-British) who had a 'tendency to underrate and sneer at things Australian'.[173] Madame Melba, Percy Grainger and the Beale piano were cited in defence of Australian culture. The same article linked Australian patriotism to military preparedness, in gendered terminology which left no doubt that patriotism was a male concept:

> In a country like ours, so far from white civilization, so near to the rising hordes of China and Japan, it behoves every man and boy to consider the defence system of Australia....
> Every Australian should know how to shoot straight, how to drill, and how to obey orders cheerfully.[174]

In the suggestion of conflict between imperial and Australian loyalty and the implication that Britain might not be willing to come to Australia's defence, this article was unusually assertive. Many others in the magazine illustrate a complementarity between imperialist and nationalist loyalties.

The school's first celebration of Wattle Day, a day of special Australian significance, demonstrates the imperialism inherent in the type of Australian loyalty which was being fostered at the school. Adelaide High School students were pleased to have been 'foremost in the inauguration of the celebration' of Wattle Day on 1 September 1910, and the magazine reported that 'wattle blossom was extensively worn'. The date was chosen because '[l]ike May Day at Home, it marks the beginning of the

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172 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Easter 1909, pp.4-5, p.4.
173 *Adelaide High School Magazine*, *ibid.*, p.5.
174 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Easter 1909, pp.4-5.

Spring season.'[175] This reference to England as 'Home', and the obvious pleasure in the imitation of a British custom denotes the basically British orientation of the school and, in particular, of its headmistress. At the Wattle Day assembly in 1911, Miss Rees George 'emphasised the great value that should be placed on Australia having a flower as a national emblem. Why should Australia be behind the other leading dependencies of Great Britain?.... Miss George believed the introduction of an emblem would help to strengthen the bond of friendship among the different States of the Commonwealth.' Celebrations concluded with the South Australian composition 'Song of Australia' and 'God Save the King'.[176] These same two musical symbols of Australian colonial nationalism had been sung by members of the South Australian Public School Teachers' Union at their Fifteenth Annual Conference, held in Adelaide in June 1910. The meeting heard Mayor Lewis Cohen applaud the contribution of Adelaide educational institutions to 'that Federal sentiment ... of 'Australia, a nation' ... the outpost of the greatest Empire which the world has ever known.'[177]

St. George's Day, celebrated with Shakespeare's birthday on April 23, was also a celebration of the school's dual-layered patriotism. In 1915, 'red roses were patriotically worn by all', with sale of roses benefitting the Belgian Fund. Mr Adey spoke about patriotism and the origin and purpose of the day and recited a few lines from Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel'. The assembly ended with two songs which expressed the twin loyalties, 'Song of Australia' and 'Rule Britannia'.[178]

The emphasis on the celebration of Australia, but as a dependency of Britain, was a variant of Australian nationalism which could still accommodate an upsurge of imperial loyalty. The high school's allegiance was close to Jebb's 'colonial

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[175] *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.3, Michaelmas 1910, p.14.
[176] *Adelaide High School 75th Anniversary, 1908-1983 Souvenir Book*, p.53.
[177] *Education Gazette* 14 July 1910, p.175.
[178] *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.2 Midwinter 1915, p.17.

nationalism', a concept which, Eddy and Schreuder observe, 'contained its own variant of imperialism'.[179]

The High School's magazine, more than any other in this study, demonstrates a recognition of an emerging Australian cultural identity. A confident essay in 1909 proclaimed:

> Australia, though still in her youth, has produced poets not unworthy of being compared with the immortal bards of the Mother Land. Such are Henry Kendall, Adam Lindsay Gordon, Charles Harpur and Brunton Stephens.

It described Gordon's 'Sick Stockrider' as 'a masterpiece'.[180] A two-part essay on 'Australian Literature' published in 1912 was an appreciation of the poetry of Gordon, Kendall and Paterson - poets who wrote about the Australian bush and the hardships faced by its pioneers.[181] The nationalist landscape painting of the Heidelberg school was recognised in a 1910 article, 'Some Australian Artists', which discussed the works of Arthur Streeton, Sid Long, Tom Roberts, Hans Heysen, Will Ashton and Frederick McCubbin.[182]

This school was giving recognition to a distinctive Australian environment, an Australian people, and a nation with its own patriotic literature and painting which were contributing to a growing sense of its own identity. Australian symbolism was displayed on the cover of the magazine, where a gold school crest was decorated with eucalyptus blossoms,[183] and there were photographs and articles on Australian industries and agriculture, encouraging pride in the country's products and an awareness of the Australian economy.[184] Geographical and

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[179] J. Eddy and D. Schreuder, *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa first assert their nationalities, 1880-1914*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988, p.8.

[180] *Adelaide High School Magazine* Michaelmas 1909, p.7.

[181] *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol 4 No 3, Michaelmas 1912, pp.5-6 and Vol 4 No 4, Christmas 1912, pp.3-4.

[182] *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.3, Michaelmas 1910, pp.7-8.

[183] See e.g. *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.1, Easter 1915.

[184] e.g. 'Golden South Australia, home of the golden grain', *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.1 Easter 1910, p.10 and 'Smelting works at Port Pirie', Vol.2 No.2, Midwinter 1910, pp.11-13.

historical articles celebrated Australian exploration and the Adelaide-Darwin telegraph line.[185]

War-time celebrations of St George's Day had a predictably imperialist emphasis (e.g. 'A Rallying cry for the Empire')[186] but, particularly after Gallipoli, there was an emphasis on the Australian soldier. At a school assembly on Friday 7 May 1915, Mr Adey commented on 'Australians in action at the Dardanelles' and the presence of Adelaide High School boys in the casualty lists.[187] An article written 'post-Anzac' on Australian Literature in September 1917 praised the work of Kendall, Gordon and Marcus Clarke for their depiction of 'true and lasting impressions of Australian life and Australian forest scenes' and made special mention of Lawson, Paterson, Daley and Ogilvie, who:

> born and bred in an Australian environment, inspired to tell the world in their sweetest tones of their beloved land, so beautiful, so free, raised up to stir Australians to noble and patriotic deeds - these are our true national poets. To these we owe what England owes to Tennyson and to such descriptive poets as Scott and Wordsworth.[188]

Articles such as these (written by anonymous authors who, judging by the style and vocabulary, were probably teachers, or possibly senior students) demonstrated a strong desire by this school to expound an Australian cultural nationalism. The school magazine, because it was read by the students and parents, was a powerful medium for its expression and an indication that an Australian identity was encouraged in other activities of the school.

Images of manhood

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185 See e.g. *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.1, Easter 1910, pp.6,7 (Photographs, map and article on the Overland Telegraph line); Vol.4 No.3, Michaelmas 1912, p.9 (reference to fiftieth anniversary of John McDouall Stuart's crossing of Australia).

186 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.2, Midwinter 1918, p.31.

187 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Midwinter 1915, Vol.7 No.2, p.17.

188 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.9 No.3, September 1917, p.15.

Many early heroes in the *St. Peter's School Magazine* are representations of the imperial man, often as colonial administrator or imperial adventurer. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, whose obituary was featured in May 1908, was born in England and educated at St. Peter's College and Cambridge, later becoming Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.[189] Another exemplar, though not an Old Scholar, had strong school connections. E. G. Blackmore, son-in-law of former headmaster Archdeacon Farr and father of six St. Peter's boys, was for some time a Governor of the School. He was a constitutional lawyer, a keen debater, a 'strong Churchman ... thoroughly loyal to the Church of England and well versed in Scripture' and had been organising secretary to the Bushmen's Corps during the South African War. His obituary praised the 'untiring energy and intense love of outdoor sports' which had led to his becoming coach for some years of the college crew.[190] One 'South Australian native' Old Scholar was Sir John Downer, son of a pioneering family, who had a distinguished legal and political career. His obituary in 1915 paid tribute to his championship of the movement for federation and his part in framing the constitution of the new Commonwealth.[191] Although it is tempting to portray Downer as belonging to a new category of Australian nation-makers, there seems no evidence that St. Peter's boys were being challenged to see themselves from a new, Australian, perspective. The school retained its imperial identity. Downer, like Ibbetson, was another of the school's imperial administrators, exercising the professional and political leadership for which his school had trained him.

Imperial-adventurer heroes abounded. An early issue of the St. Peter's magazine reprinted an obituary notice from the *Register* for Old Scholar F. H. Berry, who had been a sugar-planter in South Africa, a captain in the Frontier Light Horse during the Zulu War and then an ivory hunter. While bathing in a river, he 'was seized by a huge alligator, and drawn under the water; and

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189 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.67, May 1908, p.53.
190 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.70, May 1909, pp.5-7.
191 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.89, August 1915, pp.56-58.

no trace of him was afterwards discovered.'[192] An article titled 'A Race with a Kaffir' in the *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* in 1891 documented a race between a South African and an English athlete. The relative heights of the two - the South African's five feet eleven inches to the Englishman's six feet one - demonstrated the natural physical superiority of the English, and the result of the race was no surprise; the South African was 'simply beaten by a better man'. As if to underline the latter's backwardness, the reader was informed that he went away satisfied with the gift of 'some tobacco and half a crown.'[193]

The letters of Captain White, old scholar soldier-explorer-naturalist, to the CBC magazine in the early 1900s read like an adventure novel, where the British imperial male is seen at his courageous and civilised best in a frontier colonial setting. White was a popular lecturer to the Literary Society and a prominent member (later President) of the Old Scholars' Association. He had fought in the Boer War, but in the early 1900s features less as a military hero than as an imperial adventurer, shooting big game in Africa. The native servants, his 'dusky carriers' with their 'blacks' chatter', are merely a background for the feats of the hero.[194] In 'A Day in Central Africa', Captain White describes a typical hunting adventure when, accompanied by native servants, he stalked a deer:

> I should like to have the horns of the buck, but I know the doe will be better eating, and meat is what we want; so, taking aim at short range a soft-nosed bullet pierces the body behind the arm and tears out at the other side.

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192 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.I No.3, Speech Day Number 1884, p.2.

193 *Prince Alfred Chronicle*, Vol IV No.28, March 24, 1891, pp.12-14.

194 *CBC Annual* 1907, p.48. White's African adventures belong to an expedition he made in 1903. His entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* relates his work as an Australian ornithologist and conservationist. White was 'educated at several private schools [but] claimed to have received his best schooling at Christian Brothers' College.' R. W. Linn, 'Samuel Albert White (1870-1954)', in G. Serle and B. Nairn(eds.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 12, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1990, pp.472-473. [He appears to have also attended St. Peter's College at some stage: S.A.White is listed in the St. Peter's magazine as an Old Scholar member of the Bushmen's Corps. (*St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol. 8, No.40, April 1900, p.194)]

The doe struggles in its last moments, 'lashing the water in her agony, dyeing it with her life's blood', and the fearless hero has made another conquest.[195]

Sometimes men of empire were celebrated in religious terms for their faithfulness in undertaking the civilising mission of empire. In 1885, the *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* recorded the death of General Gordon, who was killed 'in suppressing the rebellion of the false prophet, El Mahdi'. The article eulogised him as 'an example to the world of a firm Christian character, who considers no danger insurmountable, no difficulty too great to be overcome.'[196] A later issue mentioned Gordon as an example of a modern knight in the tradition of (Tennyson's) King Arthur:

> Who reverences his conscience as his king,
> Whose glory is redressing human wrong.[197]

A school concert held in July of the following year included a performance of the cantata 'General Gordon' by the singing class.[198]

The *Chronicle* celebrated exemplary men of faith, particularly Methodist laymen, such as a medical missionary who died in Africa in 1899.[199] Spiritual development was a necessary component of Chapple's ideal of 'full-orbed manhood': as President of the Christian Union, he wrote in 1899 that it was 'pleasing to see that so many boys, leaders in classroom and playground, have decided that they ought to devote half one dinner-hour a week to the improvement of the spiritual side of their natures.[200]

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195 *CBC Annual* 1907, pp.48-9.
196 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.I No.6, April 1885, pp.7-8.
197 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.I No.7, July 1885, p.12.
198 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.II No,10, July 1886, p.2.
199 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.60, April 1899, pp.135, 226.
200 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.60, April 1899, p.226.

Chapple promoted his own sons as models of the earnestness and busyness he so much admired. Alfred, in particular, was written about in glowing terms for his academic, sporting and musical abilities.[201] When a promising student met with accidental death in 1886, it was his diligence which was seen as his outstanding feature. Coming to PAC on a scholarship from the Port Adelaide Model School, Archibald Gray had worked hard to master all the new work and finished first in Fifth Form. The headmaster told the boys at assembly that 'he should for many a day miss that eager, interested, intelligent face at the top of the Fifth form' and held up his life as an example of diligently using one's talents and 'living each day as if the last'.[202] Chapple endorsed the spirit of determination in the boys' cry 'Reds can't be beat', which 'was growing to be the spirit of the school in work or in play'.[203]

Images of successful manhood in the first CBC magazine, the *Jubilee Record* of 1903, were chiefly of Old Scholars who had achieved academic honours or become prominent in public life in middle-class positions of leadership. This publication depicted photographs of doctors, lawyers, Members of Parliament and priests educated at the college in its first twenty-five years. Later magazines included tributes to Old Scholar Cyril Ward, a classical master at the Adelaide High School and W. J. Denny, the state's Attorney-General.[204] Articles on 'Ecclesiastical Old Scholars' appeared regularly,[205] with reports on the yearly visits of a recruiting Brother, who spoke to the boys about 'the greatness, dignity, and advantages of the sacerdotal and religious life'.[206] Priests were models of an ultimate ideal of piety, celibacy and self-sacrificing leadership to which relatively few would attain. The majority of boys were being educated to be laymen active in the practice of their religion and obedient to the authority of the Pope, as

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201 e.g. *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.58, October 1898, p.175.
202 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.II No.2, October 1886, p.8.
203 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.32, April 1892.
204 *CBC Annual* 1911, pp.45, 48.
205 e.g. *CBC Annual* 1906, p.92.
206 *CBC Annual* 1916, p.91.

exemplified by the 8,000 Catholic men who marched with 'measured and stately tread' in the procession in honour of Pope Pius X held in Adelaide in 1908.[207]

The 1903 publication shows the school's strong awareness of its role in gender formation and 'the constant effort of our daily intercourse with the pupils to develop and strengthen those moral and social qualities which mark out the Christian gentleman'.[208] An article entitled 'The Ideal Boy' outlines these exemplary qualities - a combination of scholarly attitudes and skills with physical fitness, a devout religious sense, consideration for others and a sense of competitiveness needed by the Australian boy. Physical education is noted as beneficial for body and mind: 'it is good for him; it keeps him out of danger, and it braces him for work.' Its absence results in the pale, bookish type, an 'encyclopaedia of knowledge ... without health and elasticity of spirit' of which there are few specimens in Australia. The main aim of education was intellectual, 'to develop and strengthen the mental muscle' and instil an appreciation of great works of the past, namely, an appreciation of great prose and fine poetry (especially the English classics) the arts, and science - a lifelong 'love of knowledge and a child-like curiosity to know more of nature, of men, and of God'. The aged Gladstone, who had declared himself 'still only a learner' is cited as an example of this attitude. The ideal youth is a good reader and writer and also a good speaker who can express himself eloquently, and argue courageously and fairly. He is free from conceit, and is gentle and polite to all: 'the old, the weak, the sick, the poor, will not look in vain for the support of his manly arm'. He is always ready and able to defend his faith. He should leave school with a sense of a God-given vocation and purpose in life. The modern boy must be competitive, for 'the exigencies of public examinations and of a new country like Australia are not favourable to that enthusiastic devotion to things of mind characteristic of calmer days and older lands'.[209]

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[207] *CBC Annual* 1908, p.28.
[208] *Jubilee Record*, p.10.
[209] *Jubilee Record*, pp.24-26.

Here is a recognition of a modern, Australian boy, who must combine traditional academic and spiritual standards with competitiveness, physical fitness and vigour. Old Scholars - such as the gymnasts who performed at the Annual Display in 1907 - might be expected to display these qualities:

> The audience ... were worked up to fever-heat by the splendid gymnastic display by the Old Collegians .... They performed some very clever and daring feats, including the giant swing, backward and forward, and received quite an ovation at the close, when pyramidal groups were formed.[210]

Adelaide High School presented imperial heroes in its Empire pages, but also gave prominence to its own founders, Tom Price and Alfred Williams. Photographs and obituaries of both men, and of former Premier Sir Frederick Holder, appeared in the magazine.[211]

Most articles in the school magazines presented positive images of masculinity for emulation by youth. Dissident behaviour was seldom mentioned in any of the magazines. An exception was in the account of the 1898 St Peter's Prizegiving, which had been held for the first time in the Adelaide Town Hall. During the presentation of prizes by the Bishop, there had been some 'primaeval witticisms' from a section of the audience and 'a foreign element of barbarism in the shape of combination yelps, which, we imagine, some of those who have left us must have learnt in their intercourse with the natives'.[212] By drawing attention (in contemporary racial terms) to such undesirable behaviour, the report reinforced the approved model, the restrained, gentlemanly ideal.

An article of a negative nature in the PAC *Chronicle* in 1889 entitled 'Young Gentlemen' criticised 'dandies' - those young

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210 *CBC Annual* 1907, p.69.

211 For Price, see *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.I No.3, Midwinter 1909, pp.3, 16, and for Williams Vol.2 No.2, Midwinter 1910 p.8 and Vol.5 No.1, Easter 1913, pp.3-4. For Holder see Vol.1 no.2, Michaelmas 1909, pp.9-10.

212 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.VIII No.36, March 1899, p.82.

males whose 'measure of manliness lies in fashionable trousers and dissipation ... bumptiousness, silliness and foppery'. Such behaviour, the anonymous writer warned, marked 'the beginning of a long course of deterioration of character which saps all true manhood.'[213] This was probably a reflection of the concerns of conventional society, in England particularly, about deviant masculinity associated with the aesthetic movement. There were to be no effete 'dandies' at PAC - this article ended with the suggestion that the cane was the best remedy for such dissident behaviour - an example of the policing of approved masculinity, lest it be subverted by deviant influences. The PAC author saw 'dandies' as failed men, as (in David Gilmore's words) 'the negative examples, the effete men, the men-who-are-no-men, held up scornfully to inspire conformity to the glorious ideal.'[214]

The schools' first military heroes in the magazines appeared with the commencement of the Boer War. The St Peter's magazine carried lengthy reports from Old Scholars relating the bravery and efficiency of the imperial troops.[215] On 25 January, 1900, the Collegians' Association hosted a combined farewell for the fifteen Saints' and seven PAC volunteers leaving for South Africa in the Second Australian Contingent. It was an occasion for florid rhetoric in praise of 'men whose characters had been shaped with their own in the classrooms and on the playing fields of St. Peter's' who, like 'brave knights of old, [would] stand together shoulder to shoulder for the vindication of Britain's position and for the cause of freedom and justice in the great continent.' The evening concluded with a 'spirited rendering of 'The Soldiers of the Queen,' the company rising en masse at the end of each verse to join vigorously in the chorus whilst lifting shoulder high every trooper present.' At the end of the magazine's report of the meeting was printed a patriotic poem

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213 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.III No.21, May 1889, pp.12-13.
214 David Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: cultural concepts of masculinity*, New York: Yale University Press, 1990, p.17.
215 e.g. *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.VIII No.39, December 1899, pp.165-67.

which spoke of the readiness to answer the call to defend Queen and Empire:

> *Adsum*, we answered to our daily roll-call,
> In schooldays' happy time,
> *Adsum*, we'll echo, when in battle's thunder,
> Rings out God's call sublime.
>
> St.Peter's boys, shoulder to shoulder standing,
> We bid you all God-speed;
> Loyal to old England, ye have press'd to help her,
> In this, her hour of need,
>
> And though good-byes are said with lips that tremble,
> And hearts that well nigh break,
> We would not hold you back, we give you bravely,
> For Queen and Empire's sake.[216]

The poem sees the response to roll-call during school-days (*Adsum*) as a preparation for the unhesitating response to defend, even die for, the Empire. Having prepared the young men, the school (in maternal terms, as *alma mater*) 'gives' them 'for Queen and Empire's sake'. A programme printed on the occasion of another combined send-off the same year featured an illustrated cover with the crests of both colleges, the Union Jack, the Australian flag and various symbols of schoolboy life: a world globe and books to signify academic learning and a cricket bat, ball and stumps, football and oars to symbolise the contribution of games to the making of men for Queen and Empire.*(Fig. IV)*

As a result of the college's participation in the War, the Old Collegians' Association increased its numbers and cohesiveness. At the Annual Business Meeting and Smoke Social in 1901, 'Absent Friends' were toasted and the reporter for the magazine described the effect of one hundred Old Scholars singing 'Auld Lang Syne': 'with clasped hands, how the St. Peter's blood coursed through one's veins! how proud one felt of the old School and its records!'[217] The War ended on 1 June 1902. The

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216 *St Peter's School Magazine* April 1900, pp.192-3. The poet was given as 'M. L. W.' (Sixth, seventh and eighth verses are quoted here.)

217 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.IX No.45, June 1901, p.312.



Fig. IV. Cover of the programme for a combined send-off for volunteer servicemen from St. Peter's and Prince Alfred Colleges, April 1900.
Books, a world globe and equipment from various sports symbolise aspects of the preparation of young men for service to Queen and Empire.
R. M. Gibbs, *A History of Prince Alfred College,* Adelaide: Peacock Publications, 1984, p.135.

Union Jack flew over the College and the boys enjoyed a half holiday.

The South African War intensified school pride and imperial patriotism at PAC. A special *Chronicle,* decorated with crossed Union Jack and Australian flags, was issued in March 1900 to commemorate the departure of PAC boys in the South Australian Mounted Contingent. An enthusiastic editorial commented: 'Our *alma mater*'s breast may heave with just pride as she beholds the results of the training she has given her sons'.[218] The occasion gave rise to expressions of pride in Australia's imperial involvement: 'Already Australia is beginning to live as a nation, to play a part in the affairs of the Empire, and to take a share in those events which go so far to build up and inspire a national character'.[219] The enthusiasm of the colleges reflected the euphoria with which departing troops were farewelled in parades through Adelaide streets. One contemporary account describes the 'deafening cheering and shouting' as 'the crowd went mad and yelled itself hoarse', waving 'handkerchiefs, flags and everything that would wave' to farewell the departing Bushmen in 1900.[220]

A new kind of imperial exemplar was created in 1904, when the Rhodes Scholarship was awarded for the first time. South Australian candidates were required to be British subjects, unmarried, aged between 19 and 25. The winner was to be chosen with regard to:

> (i) his literary and scholastic attainments; (ii) his fondness for and success in manly out-door sports such as cricket, football and the like; (iii) his qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for the protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness and fellowship; and (iv) his exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his school mates.[221]

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218 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.6 No.64, March 1900, p.331.
219 *ibid.* p.329.
220 Joan Kyffin Willington (ed.), *Maisie: her life, her loves, her letters. 1898 to 1902*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1994, pp.305-6.
221 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.80, September 1904, p.163.

Scholarship, athleticism, chivalric 'qualities of manhood' and leadership ability were hallmarks of late-nineteenth century public school manliness. There is nothing overtly militaristic or religious in the attributes listed, and no reference to musical or artistic ability. In winning the first state award, PAC Old Scholar Norman Jolly, B. Sc., had proven that his old school was educating its young men in the best English tradition and providing the type of man the Empire needed; the college rejoiced in 'the halo of glory' he had 'caused to shine round his school', celebrating with a half-holiday.[222] Chapple shortly afterwards instituted his own gold medal award for the 'best all-round boy', the first being won by a diligent student of the Upper Sixth who was sixth in the school order and had scored the highest number of runs and wickets in cricket, and took part in football, running and debating.[223] This selection appeared to be a Rhodes scholar in miniature - an illustration that the ideals of the school were identical with the Rhodes ideal of the imperial man. The St. Peter's College old boy who won the Rhodes in 1905 was described 'in three words - an athlete, a scholar, and a gentleman': R. L. Robinson's Oxford companions later observed that he 'neither plays nor sings, but .... he will discourse on any subject .... has sound views on the beauties of English literature and poetry, and if you need a helping hand or some good advice he will give it to you for the asking.'[224]

Adelaide High and CBC soon had their own Rhodes Scholars. Cecil Madigan, B. Sc., who won the award for 1911, had been a student at the Pupil Teacher School for three years, before spending his last year at PAC. Both schools claimed him as their Rhodes Scholar.[225] Adelaide High's Hugh Cairns won the Scholarship for 1917.[226] In 1912, Dr Edward Britten Jones became CBC's first Rhodes Scholar and was congratulated in the *Annual* as 'a worthy representative of CBC' for his academic

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222 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol. IV No. 80, September 1904, p.163, p.139.
223 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.87, January 1907, p.427.
224 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, No.70, May 1909, p.62.
225 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.4, Christmas 1910, p.8, *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.99, January 1911, p.437.
226 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.8 No.4, Christmas 1916, p.18.

and athletic ability, his loyalty to the school and his modesty.[227] For these two schools, the awards were reassurance of their status among the colleges; they also symbolise their assent to the hegemonic model of middle-class, imperial masculinity that was taken for granted at St Peter's and Prince Alfred Colleges.

Another type of pre-war masculine hero was the Antarctic explorer, who was a modern version of the imperial adventurer, but, especially after the tragic example of Captain Scott and his polar party, was also seen in the role of patriotic scientist. Captain Oates, the old Etonian who 'walked out of his tent into the shrieking snowstorm to give up his life for his friends' was held up as a model of courage and gentlemanly self-sacrifice for youth throughout the Empire.[228] King George V believed that 'the story of the Scott expedition could not be known too widely among the youth of the nation, for it would help to promote the spirit of adventure that had made the Empire'.[229] Antarctic exploration engaged the imagination of many South Australians as the Australasian Antarctic Expedition, led by Dr. Douglas Mawson of the University of Adelaide, made its way south. PAC followed the progress of two Old Scholars in the expedition, Cecil Madigan and Percy Correll (the college Dux in 1909). The two quickly became school heroes. On Correll's arrival home in March 1913, he was met at the railway station by Chapple and the prefects. Articles in the *PAC Chronicle* told of heroic deeds in the land of crevasses and blinding blizzards, and a letter from Madigan told of how often 'we spoke of the old school in the weary hours of lying in sleeping bags during a blizzard'.[230] When the two visited the school in May 1914, their account of the dangers they had faced in the interests of scientific investigation 'aroused the assembly to admiration of their manliness and fortitude, and to resolve each one in his

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227 *CBC Annual 1912*, pp.69-70.

228 Annual report of T. Ainslie Caterer, Acting Head Master of St. Peter's College, *School List* 1919.

229 H. Ponting, *The Great White South; or, with Scott in the Antarctic,* London: Duckworth, n.d. (1921?), p.297.

230 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.106, May 1913, p.1; Vol.VI No.109, May 1914, p.225.

own path 'to do and dare".[231] Chapple told an Old Collegians' luncheon held in their honour: 'Such schools as ours become great by their traditions .... What better tradition could any school possess than that which the deeds of Correll and Madigan will hand down to Prince Alfred's?'[232] Madigan visited Adelaide High School too, where he addressed an assembly and the magazine reported that Dr. Mawson had commented on the 'courage and endurance with which he faced danger' as well as his skill and scientific ability.[233]

Student models

Exemplary students were accorded recognition by their school and were held up for emulation by younger boys. At St. Peter's College, prefects were the school's designated élite, and society's future leaders-in-training.[234] An article in 1895 explained that '[b]y carrying out their duty and thinking of the good of their school morally, they will be fitter to hold a position in their country some day.'[235] Girdlestone appointed his first prefects in 1899, the first since Raynor's time (1890-1893). Prefects enjoyed certain privileges, including the wearing of a 'distinctive ribbon' on the hat, and having their names printed separately in the annual School List. They could 'expect from all masters a favourable consideration of a request to defer any extra work'. Their duties involved protecting the school's name and its property: 'see[ing] that the School's reputation takes no harm either within or without the grounds, by word or act', conducting the Callover and reading at Chapel and addressing the students at Muster. They had the power to give lines 'or other punishment suitable to the offence' and, where the

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231 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.109, May 1914, p.182.
232 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No109, May 1914, p.232.
233 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.6 No.1, Easter 1914, pp.3, 13.
234 I am indebted to Ian Brice's analysis of prefects as school exemplars: 'Exemplary Masculinity: ideals and codes of masculinity inculcated in Australian corporate boys' schools, 1946-1960', *Childhood, Citizenship, Culture: Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society 26th Annual Conference, Brisbane, 1996,* Brisbane: ANZHES 1996, pp.83-94.
235 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.V No.23, December 1895, p.377.

unanimous opinion of the prefects decided, to give the cane, in the presence of the other prefects. Each prefect signed the Prefects' Promise:

> I, a prefect of St. Peter's, hereby promise
> to do my best to keep up the good name of the school
> both by my own example and by my influence on others.[236]

Photographs of prefects were published in the magazine from 1906. There is a striking uniformity in the prefect 'type' over the years: the 1913 photograph of eight prefects with the headmaster shows a typical group of young men whose serious demeanour, upright stance and impeccably-angled hats create an image of responsibility, self-discipline and school pride.[237] *(Fig. V)* Members of this select group were appointed by the Head Master; masters could make recommendations, and prefects were expected to 'consider suitable candidates to succeed in their office'.[238] Those chosen were usually boys who excelled academically or at games, or in both, as illustrated by the six prefects listed in the April 1901 magazine under 'Boys who Left, December 1900'. P. T. Sandland's academic achievements occupied only two lines: 'Preliminary '97' and 'Junior (3rd class), '98'. No results were mentioned for 1899 or 1900. His sporting achievements, however, included four years in the First XVIII and two in the First XI, winner of the College Cup (for athletics) in two consecutive years and winner of the 1900 Intercollegiate Cup. He was also a Colour-Sergeant in the Cadet Corps. By contrast, no sporting achievements were noted for H. K. Paine, who had completed the Senior examination in the first class and won three prestigious college scholarships (the Farrell Open in '97, the Young Exhibition in '99 and the Westminster in 1900). The captains of the First XVIII and the First XI were both prefects.[239] Later school leaders were likely to have had cadet or rifle experience: the Head Prefect at St. Peter's in 1911 had achieved academically and at cricket, and

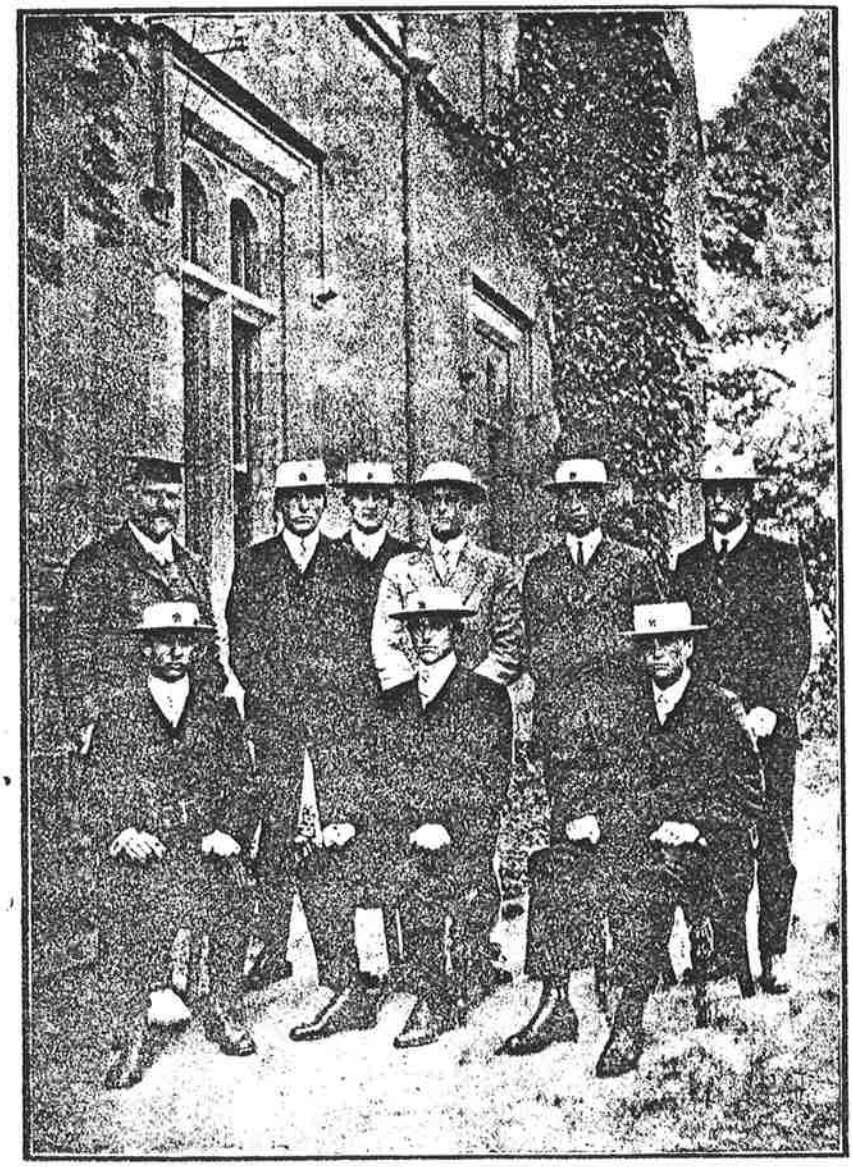
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236 Register of prefects admitted 1899-1940, 1944. SPCA, 238.

237 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.84, August 1913, frontispiece.

238 Register of prefects.

239 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.IX No.44, April 4, 1901, pp.294-5.



PREFECTS, 1913.

Fig. V. Girdlestone with prefects, 1913.
St. Peter's School Magazine, No.84, August 1913, facing p.1.

had also been a member of the College Rifle Team for two years.[240]

At PAC, there were no prefects until 1910, but senior boys had always been expected to carry out duties and keep the tone of the school. In the *Chronicle* for March 1891, an excerpt from *Tom Brown's Schooldays* in which boys were reminded of their 'wide influence for good or evil' and urged to 'never try to be popular, but only to do your duty' was addressed 'To the Senior Boys'.[241] On his departure for England in 1901, Chapple announced that the sixth-form boys 'had assured him that there would be no slackening in carrying out their duties, and he trusted them implicitly.'[242] When prefects were officially instituted, successful athletes were often chosen. The head prefect in 1912 was cricketer Don Steele, whose achievements included captaining three different sports. The *Chronicle* commented: [T]o be captain of three branches of sport and head prefect is a record for the school. An excellent example has been set, and it is confidently hoped that others will emulate it.'[243]

At Adelaide High School, the editors of the school magazine, elected by the students, were always chosen from an academic elite. One of the 1911 editors was Hugh Cairns, who became dux of the school, went on to study Medicine, and was chosen as the 1917 South Australian Rhodes Scholar.[244] Eric Kelly, editor in 1914-15, was Head Prefect and captain of the First XI.[245] The first issue of each new school year featured photographs and brief biographies of the previous year's editors, and the magazine continued to follow their careers. Prefects, introduced in 1912, were elected by their fellows, and 'chosen because, in the eyes of the boys at least, they stand for

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240 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.79, May 1912, p.3.
241 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.28, March 1891, p.11.
242 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.68, April 1901, p.427-8.
243 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V, No.105, January 1913, p.787.
244 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.4 No.1 Easter 1912, p.5 and Vol.8 No.4, December 1916, p.18. Cairns later became Professor of Surgery at the University of Oxford and a co-winner of the Nobel Prize for Medicine.
245 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.4, December 1915, p.29.

honour, integrity, fairplay, justice and righteousness.' They were expected to be models for younger boys: 'It is up to them that the small boys must look for guidance and protection, for a pattern and an example.'[246] Prefects often excelled in both academic and sporting areas. In 1912, the school instituted the Rossiter Prize (named after a former teacher) for the outstanding sportsman of the school. Edward Mattner, the first winner, was a prefect, captain of football and cricket and also rowed and played tennis.[247] At all the schools, cadet and rifle experience were increasingly admired, and this became yet another component in the credentials of exemplary students: the first winner of the Old Scholars Prize, instituted at the High School in 1918, had been Head Prefect, captain of football, tennis and cricket teams and a Lieutenant in the Senior Cadets.[248]

There were no prefects at CBC during this era. However, boys in some positions did have extra responsibility, status or respect. Boarders had a higher status at the school than day boys and were expected to provide a good example for younger students. The annual report for 1908 made mention of the record number of boarders (68), their influence for good in the college and particularly their exemplary piety. Brother O'Dwyer spoke glowingly of them as 'boys full of honour and truth, with a reverence for everything good and holy, and endowed with a spirit of practical piety.'[249] They all belonged to the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose members were expected to give good example to younger students in behaviour and attention to religious duties, and many attended meetings of the Literary and Debating Society, where they learned to acquit themselves in the skills of oratory so much admired in Irish manhood and were able to compete for the gold medal awarded for the best prepared speech. As at the other colleges, prestige was attached to cadet experience and to sporting successes, and the magazine

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246 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.4 No.2, Midwinter 1912, p.3.
247 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.4 No.4, Christmas 1912, p.11.
248 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.4, Christmas 1918, p.14.
249 *CBC Annual* 1908, p.8.

proudly announced victories in football, cricket, gymnastics, rowing and the college's specialty, handball.

Masculinity militarised

Unlike their public school counterparts in England, Australian schoolboys did not have to endure debilitating food shortages or see parts of their playing-fields turned into vegetable patches,[250] but their school life did not remain unaffected by war. J. F. Ward, a teacher at PAC during the Great War (and who was to become its headmaster during the Second World War) wrote of the emotional impact of the distant fighting:

> [A]nyone who has been in a school during either of the great wars knows how deep and almost indefinable is the effect of the war upon even the youngest boys in the school. There was the pride when father, brother, relation or friend went off to join the A.I.F., or the other forces; the excitement of seeing masters or old boys in uniform coming back "to see the Head," and have a yarn with old friends at school before they went; the interest in the daily reports of the give and take of battles far away; and the thrill of sadness which came over all, when an assembly was called to announce the loss of some old boy whom so many could remember seeing so recently walking about the grounds and so full of life.[251]

One such loss was Bruce Godfree of the Commercial Fifth, who had volunteered on his eighteenth birthday. His obituary in the *PAC Chronicle* recalled 'a manly type of schoolboy, serious and conscientious in study, true in friendship; and keen in his enjoyment of sport ... a hero who left his desk to fight for his king and country'.[252] Victoria Cross winner Captain Throssell's visit to his old school in 1916 was a happier occasion, when the former school football champion - 'the worst man in the team to bump against'[253] was feted at assembly and photographed in front of the school with college dignitaries, all the boys and a huge PAC flag.[254]

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250 Parker, *The Old Lie,* p.271.
251 J. F.Ward, *Prince Alfred College*, pp.134-135.
252 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.116, September 1916, pp.31-32.
253 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.69, July 1901, p.469.
254 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.116, September 1916, pp.16-17.

There were some changes in school routine when opportunities were seen for the boys to make some patriotic contribution. In 1914, when the War Office required people with the ability to read German, ten boys from the sixth form at PAC 'went off to aid the Censor'.[255] Weekly collections were made for Patriotic Funds and proceeds from the Annual Concerts were also directed to this cause. PAC's 1914 concert was a celebration of imperial loyalty. The third form rendered 'How We Sing' while waving small Union Jacks, then a guest soloist sang Elgar's 'Land of Hope and Glory', with the school joining in the chorus, 'which was well-known, thanks to diligent coaching'. This was encored, then followed 'Rule, Britannia'. A recital of Banjo Paterson's 'The Bush Christening' appears to have been the only Australian content. The concert concluded with the National Anthem ('God Save the King') and 'the usual School songs'.[256]

The *Chronicle*'s 'School Notes' reassured the boys that their weekly donations were a worthwhile contribution to the war effort: 'Much of the money represents the slight self-denial involved in the reduction of the amount spent in 'tuck': probably with no slight benefit to the condition of the boy, and with considerable benefit to the brave fellows who are fighting his battles.'[257] In other ways, the school endeavoured to make the boys identify with the sacrifice of the soldiers. One instance of this was the decision, mooted by the prefects, to give up form prizes and donate the value to 'the service of Empire'. The School Committee responded: 'That the boys of PAC are prepared willingly to make such sacrifices in these great and stirring times is proof - if proof were needed - that you are made of the same stuff as those of your school who have answered the call of duty.'[258] Instead of a book prize, each winner received a certificate bearing a photograph of the college

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255 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI, No.110, September 1914, p.243.
256 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.110, September 1914, pp. 261-263.
257 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.112, May 1915, pp.7-8.
258 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.115, May 1916, p.4.

and the PAC crest flanked by the Union Jack and Australian flags. An inscription beneath the photograph read:

> The Boys of Prince Alfred College in 1916 asked permission to donate the value of their prizes to Patriotic Funds. As an expression of their appreciation of this devotion to the Empire on the part of the boys, the members of the House Committee presented this Certificate to certify that ... was awarded the ... prize.[259]

Each first prize winner was also awarded a copy of the *Lady Galway Belgium Book*, bound in school colours.[260] All proceeds from the sale of this book, edited by the Governor's wife, went to the Belgian Relief Fund.

On Speech Day 1915, Headmaster Bayly mentioned that all the boys had learned how to make a sandbag properly and forty-five billycans had been packed with useful items and a photograph of the college and sent to the soldiers in the trenches for Christmas.[261] St. Peter's boys helped with the fruit harvest at Renmark during 1916, their services compensating for a serious shortage of labour in the fruit-growing industry.[262]

Empire Day was celebrated at PAC in 1916, when the Headmaster decided that 'this year it seemed fitting to celebrate it'. The celebrations took place only after school, with a cadet parade, prayers for Empire, the singing of 'O God our Help in Ages Past', saluting the Union Jack and three cheers for Empire. It was reported that 'the school dispersed with the feeling that it was good to have engaged in such patriotic exercises as were probably being carried out by schoolboys all over the Empire.'[263] Empire Day (24 May) had been introduced into

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[259] Certificate awarded to D.D.Harris, Christmas 1916, PACA 101/4. In 1917, the wording was altered to read: 'the House Committee, wishing to mark their appreciation of the sense of National responsibility shown by the boys, awarded this Certificate'. D. D. Harris, *Fun Without Games: autobiograffiti of a teacher. Don Harris*, Adelaide: Hyde Park Press, 1989, p.15.

[260] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.117, January 1917, p.2.

[261] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.114, January 1916, p.10.

[262] *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.93, December 1916, p.4.

[263] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol. VII No.116, September 1916, pp.2-3. Adelaide primary schools celebrated Empire Day, as did some girls' secondary schools.

Australia in 1905, but does not appear to have been celebrated in the Adelaide boys' schools, with the exception of Adelaide High School, where celebrations were carried out mainly by the girls' section. Hobart's Anglican foundation, The Hutchins School, celebrated 24 May during the Great War with a float in the local procession consisting of some sixth formers dressed in red, white and blue, with faces painted to match,[264] but Adelaide did not have a procession of this nature. CBC did not celebrate Empire Day, probably in conformity with Sydney's Cardinal Moran's recommendation that it be celebrated as Australia Day.[265]

Anzac Day was first commemorated in April 1916. Since it fell during examinations, celebrations at St. Peter's were combined with Sunday evening chapel service. The cadets paraded 'in full strength' and boys listened to a sermon based on a text from the First Book of Samuel: 'And all the people shouted and said, 'God Save the King'.[266] The day was celebrated solemnly at Adelaide High School in 1918, with an assembly of the whole school in the quadrangle observing silence in memory of the fallen.[267] In December 1915, the High School magazine had featured 'A Soldier's Call', the poem written by a former student of Melbourne's Scotch College who had answered the call from 'the bugles of England' to fight for the Mother Country.[268] However, by the war's end, pride in Australia's effort had led to comments such as that on the death of Old Scholar Lieutenant

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264 G. Stephens, *The Hutchins School: Macquarie Street years 1846-1965*, Hobart: The Hutchins School, 1979, p.211.

265 The date had already been designated as a Catholic feast day in honour of Mary Help of Christians, Patroness of Australia. Moran even suggested that the Union Jack should not be flown: 'Let them unfurl one banner in their schools, and let it be the Australian banner. Let them be true patriots, loving the country of their birth, developing the resources of Australia, so that they might refute the theories of the monopolists at home by proving that the best citizens of Australia were the best citizens of the Empire, too.'*The Southern Cross,* 29 May 1908, p.360b. Town celebrations in Lilydale, Victoria, in which Catholic primary schools participated, are described in A. Shiell and P. Spearritt (eds.), *Australians and the Monarchy*, Melbourne: National Centre for Australian Studies, Monash University, 1993, p.19.

266 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.92, August 1916, pp.10-11. The text is from 1 Samuel, 10: 24.

267 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.2, Midwinter 1918, p.16.

268 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.4, Christmas 1915, p.26

Joseph Blacket that 'the traditions not only of the school but [of] Australia are made by such lives as Joe's'.[269] After the Armistice, at least one contributor believed that it was the Australian wattle, rather than the bugles of England, which had stirred Australian soldiers:

> The Wattle did call.
> Thou has answered her right well.[270]

With the onset of War, images of masculinity in all the school magazines became militarised. Long lists of volunteers, names of those wounded and killed, countless photographs of Old Scholars in military uniform, letters written from the Front to the old school (sometimes telling of meetings of Old Scholars amid the devastation of war), poems celebrating heroic deeds and commemorating the fallen made the magazines during war-time, more than ever before, chronicles of heroes.*(Fig.VI)* Early in the war, the Old Scholars' Column in the St. Peter's College magazine announced that '[t]he clarion call to arms has gone forth in this distant part of the Empire. The School is responding nobly.' After commending the patriotism of the volunteers, the article concluded with an adapted quotation from Newbolt's 'Vitaï Lampada' which showed the close connection between sport and soldiering:

> May the voice of a schoolboy rally the ranks,
> Play up! play up! and play the game![271]

In August 1915, the magazine heartily congratulated those Old Scholars serving their country, calling them 'a great example to those stay-at-homes, whom one sees, unfortunately, too often blocking the street traffic'.[272] Military manhood had become the only acceptable model. 'Slackers' were also castigated in a poem in the *PAC Chronicle* in January 1916, which declared:

> Tis better far to fight and die
> Than at home to live in inglorious ease,

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269 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.3, September 1918, p.24.
270 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.11 No.3, September 1919, p.32.
271 *St Peter's School Magazine* No.86, August 1914, p.46.
272 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.89, August 1915, p.1.

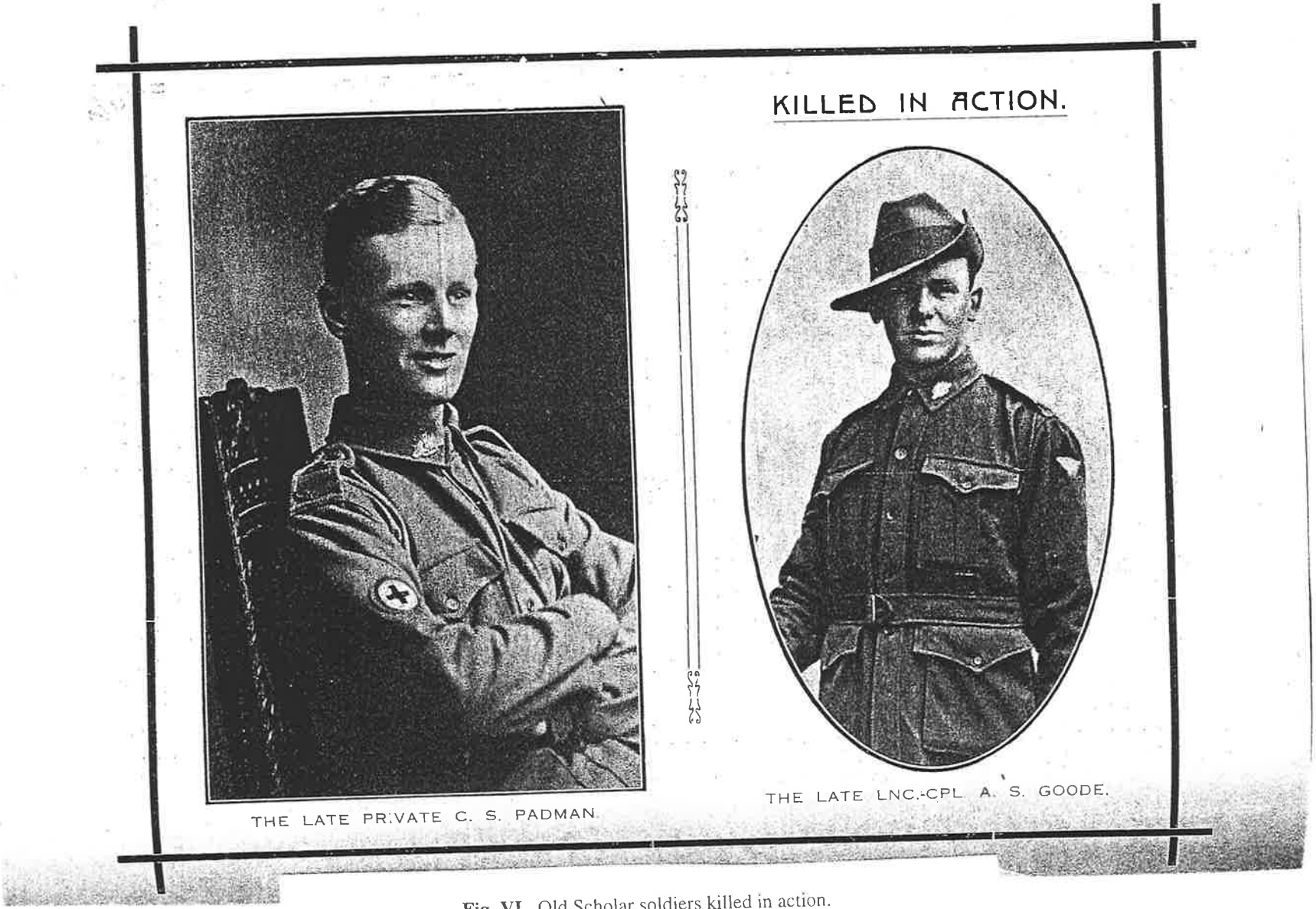


Fig. VI. Old Scholar soldiers killed in action.
Adelaide High School Magazine, Vol. 9 No.1, Easter 1917, p.10.

And sigh and long for the coming of peace![273]

Other poetry, such as 'The Men Who Have Died for You' and 'To an 'Old Saint'' - the latter subtitled *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* - commemorated the courage and patriotism of fallen Old Scholars.[274] There were some recruiting poems, such as one which asked:

Do you hear Australians calling,
Calling from the Dardanelles?
.... Hark! They're calling,
Coo-ee.[275]

A 13-year old 'Red' wrote an angry poem to 'the Huns', beginning:

You awful, murderous, 'Kultur'd' swine,
We'll drive and rout you over the Rhine.[276]

Prince Alfred listed its Old Scholars killed in war under the heading 'Pro Patria - the School will not forget' and the other schools used similar phrases. Photographs and letters from the Front described the battle scenes. Extracts of letters from former captain of the First XI and school Sports Captain, Alec Raws, appeared in the *Chronicle*, although his letters to family and friends, published decades later, would tell much more. His observations of the de-humanising, de-masculinising effects of war, where 'giants of strength [became] cowed and helpless' and 'iron veterans of Gallipoli ... gibbering lunatics',[277] stories of official incompetence and his conviction of the total absurdity of war, were not the stuff for school magazines.

The *CBC Annual* and the *Adelaide High School Magazine* had similar features during war-time. A collection of letters to CBC in 1917 drew the editorial comment that 'no letters are more

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273 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.114, January 1916, p.31.
274 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.94, May 1917, pp.11-12, 42.
275 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.114, January 1916, pp.28-29.
276 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.116, September 1916, p.13.
277 M. Young and B. Gammage (eds.), *Hail and Farewell: letters from two brothers killed in France in 1916*, Adelaide: Kangaroo Press, 1995, p.153. From a letter to a friend, 12 August 1916.

welcome at Alma Mater than those bearing the postmark of 'Somewhere in France' or of some place among the burning sands of Egypt or Syria.'[278] In 1915, two wounded heroes from the Dardanelles revisited Adelaide High School and related their experiences to an assembly.[279] A later issue contained a letter of commendation written by General Birdwood for Captain Robert Somerville, an Old Scholar who received the Distinguished Service Order for his war effort, and this appeared alongside a letter from a younger soldier, written a few days before his death.[280] The school's magazine for September 1918 printed a photograph of a torn and soiled page from the Christmas issue of 1917 featuring the Second XVIII, Premiers that year in the High Schools Association. The page had been found somewhere on the western battle-front.[281] *(Figs. VII and VIII)*

The courage and loyalty of Old Scholar soldiers were celebrated as the direct result of the ethos in which they had been educated: as Governor Galway expressed it, 'the love of the old school was what helped to carry the old boys on, and the feeling that, whatever happened, they must be worthy of her.'[282] This was made clear in a poem dedicated to a fallen soldier in the St. Peter's College magazine in May 1919:

> Loyal and true
> To the cherished white and blue,
> And the lesson learned afar
> Under the Southern Star -
> 'Pro Deo et Patria!'[283]

At the end of the war, the schools welcomed home their surviving soldiers. When PAC's Old Collegians' Association revived its annual dinner in 1919, 'nearly two hundred khaki-clad warriors' attended.[284] Welcoming the armistice, PAC's

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278 *CBC Annual* 1917, p.58, p.71.
279 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.3, September 1915, p.16.
280 *Adelaide High School* Vol.9 No.3, September 1917, p.16.
281 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.3, September 1918, p.21.
282 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.100, May 1919, p.6.
283 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.100, May 1919, pp.6-7.
284 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VIII No.125, p.234.

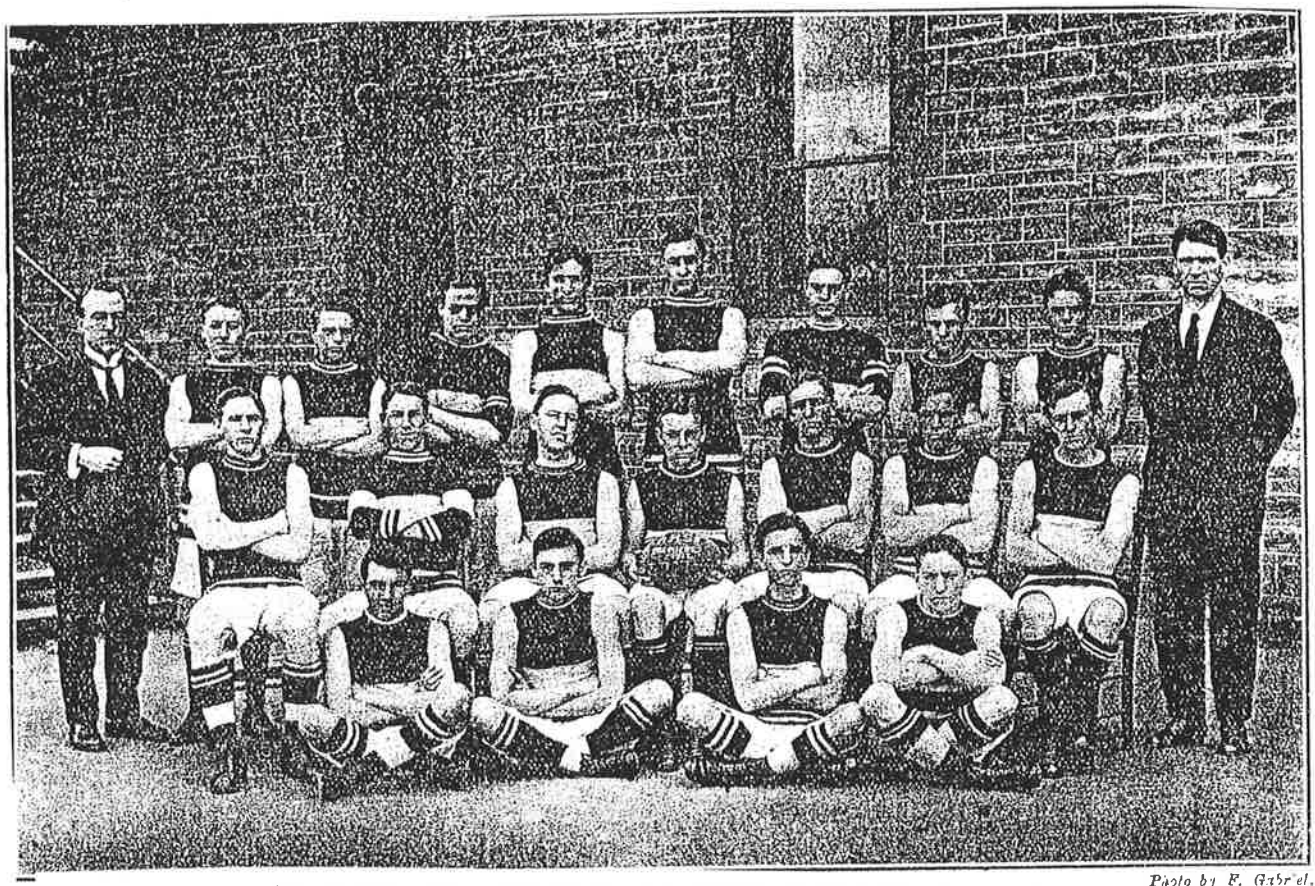


Fig. VII. The Second XVIII: Premiers 1917 in the High Schools' Association.
Adelaide High School Magazine, Vol. 9 No.4, Christmas 1917, p.36.

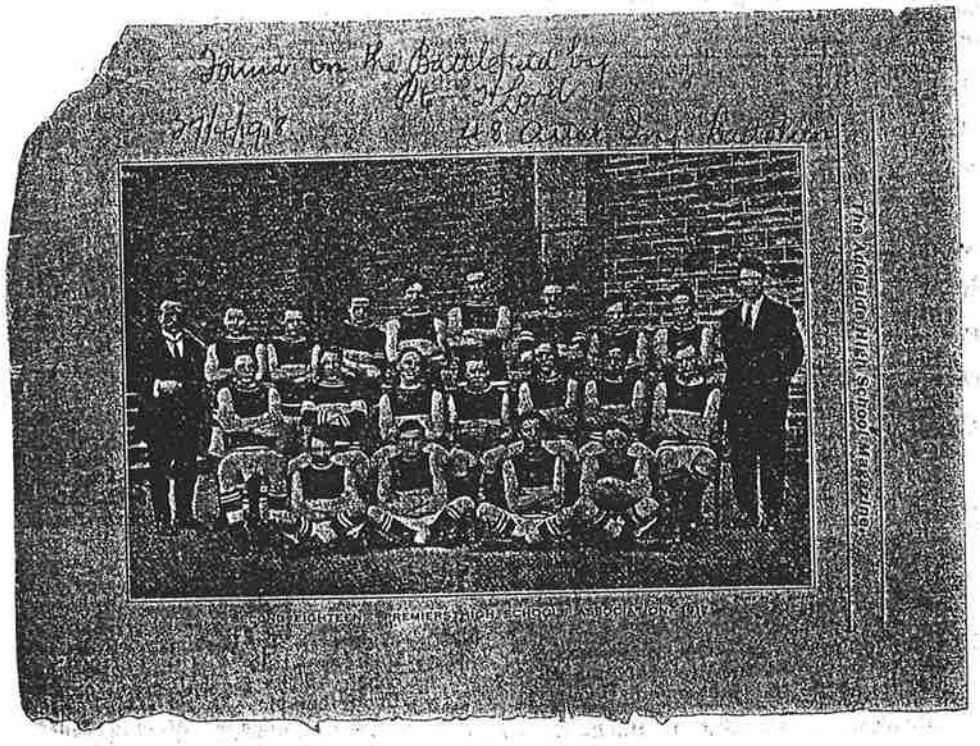


Fig. VIII. Found on the Battlefield.
The same page, found somewhere on a European battlefield, April 1918. *Adelaide High School Magazine*, Vol. 10 No.3, Michaelmas 1918, p.21.

magazine editorialised: 'Our school has fostered within its bounds the spirit that regards 'playing the game' as the most sacred of obligations.'[285] For boys like Clarrie Padman, a former Adelaide High School cricketer 'small in stature but with the heart of a lion', the 'game' had concluded in the ultimate sacrifice which fulfilled the noblest expectations of manhood:

> Well played, Paddy, well played![286]

285 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VIII No.125, p.185.
286 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.9 No.1, Easter 1917, p.11.

CHAPTER 6:

The boys' schools 1880-1919 -PART II:

Masculinities and national identities expressed in the formal school curriculum, 'extra-curricular' activities and physical education.

(A) THE CURRICULUM, recreational reading and debating.

The rhetoric and elements of school organisation examined in the preceding chapter showed the boys' schools' strong awareness of their role in the construction of masculinity and national identity, though they would not have expressed it in quite these terms. This section will examine programmes of study and textbooks used in various curriculum subjects to investigate their relevance to this construction process. It also considers prize books and other recommended recreational reading and school debating.

History

During this period, teachers - particularly those who were followers of Herbart - saw history and literature as the two subjects which held the most potential for moral instruction. Records of history and English courses at Prince Alfred and Saint Peter's Colleges from the 1880s show these subjects to have been steeped in British culture and values. English history was studied exclusively, and the syllabus typically covered events and dates in the reigns of specified English monarchs. For instance, syllabus records for 1882 at PAC indicate that in that year Form VIA studied '1066-1399', Fifth form 'William I to Edward I', and Fourth form 'Henry II to John'.[1] In the latter half of 1889, the course of study for the Lower Fifth covered the history of the Tudors and Stuarts and the Sovereigns of England

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[1] Scheme Books: Scheme of work for examinations 1882-1970, Prince Alfred College Archives, No.28. [unpaginated]

and their dates.[2] A history textbook published by Thomas Nelson and Sons, London in 1891 and used at PAC - *The 'Royal' History of England* - followed a pattern typical of history texts of the time. Its chapters progress chronologically, with a list of questions at the end of each. The effect is the Whiggish presentation of the nation's history as a pageant of progress in political liberty. The nature of the questions at the end of Chapter XX on 'The Constitution' illustrates this general approach:

> In whom is the Government of the British Empire vested? Wherein lies the strength of the constitution? Show how it represents different interests and classes.[3]

An appendix of short biographies contains a collection of heroes such as the Duke of Wellington, Nelson, Sir Thomas More, Francis Bacon, William Caxton, Lord Robert Clive, William Pitt, Mary Queen of Scots and Prince Albert - most of them male political or military leaders who won their fame in England or, like Clive, as men of Empire.

Saint Peter's College was using Cyril Ransome's histories of England in the late 1890s.[4] The tenor of Ransome's approach may be judged from a brief excerpt from the conclusion of one edition of his *Short History of England* :

> No other country in the world can look back upon such a long career of advancement in liberty, and at the same time of almost unbroken success as a conquering and colonizing people.[5]

In the early 1880s, a knowledge of history was encouraged by an annual prize awarded at both St. Peter's and PAC by local political identity Edwin T. Smith. Candidates in 1882 were examined on The Crusades, to be studied from prescribed

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2 *ibid.*

3 *The 'Royal' History of England. With maps, notes and questions,* London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1891, p.508. PAC Archives, No.601, (copy owned by R. F. Blaikie, Sixth form.)

4 School List, St. Peter's College 1896, 1897.

5 Quoted in Alan Barcan, 'The Evolution of History in N.S.W. Secondary Schools' in *Teaching History: the Journal of the History Teachers' Association of New South Wales*, No.8, October 1963, pp.8-14, p.10.

textbooks which included sections of Gibbon's *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* and Scott's *The Talisman* and *The Betrothed* - literature which would not fail to enhance an appreciation of the idea of empire and the British heritage, with literary embellishment.[6]

There is no evidence in the curricula of these secondary schools of 'an identifiable Australian history' which Trainor claims existed in the 1890s.[7] The histories of journalists James Allen (*History of Australasia 1787-1882)* and Andrew and George Sutherland (*The History of Australia,* Sydney 1895) were stories of Australian development, explorers and pioneers, written without an imperial framework, but these were apparently considered unsuitable, if they were considered at all.
For all the schools, textbooks for the Examination classes were prescribed by the University's Public Examinations Board. Questions set for the English History examinations illustrate the content of school history courses and the nature of pedagogy at the time. Most questions tested memory rather than capacity for judgment, as illustrated by three examples from the Junior Public Certificate examination in 1895 where students were asked to recall political events, genealogical trees and salient facts about famous people:

> Name the sovereigns from 1660 to the present day; give their dates, and their claims to the crown by birth.
>
> Who were the contending parties in the following wars? Name the chief events and give a few dates: - War of the Spanish Succession, Seven Years' War, Peninsular War.
>
> Assign events to these dates: - 1348, 1415, 1485, 1513, 1588, 1628, 1645, 1704, 1713, 1745, 1801, 1832.[8]

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[6] *School List* December 1881.

[7] L. Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism, manipulation, conflict and compromise in the late nineteenth century,* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.168-171. Trainor's study was based on New South Wales and Victoria, and did not concern schools specifically.

[8] *Manual of the Public Examinations Board,* Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1896, p. E13.

Candidates for the Senior Public in the same year, using S. R. Gardiner's *The Age of the Stuarts* were asked to answer seven questions in their two-hour paper, among them:

> Explain these terms: - Elector Palatine, Impeachment, Bill of Attainder, Tonnage and Poundage, Navigation Act.
>
> Narrate the military events of 1644.
>
> Give an account of the Parliamentary Session of 1629.
> 'Charles was not wrong in dissolving such a Parliament.'
> Why?[9]

The wording of the last question did not invite impartial consideration, nor would time have permitted a lengthy answer: students had, no doubt, been prepared to give a short explanation. The Senior paper for 1898 raised appreciative comments from St Peter's College, where some pride was obviously taken in more than merely rote learning: Questions such as:

> Explain the policy of the Norman kings with respect to the church in England.

and

> What had been the nature and tendency of land tenure in England before the conquest?
> How far was it modified by William I.?

required more understanding than those set in previous years. The magazine stated:

> The History Paper was an excellent one, and should help towards discrimination between a cramming preparation and the teaching that covers something more than mere facts and dreary dates.[10]

Examination papers towards the end of the century indicate a trend towards the study of imperial history, as advocated by Seeley in England and George Wood, professor of history at Sydney University from 1891. For instance, Credit candidates in the Senior Public examination in 1899 were asked questions

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[9] *PEB Manual* 1896 p.E38.
[10] *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol. VIII No.35, December 1898, p.54.

about the American Civil War and the Indian Mutiny.[11] *Round the Empire* - a textbook written for English children by Imperial Federationist George Parkin in 1892 - was studied at PAC in 1904.[12] The book took the form of a tour round the Empire, illustrating its immensity and diversity and drawing moral lessons of responsibility. A quotation from Milton adjacent to the title page attributed the greatness of Empire to the grace of God:

> Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Britannick Empire to a glorious and enviable heighth, with all her Daughter Hands about her, stay us in this felicitie.

A Preface by Lord Rosebery expressed the hope 'that the youth of our race will learn from this book how great is their inheritance and their responsibility.'[13] The last chapter told readers that the common interest in prosperity and peace made it essential for the Empire to 'hold together and present a united front to the world', adding:

> We have a right to be proud of our nation, and to build it up still further ... [for] no nation ever had such great opportunities for doing noble work.'[14]

Comparison of Public Examination papers from 1906, 1912 and 1919 (Table II) reveals a progressive broadening of scope which is particularly evident in the Higher Public.[15] The University had appointed its first Professor of History, Professor George Henderson, in 1902, and this broadening of the syllabus undoubtedly reflects his influence. First, questions relating to empire were included, then Australian questions, and, in 1919, a question relating to world history. The Junior and Senior examination questions continued to focus chiefly on English (rather than broader British) political and military history.

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11 *PEB Manual* 1900, p.47.

12 Scheme Books, PAC Archives 28/2.

13 G. R. Parkin, *Round the Empire*, London: Cassell and Company, 1892 [1901 edition], p.vi.

14 Parkin, *Round the Empire*, p.262.

15 The Higher Public Examination was introduced by the Public Examinations Board in 1901 as the highest school examination.

Year	Junior	Senior	Higher
1906			
England	4	5	3
Empire	1	0	3
Australia	0	0	0
1912			
England	4	5	2
Empire	1	0	2
Australia	0	0	1 +1part
1919			
England	4	5	2
Empire	1part	1	1
Australia	0	0	2
World	0	0	1

Table II: Comparison of the number of questions relating to England, Empire, and Australia in Junior, Senior and Higher Public history examinations in South Australia, 1906, 1912 and 1919.[16]

Higher Public candidates in 1906 answered questions concerning the growth of English power in India, responsible government in Canada and 'our present position in Egypt' - the use of the pronoun 'our' to denote the shared imperial citizenship being a typical wording.[17] In 1912 (in the subject by now renamed Modern History) there was one Australian question, which concerned responsible self-government in New South Wales, and part of another question asked for notes on Governor Arthur.[18] In 1919, there were two Australian questions and one relating to the German Empire and the Congress of Versailles, demonstrating a broadening of the syllabus and some consideration of near-contemporary history as a result of the War.[19]

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16 *PEB Manual* 1907, 1913, 1920.
17 *PEB Manual* 1907, p.157.
18 *PEB Manual* 1913, p.104.
19 *PEB Manual* 1920, p.112.

Gardiner's *Student's History of England, Volume II*, which covered the period from 1509 to 1689 - divided into 'The Renascence and the Reformation', 'The Puritan Revolution' and 'The Political Revolution' - was often set for the Senior Public Examination during the first decade of the twentieth century. Largely a story of the progress of political liberty, Gardiner's second volume gave little space to ideas: 'German Lutheranism', for instance, is given less than a page and is discussed within a political context.[20] Where Australian history was studied, it was as part of imperial history. For the Higher Public in 1911, Gardiner's Volume III (1689-1885) and A. W. Jose's *History of Australasia* were studied. Trainor has called Jose's work 'the best attempt to marry Australian historiography and the imperial theme.'[21] Jose saw Australian history as essentially a story of British ingenuity and benevolence, as his Preface to *Australasia* illustrates:

> Since we Britons first discovered that the toil of nation-making was peculiarly suited to our tastes and powers, we have set ourselves many problems in colonization .... [w]e chose a region that was scarcely more than the raw material of a country .... we peopled it for a beginning with men whom we were not disposed to retain in England: we made upon it all manner of experiments, and later on left it to its own devices .... Our reward is, that the Australian Commonwealth to-day is sturdily proud of its British blood, yet no less sturdy in the resolve to develop on its own lines with its own brains the freedom which is the traditional heritage of our race.[22]

There is a brief section on Aborigines which begins:

> Not often in the world's history have white men come upon a land so empty as was Australia in 1788. Its story, in fact, would lack little of completeness even if its aborigines went altogether unnoticed.[23]

In a section on Australia's social development, Jose attempts to identify the character of 'The Australian':

> Self-reliant, self-confident - inclined to undervalue the knowledge of others, but always quick to utilize and eager to add to his own - less educated than the Englishman of his own class, but more capable of education, more widely interested in matters outside himself - the

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20 S. R. Gardiner, *A Student's History of England, Vol.II, A.D. 1509-1689*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1891, pp.377-79.

21 Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism*, p.173.

22 A. W. Jose, *Australasia*, London, 1901, pp.v-vi.

23 Jose, *Australasia*, p.132.

> Australian knows one supreme virtue, that of comradeship; one fatal vice, that of treachery.... Mateship ... may be, if we choose, the bond of Empire in the coming years.[24]

Trainor has called Jose's history 'the counterpart to [Jebb's] Colonial Nationalism'[25], since Jose recognises an Australian nationalism and attempts to integrate it into the future of Empire. Essentially, though, the orientation was imperial. 'Drum and trumpet history', a concentration on the political and military achievements of England or the Empire, continued. A student at PAC during this period later wrote of T. F. Tout's *History of the British Empire* that it was 'mostly a record of wars and royalty'.[26] The teaching methods were often unimaginative: the same student recalled his teacher's usual method was 'to get us to underline what he considered the important passages in the textbook, and then learn those parts 'quietly'. He adds: 'We were not encouraged to seek information from books other than the texts .... Little or no discussion took place in class.'[27] At St. Peter's College, British political and military history remained the staple diet, learned from Gardiner, Jose, Tout and (in the Sixth) Warner and Marten's *Groundwork to the Industrial Revolution.* A typical entry in a St. Peter's Fifth Former's homework diary in 1913 was 'Learn George III'.[28] During the war years, some variety was introduced with the 'history of war and places connected with it' included in the syllabus for 1915.[29]

In Term I of 1916, an 'Australian Explorers' segment was taught, from newly-arrived textbooks unnamed in the St. Peter's College records.[30] This was possibly *Stories of Australian Exploration* , which was set in 1919 for Third Form at PAC.[31] Written by Charles Long, Inspector of Schools in Victoria, this

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24 Jose, *Australasia*, p.156.
25 Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism*, p.173.
26 D. D. Harris, *Fun Without Games,* p.20,
27 Harris, *ibid.*, p.28.
28 Diary in Scrapbook/Album compiled by Cyril Thomas, SPCA 601.
29 Examination results [Class averages] 1915, SPCA 186/1.
30 Examination results [Class averages] 1916, SPCA 186/1.
31 Scheme Books, PACA 28/2.

text was used in Victorian Primary schools.[32] The Preface to the first edition - dated 'Waterloo Day, 1903' - expresses the hope that 'our forefathers' deeds of courage and self-sacrifice' will be 'a valuable aid to the development of strenuous character'.[33] The journals of the explorers are extensively used, giving students the (perhaps new) experience of reading from primary sources, and the hardships of exploring the Australian continent are vividly depicted.*(Fig. IX)* In the preface to the second edition (1913), the author remarks that Australian exploration now has a place in Victorian schools as an introductory study to British History. Further indication of a British focus is contained in the quotation at the beginning of the book, from Tennyson's 'In Memoriam', which affirms the strenuous imperial British character of the (mostly British) explorers:

> One equal temper of heroic hearts,
> Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

Their courageous exploits in the face of a hostile environment and 'warlike natives'[34] were a continuation of the tradition of genius and adventure that had built the empire. The author's intention seems to have been the encouragement of an 'Anglo-Australian' nationalism, but this text may have indirectly encouraged an identity which was more uniquely Australian by contributing to students' appreciation of the land and their sense of identification with the country of their birth.

It can be noted that most of the history textbooks studied at Prince Alfred and St. Peter's colleges expressed views identical with those identified by Chancellor in her aforementioned analysis of textbooks used by British school students in the late nineteenth century. An imperial focus, which emphasised the 'grandeur of British dominions and the ideal of empire', the idea

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[32] A. R. Trethewey, 'Social and Educational Influences on the Definition of a Subject: History in Victoria, 1850-1954', in P. W. Musgrave (ed.), *Contemporary Studies in the Curriculum*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1974, pp.95-112, p.102.

[33] C. R. Long, *Stories of Australian Exploration*, Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., 1903, 1913 edition, Preface.

[34] *ibid.* e.g. p.174.

Three times, he set out, but did not succeed. On the last occasion, the horses had to do without water for 101 hours, during which period they travelled only 112 miles. Two of them went mad, and Stuart nearly lost his life through the bolting of his horse into some scrub, which tore him from the saddle. At this time, too, he was suffering from scurvy, and could swallow nothing but boiled flour.

9. But he remained as dauntless as ever, and went back to the northward route. The party forced a way, in spite of their sufferings, to a point 250 miles distant from the Gulf of Carpentaria, where they had the misfortune to come upon a tribe of warlike natives. These set fire to the grass, and, then, under cover of the smoke, advanced in open order upon the intruders, yelling and throwing their boomerangs and spears. A volley checked their rush, and gave the white men time to retreat, and round up their packhorses, which had bolted.

10. As soon as Stuart and his companions had put some distance between themselves and their enemies, the question of returning home was considered. Three men were too few to fight their way onward; moreover, they were sick, their horses were worn out, and their provisions exhausted; so they decided to return. They reached Adelaide in October, and received great credit for what they had accomplished.

11. Aided by a grant of £2,500 from the South Australian Government, Stuart, in less than two months, was retracing his steps at the head of a fairly large party. **Attack Creek**, his farthest north on the previous occasion, was reached on the 24th of April, 1861; but, strange to say, the natives who

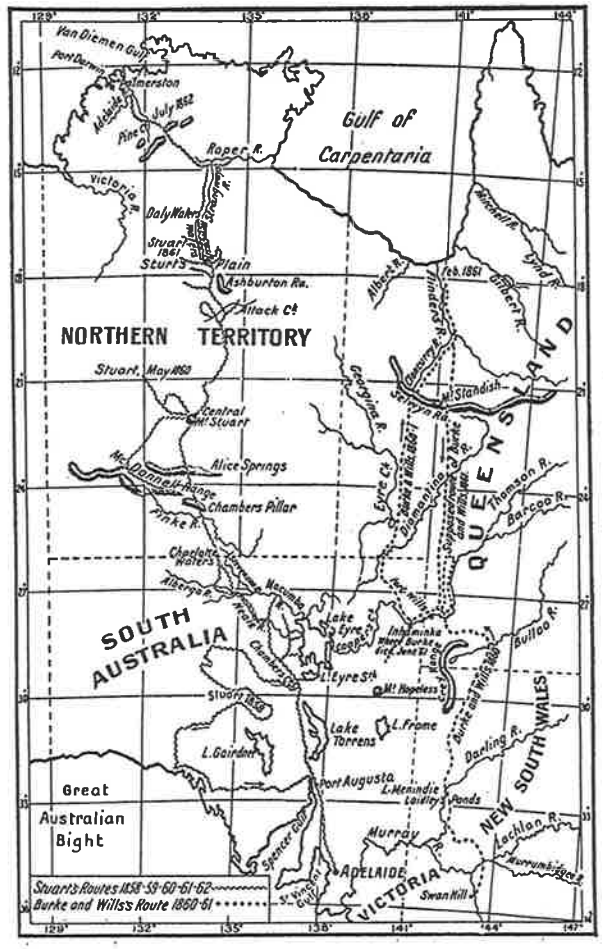


Fig. IX. An Australian history textbook.
C. R. Long, *Stories of Australian Exploration*, Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1903. Revised edition, 1913, pp.174-5. (From Chapter XXIII: 'With Stuart across the Continent', pp.170-8.)

of 'a noble, national stereotype compared to inferior races' and 'homilies on the need for patriotic duty' were messages that students in South Australia, too, absorbed on a daily basis from their textbooks. But Chancellor also observed evidence of a critical attitude, which judged the actions of empire according to the moral standards of the day and laid stress on the moral obligations inherent in the exercise of power.[35] This last aspect is characteristic of the history textbooks studied in South Australia, particularly in Lord Rosebery's comments in the Preface to *Round the Empire,* quoted above, and is also observable on the many occasions when headmasters, especially Girdlestone and Chapple, exhorted boys to uphold the great tradition of the British race. At least in the pre-war period, the boys were called not to a blind allegiance, but a thoughtful patriotism which demanded the high moral standards believed worthy of the British heritage.

A student's homework diary from 1911 at Adelaide High School indicates that history was taught at that school with similar emphases as at the two colleges above. A typical night's homework was to learn notes on a specific topic, such as Magna Carta, the Corn Laws or the reign of Elizabeth.[36] Although all schools were required to use texts prescribed by the university for Examination classes, there is some indication that history lessons at CBC afforded the Brothers an opportunity to present a Catholic and/or Irish interpretation as a corrective to perceived misrepresentations. A history textbook belonging to a CBC student in 1905, *A History of England for Catholic Schools* by E. Wyatt-Davies (published in England in 1903) aimed at correcting some previous historians' comments about the Reformation by producing a 'candid statement of the changes which were carried out'.[37] This was a textbook written in England for Catholic students, and there is no reference to the Irish grievance. This 'alternative' text included comments on the character of Henry VIII - who 'seemed indeed to represent

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35 Chancellor, *History for their Masters*, pp.137-8.

36 Diary of Arnold Ramster, 1911. Adelaide High School Archives.

37 E. Wyatt-Davies, *A History of England for Catholic Schools*, London: Longmans Green and Co., 1903, P.*viii*.

in his person both the glories and the evils of the Renaissance, the splendour of its achievement in the development of men's intellectual and artistic powers, together with the heartless gratification of the basest passions'. It was the latter side, Henry's 'true character - brutal, imperious, sensual -' which was revealed towards the end of his reign, bringing about 'a scene of religious and social discontent'.[38] Mary Tudor's treatment of the Protestant martyrs was explained by the fact that she 'shared the universal belief of her time, that it was the duty of the civil power to put down erroneous doctrine, a belief held by Protestants as well as Catholics', and the author concedes that 'however great the errors of opinion or conduct of the Protestant martyrs, no one would refuse a tribute of respect to the courage with which they met their terrible punishment.'[39] Some features of this book were fairly typical of mainstream British histories; for instance, in the final chapter a tribute to Queen Victoria, whose death 'fell with the weight of a personal sorrow ... on every quarter of the globe and upon all classes and races', and a statement of the responsibilities of the British Empire, whose greatness will depend 'on the wisdom and steadfastness with which Great Britain and her sons beyond the seas continue to uphold the principles of morality and justice.[40]

There is some evidence of Australian history being taught at the college: the 1911 *Annual* mentioned that the Fourth class (which still used the Fourth Reader) was being given 'supplementary readings from Australian History',[41] which were possibly from C. R. Long's book on Australian explorers mentioned above. Given the Australian content in the magazine of Adelaide High School, it is likely that some Australian history, and possibly Long's book, was taught there as well.

English literature

English literature, possibly to an even greater extent than history, provided edifying material for inculcating patriotism

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38 *ibid.* p.201.
39 *ibid,* pp.229-230.
40 *ibid.* pp.512, 514.
41 *CBC Annual* 1911, p.65.

and ideals of masculinity and femininity. Classics of poetry and prose gave ennobled pictures of prominent historical characters and an idealised view of British history. Verses were recited aloud ('declaimed') as reading practice and were committed to memory - sometimes for life! At PAC during the 1880s, recitation, reading and poetry lessons informed the boys about the English past through classics such as Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* and *The Vicar of Wakefield*.[42] The latter gives views of male and female roles and gendered ideals of character: the male hero, Dr. Primrose, is the font of wisdom, rationality and morality for his wife and family, while the female characters are always prone to vanity and frivolity. Primrose recalls happy days when dinner hour in the home - 'the little republic to which I gave laws' - was 'taken up in innocent mirth between my wife and daughters and in philosophical arguments between my son and me.'[43] Such reading reinforced the idea that serious, rational thought was the province of the male, and not the female, mind.

Poetry classics included 'The Village Blacksmith', Gray's 'Elegy in a Country Churchyard' and numerous poems engendering loyalty to Britain, such as 'The Flag of England' and 'Rule Britannia', stirring poems of adventure and chivalry like Scott's 'Young Lochinvar' (with its hero 'so daring in love, and so dauntless in war') and, for senior students, Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*.[44] From anthologies such as Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, students learned to recite English classics such as Shelley's 'Ode to a Skylark', Gray's 'Elegy' and Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty'. The Upper Fourth in 1904 studied Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner', learning the whole of Part One by heart. In 1918, the Lower Third read *David Copperfield* and *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.[45]

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[42] Scheme Books, PAC.
[43] O. Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, London: Collins Library of Classics n.d., p.16, p.38.
[44] Scheme Books, PAC, 1882-89.
[45] *ibid.*

Literature classes at St. Peter's had a similar fare: Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion* and an anthology called *Poems of England* were among the texts set for 1897.[46] The *Laureate Poetry* anthology introduced boys to classics such as 'My Heart's in the Highlands', 'The Warden of the Cinque Ports', 'Daffodils' and 'The Charge of the Light Brigade'.[47] The last-mentioned, Tennyson's celebration of the heroism of the 'noble six hundred', was quoted by his son, South Australian Governor Lord Tennyson, at Speech Day in 1901 in an address on character and the masculine duty to face danger bravely.[48] This is one of the poems chosen by Parker in *The Old Lie* to illustrate his contention that English public school boys were indoctrinated with romanticised images of war as a glorious game in which it was an honour to participate and to die for one's country.[49] Some change is apparent in the course for 1917 and 1918, when boys in Fifth Form were asked to learn Australian titles such as 'The Federal Song', 'Australian Anthem', 'Song of the Cattle Hunters', 'Over the Range' and 'Where the Pelican Builds'.[50] Nevertheless, in 1919, Fifth and Sixth Forms were still reciting 'The Light Brigade', Grey's 'Elegy' and 'Ode to a Skylark'.[51]

Tennyson occupied a prominent place among the poets studied. An article in the *Prince Alfred Chronicle* in 1886 commended his belief in the progress of the human race and his 'noble ideal of human character' and stated that 'rarely has a poet gained during his lifetime such a hold on the minds and hearts of his countrymen'. Recommended above all was 'the noble portrait of his lost friend, Arthur Hallam, ['In memoriam'] which is unequalled by anything of its kind in the whole realm of

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46 School List St. Peter's College 1896.

47 *Examination results [Class averages]* 1915, 1916, SPCA 186/1.

48 *Observer* 21 December 1901, p.36b.

49 Parker, *The Old Lie: the great war and the public school ethos*, London: Constable, 1987, p.138. The title of Parker's book is taken from a poem by Wilfred Owen which describes the effect of a gas attack on a young soldier and condemns those who perpetrate 'The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est/Pro patria mori.' p.250.

50 *Examination results [Class averages]* 1917, 1918, SPCA 186/1.

51 *Examination results [Class averages]* 1919, SPCA 186/1.

literature.'[52] It was from Tennyson, probably more than from history texts *per se,* that students learned of the character of heroes such as King Arthur, or the cavalrymen of the Light Brigade, patriotically riding

> Into the jaws of Death,
> Into the mouth of Hell

and were exhorted 'to strive, to seek to find and not to yield' in the pursuit of the high ideals of their cultural heritage. In this sense, English texts played an important role in imparting to Australian boys a historical consciousness which was patriotically British.

Public examination classes in the 1880s and 1890s studied set literature texts which included works of Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Scott and Longfellow. The Shakespearean plays set for the Senior Public in the years 1894-1900 included Macbeth (twice), Julius Caesar, Richard II and The Tempest. In their study of Shakespearean plays, it is doubtful that boys in the late nineteenth century would have had much awareness of the psychological complexities identified by modern Shakespearean scholars. Coppélia Kahn's work on masculine identity in Shakespeare highlights his questioning of the unconscious attitudes which governed Elizabethan society's definitions of masculinity and femininity, and his male characters' struggles to establish and protect their masculine identity.[53] It is more likely that appropriate universal moral lessons were derived, such as the warning to avoid too much brooding over broken hopes when action is needed, which emanated from a discussion of *Hamlet* in the *CBC Annual* of 1907.[54] Examination questions were most often related to the mechanics of language, asking for paraphrases of lines or an account of a scene, with only occasionally a more analytical question such as:

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52 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol. II No.9, April 1886, pp.12-13.

53 C. Kahn, *Man's Estate: masculine identity in Shakespeare,* University of California Press, Berkeley: 1981.

54 *CBC Annual* 1907, pp.34-5.

Contrast the character of Macbeth before and after the slaying of Duncan.[55]

Students in the 1890s may, however, have had (or been given) opinions on, for example, the appropriateness of the behaviour of Lady Macbeth, who convinces her husband to commit murder (and, in Kahn's view, to thus prove his manhood).[56] Certainly her assertiveness and strength of character were in strong contrast to the usually passive, gentle and often weak heroines in much of English literature. In 1897, the *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* published a *Register* report of a lecture on Lady Macbeth given by Chapple to the Young Men's Society, in which he spoke of her as 'a lady of the rarest powers and a thorough woman.' He particularly admired her indomitable will and energy and the love for her husband which was 'the keynote of her conduct'. He identified her faults as generic to humankind, warning that her fall was 'a scathing warning to those who had pride, overweening self-reliance, and a lack of readiness to enter the kingdom as children.'[57]

Scott's *Ivanhoe, Lady of the Lake, Marmion* and *Quentin Durward* were often set for Junior or Senior examinations during the 1890s. Newsome has written of Victorian England's fascination with the medieval past 'either out of nostalgia or for a definite social, cultural or political purpose [which] never seemed to slacken' [58] and which Scott's romantic historical works served both to satisfy and perpetuate. Educationists saw moral value in their stories of chivalric courage and honour.

Shakespeare's *Richard II* and Pope's *Essay on Man* formed major parts of the Higher Public Examination for 1907.[59] Milton, Ruskin and Macaulay were also regularly set. While history examination papers demonstrate a broadening focus during this period, the Higher Public English syllabus shows no

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55 Senior Public Examination, 1985, *PEB Manual* 1896, p.E38.

56 Kahn, *Man's Estate*, p.151.

57 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.III No.14, July 1897, p.10.

58 D. Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture: perceptions and introspections in an age of change*, London: John Murray, 1997, p.189 and pp.177-190 *passim*.

59 *PEB Manual 1907*, p.25.

such change. For the 1919 examination, students studied a totally English offering: Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, a Browning anthology and essays by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Carlyle and Leigh Hunt.[60] In post-war South Australia in 1920, the Examinations Board still did not consider any Australian literature appropriate for public examinations and candidates were still directed to Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* to learn such classics as 'Ode to Duty', 'Ode to the west wind' and 'Ode on a Grecian Urn'.[61]

Prizes

Books, specially bound and ceremonially presented, were regularly awarded as prizes to successful students. At PAC, prize books were bound in red and embossed in gold lettering with a drawing of the school building on the front cover and a label inside bearing the awardee's name, the reason for the prize and the headmaster's signature. Yearly prizes were presented by the Governor, and one student's neat inscription inside the cover of his prize book indicates an appreciation of this honour:

> Handed to me by Sir Thomas Fowel[l] Buxton, His Excellency the Governor of South Australia, at Adelaide Town Hall.[62]

An outstanding student could build quite a collection: in 1897, H. J. Priest was presented with Edwin Hodder's *Heroes of Britain in Peace and War*, in 1898 he won *Loyal Hearts: a tale of the days of Queen Bess*, at Mid-Winter 1899 *The Queen's Empire: a pictorial and descriptive record* and at the finish of his school career in December 1899 *Scott's Poetical Works* (for passing his Senior) and *Ivanhoe* (for coming first in Sixth form).[63] This young man would have left school imbued with stories of Britain's military and adventurer heroes and the greatness of her empire, and some prevailing nineteenth

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60 *PEB Manual* 1919, p.52.
61 *PEB Manual* 1920, p.52.
62 Book awarded to C. F. W. Temme, third place in Upper Third form, Christmas 1896, PACA 648/4.
63 PACA 35.

century ideas relating to British racial superiority. *The Queen's Empire* is a survey which contains several photos representing coloured skinned people as curiosities far inferior to the British; for instance, one photo of 'Nine little niggers: a scene in the Bahamas' depicts an elegantly dressed Englishwoman in front of a small dwelling, surrounded by native people. A caption underneath expresses the hope that 'the whole of the little black family who are sitting on the cart, and who form so droll a background to the charming English lady in front' are not all from the one tiny cottage, and continues with a comment about 'the ideal of the Negro - all play and no work, something to get and nothing to do'.[64]

Further examples of prizes at PAC during this period include W. H. Fitchett's *Deeds that won the Empire* (a book of heroic imperial achievements written by a Melbourne Methodist minister), a book of *Old English Ballads*, Sir Walter Scott's *The Talisman* and Macaulay's *Historical Essays*.[65] Some prize books encouraged the school's interest in natural science; for instance, third prize in Fourth Form in 1910 was an illustrated book about the flora and fauna of the sea and seashore.[66]

The Lady Galway Belgium Book, edited by the wife of the Governor, and, not surprisingly, strongly pro-imperial and British-Australian, was given to first prize certificate winners at PAC during the war and was sold widely to raise funds for Belgian Relief. A chapter on 'Poetry and War' described the consoling value during war-time of poetry such as Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty' and urged the reading of poets such as Rupert Brooke and Henry Newbolt, who expressed undying love for England. A female author contributed a romantic short story about a girl who discovers her young man is a 'slacker' and bravely tells him: 'I could never marry any

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64 *The Queen's Empire: a pictorial and descriptive record: illustrated from photographs*, London: Cassell, 1897, p.275. PACA 35.

65 PACA 648/3, 648/8, 1035, 648/7.

66 W. P. Westall, *The Story of the Sea and the Seashore*, PACA 1035. The content was not specifically Australian.

man who had not been to the war.'[67] *(Fig. X)* Rev. Henry Howard, a prominent South Australian Methodist Minister, contributed an article defending the morality of Britain's involvement in the war and urging all people of the empire to live by the traditionally high moral standards of the British race. There were articles on Belgium and a comparison (by Professor Henderson) of the domineering intentions of Germany and the liberal, humanitarian motives of Britain. Australian content included chapters on the Australian Navy, South Australian Flowers, Macquarie Island (by Sir Douglas Mawson) and two chapters on the emergence of an 'Australian type' ('The Soul of Australia: a study of the Ordinary Australian' by Rev. Alfred Gifford and 'Australian Character' by Winnifred Scott).

At CBC, the Brothers' Reading Books, published in Ireland, had been at first the only texts used: an early advertisement of the intention to open the Christian Brothers College announced that '[n]o books are used but those published by the Brothers'.[68] The demands of public examinations and the availability of other resources, including Australian material, soon necessitated a change. There was also a recognition on the part of the Brothers, and probably the parents, of the need for something distinctly Australian which would relate the boys' studies to their own land. The Brothers wrote to their superiors in Ireland in 1880 that 'the total absence of all allusions to Australian matters in the Reading Books has been, and continues to be, a just cause of complaint.'[69]

The *Third Book* contained selections on religious and moral topics, such as 'Heaven', 'Honesty Rewarded' and several chapters on Scripture History, and hymns to St Patrick and St. Bridget. Nature study sections (e.g. 'The Woodpecker' and 'the Robin') related, of course, to life in the Northern Hemisphere.[70] The *Sixth Book* contained a rich variety of material with a

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67 M. C. Galway (ed.), *Lady Galway Belgium Book*, Adelaide: Hussey and Gillingham Ltd., 1916, p.24.

68 *Advertiser* January 13, 1879.

69 Quoted in Healy, *Christian Brothers College*, p.37.

70 *Third Book of Reading Lessons*, Dublin: The Christian Brothers, 1897. Table of Contents. CBCA.



"I could never marry any Man
who had not been to the War"

Fig. X. Patriotic femininity.
M. C. Galway (ed.), *Lady Galway Belgium Book,* Adelaide: Hussey and Gillingham Ltd., 1916, p.24.

distinct Irish bias but a preference in the literary sections for English classics. Contents included a section on the English language, including lists of Saxon-English, Latin and Greek prefixes and roots, Religious Lessons (e.g. God, the Sacraments, Prayer), Scientific Lessons, then Historical and Biological Lessons (which included readings on Edward the Confessor, the Landing of Saint Patrick in Ireland, Lives of the Saints, the Character of Bruce (by Scott), Christian Art, and Learned Irishmen of the Eleventh Century). A section entitled Eloquence of the Pulpit, Senate, Bar, etc. includes the Magna Carta, as an eloquent documentation of English liberty. Short Declamatory Pieces in Prose and Verse and Poetical Lessons included excerpts from Shakespeare and poetry by Byron ('Waterloo') Scott ('The Last Minstrel') and Tennyson ('The Charge of the Light Brigade'). The Preface states that the aim of the book is to 'enlarge the views, whilst it stimulates the feelings of the student, preparing him to recognise intellectual merit under all its local forms and varieties', thus teaching 'the heart and the understanding'.[71] The English selections were perhaps sometimes modified. In the 1896 issue of *The Christian Brothers Educational Record* - a Dublin publication which circulated among communities of Christian Brothers overseas, informing them on religious news and on matters relating to their teaching - there are notes to aid the teaching of Byron's poem "The Battle of Waterloo" in the *Sixth Book*. The famous battle is depicted as a contest between France and 'England, aided by Prussian and Netherland Troops, under Wellington', which 'would probably have been a drawn one, but for the timely arrival of the Prussians under Blucher'.[72]

A student's essay which survives from 1892 leaves no doubt that the boys were taught to revere Irish heroes. On the topic 'Patriotism', the student wrote: 'Robert Emmet was one of the greatest patriots that ever lived.'[73] Heroic saints, particularly

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[71] *Sixth Book*, New Edition [n.d.]. Owned by a student in Sixth Class, 1891. CBCA. Contents pages, Preface, p.*iii*.

[72] *Educational Record*, 1896, pp.486-88.

[73] Essay dated June 15 1892 in exercise book belonging to James Haskett, CBCA. Emmet (1778-1803) led an unsuccessful uprising in Dublin in 1803 in which fifty men were killed. He was subsequently betrayed and executed.

Irish ones (including St. Patrick as an honorary Irishman) abound in the pages of the Reading Books; the *Educational Record* of 1895 contains a lengthy chapter on Saints and Scholars of Ancient Erin.[74] The 1898 issue features a chapter entitled 'A Family of Heroes: an historical study' on another of the traditional Irish heroes, Brian Boru, 'the most illustrious of the Christian Kings of Erin', whose words, 'I give my soul to God and my body to Armagh' exemplified the combination of religious and patriotic duty.[75]

Geography

Geography as studied at the end of the century was largely a study of landforms and the chief physical features of various countries: for instance, in 1883, the lower Fifth at PAC studied Sweden, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Turkey, Spain and Portugal.[76] But some texts were intended to encourage more than memorisation of names of bays and capes and rivers: the preface to Geikie's *Elementary Lessons in Physical Geography* (London 1884), which was set for public examinations from the mid-1890s, stated that the aim of the book was to encourage habits of inquiry and observation of physical phenomena and to cultivate what Geikie saw as 'the grand object of science': 'to gain a deeper insight into the harmony and beauty of creation, with a yet profounder reverence for Him who made and who upholds it all.'[77]

There was some Australian content in examination questions: for instance, in the 1895 Senior Public examination, candidates in Physical Geography were asked:

> Under what special geological conditions does artesian water occur? Quote Australian examples, if possible.
>
> Describe the climate of Central Australia, explaining by what causes it is produced, and how it is modified.[78]

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[74] *Educational Record*, 1895, pp.140-147.
[75] *Educational Record*, 1898, pp.107-117.
[76] Scheme Books, PACA.
[77] A. Geikie, *Elementary Lessons in Physical Geography*, Macmillan and Co., London: 1884, Preface pp.vii-ix; p.356.
[78] *PEB Manual* 1896,

Geikie's text contained very little material on individual countries. References to Australia occur mainly in a sub-section in the last chapter on the flora and fauna of different biological regions; the section on artesian wells does not refer to Australia at all.[79] If teachers did not supplement the text with Australian information, students would not have learned much about their own country in geography lessons. A student's homework exercise book from the Primary class at Adelaide High School in 1911 indicates a substantial Australian content. Individual maps of the Australian states were drawn and the main physical features filled in. For instance, one night's homework was a carefully-drawn full-page map of Victoria with rivers, mountains, capes and bays filled in from a given list.[80]

The availability of Griffith Taylor's Australian geography texts helped provide Australian content. One of these was used at St. Peter's College in 1916.[81] Examination syllabuses also prescribed *The Geography of South Australia,* written in 1909 by Walter Howchin, a lecturer in geology and palæntology at the University of Adelaide.[82] The author explained in the preface that '[e]very South Australian child should know something of the land in which he lives - the circumstances of its foundation, the heroic work done by its explorers, the growth of its industries, and the principles of its Government.'[83] The author's belief in the interrelationship of a country's geography and its history ('The physical features of a country are determining factors in its history and possibilities'[84]) resulted in a broad-ranging text covering historical, commercial and

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79 Geikie, *Elementary Lessons*, p.230.

80 Homework Exercise Book belonging to Arnold Ramster, 1911, AHSA. Homework for 31 October 1911.

81 Examination results [Class averages] Term I, 1916, SPCA 186/1. The text is referred to in abbreviated form as Griffith Taylor's *Australia,* possibly meaning *The Geography of Australasia,* which was published in 1914.

82 e.g. *PEB Manual* 1911, Syllabus for Junior Examination, p.20.

83 Walter Howchin, *The Geography of South Australia. Including the Northern Territory. Historical, physical, political and commercial,* Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1909, p.4.

84 *ibid.*, p.3.

political aspects of the state (including one chapter on government) as well as physical geography.

The geography syllabus at St. Peter's College broadened in response to the war, with more attention to European war zones: the Junior class in third term of 1915 studied the Balkan States, the Dardanelles and Austria-Hungary.[85] It is likely that the other boys' schools followed the same trend.

Science

Chapple's strong encouragement of science and the habit of observation has been mentioned. At PAC natural history became a popular pastime as long hikes and picnics in the nearby foothills and science teacher Mr Iliffe's class excursions enabled boys to observe the natural world and learn about their country's flora and fauna at first-hand. For many boys, it must have encouraged a closeness to nature and an identification with their own country which they did not, in any direct sense, obtain from the formal curriculum. Gibbs details the lives of several such boys who maintained an interest in natural history and the Australian bush throughout their lives.[86] The creation of a school museum in 1889 led to some enthusiastic collecting, with the latest curiosities (such as the lower jaw of a porpoise or the head and claws of a wedge-tailed eagle) sometimes described in intricate detail in the *Chronicle.* [87] The magazine published Charles Kingsley's thoughts on 'How to Get a College Museum', which linked the study of natural history with the development of (masculine) character. According to Kingsley, 'the first thing for a boy to learn, after obedience and morality is a habit of observation' which will create healthy interests:

> The study of natural history or of chemistry or any study which will occupy your minds and fill up your leisure hours, may be the means in after-life of keeping you out of temptation and misery.[88]

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[85] Examination results, Term III, 1915.
[86] Gibbs, *Prince Alfred College*, p.110-111.
[87] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.IV No.25,June 13 1890, pp.22-23
[88] *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.III No.21, May 17 1889, pp.6-7, p.7.

Chapple encouraged his classes to observe natural phenomena, such as an earthquake which occurred during one of his lessons and a lunar rainbow which occurred during the seniors' night school.[89] Chapple and Mr Iliffe both gave well-attended lectures on scientific subjects.

At the High School, physics and chemistry were generally studied only by boys, while botany and geology were considered feminine subjects.[90] The school gained an excellent record in producing outstanding male science graduates who pursued careers in medicine or science. Elizabeth Kwan's study of the Williams administration has illustrated several ways in which students in the state elementary schools were taught about their country. The Australian orientation of the state curriculum was partly a development of the ideas of the New Education, which encouraged an awareness of the immediate environment first, but, as Kwan has shown, this interest was accompanied by deliberate efforts to foster an Australian patriotism. One means was through the appreciation of Australian flora and fauna in nature study lessons and through the pages of the *Children's Hour*.[91] Nature study exercise books belonging to a student who had attended the Gilles Street School prior to enrolling at Adelaide High School in 1911 contain finely detailed illustrations which demonstrate a close observation of Australian flora.[92] Bird and Arbor Day, celebrated in July from 1904, encouraged observation and protection of the local environment. Two men who were deeply involved in these efforts were also teachers at the High School: Bertie Roach, editor of the *Children's Hour*, taught literature and history, and

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89 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.III No.21, May 17 1889; Vol.VI No.53, July 1 1897, p.40.

90 1911 figures for Adelaide and Unley High Schools combined show only 2.2% of girls passed in physics and/or chemistry compared with 40.2% of boys, while 33.3% of girls passed in botany and/or geology compared with 0.0% of boys. Craig Campbell, Carole Hooper and Mary Fearnley-Sander, *Toward the State High School in Australia; social histories of state secondary schooling in Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia, 1850-1925*, Sydney: Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, 1999, p.72.

91 Kwan, 'Making "good Australians"', Chapter III, especially pp.118-125; chapter IV, pp.171-176.

92 Exercise books belonging to Arnold Ramster, AHSA.

A. G. Edquist, an active promoter of Bird and Arbor Day, taught nature study. Edquist's enthusiasm may be judged from the nature study section he contributed to the *Gazette* in which challenging problems were set each month and schools were invited to send in questions or samples for identification. The column also contained notes on Australian flora and fauna, such as the detailed description of saltbush which appeared in December 1913.[93] Articles such as this awakened children's curiosity about their local environment and created positive images which were a contrast to the more common depictions of a harsh and unforgiving landscape hostile to European settlers. While Chapple's PAC may have indirectly encouraged an appreciation of the Australian environment, the Williams-Roach-Edquist approach did so deliberately, thus cultivating an important strain of Australian nationalism.

German

Because of the large numbers of German immigrants, German was a particular South Australian strength, taught at several Adelaide schools apart from the Lutheran ones. St. Peter's Speech Day included recitations in the German language and the award of an annual German prize, both indications of the prestige attached to the subject.[94] At PAC it enjoyed a similarly high status, although there is no indication that other German cultural elements were encouraged. When long-standing PAC German master Herr Drews resigned in 1909, he was rewarded for his 31 years as German master with complete sets of Gibbon, Scott and Ruskin,[95] a gift which epitomised the school's British cultural heritage and the expectation that immigrants would naturally embrace it.

Under the pressures of the war, the study of the German language inevitably came to be seen as unpatriotic, and its popularity and status as a subject declined: E. L. French gives figures of 25 per cent of students in the Senior Public studying

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93 *Education Gazette* December 10 1913, pp.411-412.

94 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol. I No. 3, 1884, pp.2-5.

95 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.96, January 1910, p.270.

German in 1887, with the number dropping drastically to fifteen per cent in 1915.[96] In terms of numbers, 118 South Australian students entered for German in the Senior Public Examination in November 1913, and this figure dropped to just 29 in 1918.[97] At PAC there were many boys of German parents, some of whom changed their surnames during the war. The magazine is silent on these matters, although it sympathised with Old Scholar Attorney-General, the Honourable Hermann Homburg, and 'honoured the scruples' that prompted his resignation from the ministry in 1915.[98] It went no further into the anti-German feeling which had caused the resignation, and the suspicions with which people of German extraction were treated. The *Chronicle* for September 1916, (the same issue which published the student's poem addressing the Germans as 'awful, murderous, 'Kultur'd' swine') welcomed a new French teacher and related the decline of German to Germany's conduct during the war:

> Unlike most Public Schools among British people, we have hitherto given greater prominence to German than to French. The influence of German on South Australia, and the growth of Germany as a world-wide commercial power, seemed to justify this; but the conduct of Germany during this war has so greatly discredited both the German character and language that, for the present at any rate, there is little demand for it, and French is coming into its own among us.[99]

The German language was phased out at PAC and was not re-introduced until 1939.

At Adelaide High School, German was taught to Higher Public standard from the beginning. In 1909, the magazine noted that for 'practice in German expression the class holds periodical debates conducted in that language.'[100] In 1911, there was a comment in the Class Notes that 'German has proved as

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96 E. L. French, 'The Humanities in Secondary Education' in A. G. Price (ed.), *The Humanities in Australia*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1954, pp.34-55, pp.52-3.

97 *PEB Manual,* 1914, p.(109); 1919, p.(112).

98 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.112, May 1915, p.7.

99 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vo.VII No.116, September 1916. Quoted in Gibbs, *History of Prince Alfred College*, p.170.

100 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.1 No.1 Easter 1909, pp.15-16.

fascinating as ever' and books 'by good German authors' had been distributed to the class to improve facility in the language.[101] The subject evidently held prestige at the school: in 1912, the principal of Concordia College (an Adelaide Lutheran school), the Reverend Professor Graebner and one of his staff were welcomed to a German debate in the Sixth form room.[102] However, by December 1914, declining interest was evident when the author of the sixth form Class Notes commented sarcastically that the language 'has, in our eyes, now attained classic proportions, as it is fast becoming a dead language.'[103] In 1918, when 'less than a score of boys' were learning German, the magazine carried an item urging students to consider the language as an asset in war time:

> Learn German. The key to Hun secrets.[104]

Music and Art

Music was taught at all the major Adelaide boys' schools, but consisted chiefly of class singing, with instrumental tuition as an 'extra'. Due to the school's Irish heritage, music was prominent at CBC, which, from its early days, had an orchestra under the care of a German composer-conductor Herr Mumme, class singing, solo singing and instrumental tuition in piano and violin. The versatile Herr Mumme conducted the college orchestra in sacred, classical or traditional Irish music. The 1897 Annual Display opened with an overture composed by Mumme dedicated to the Principal, Brother Hughes and included solo singing competitions and a pianoforte trio performance of the 'Gloria' from Mozart's Twelfth Mass.[105] Dancing was also taught at the college, and Speech Day in 1906 included an Irish reel danced by six boys, as well as a classical orchestral performance and Irish songs.

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101 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.3 No.2 Midwinter 1911, p.18.
102 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.4 No.2, Midwinter 1912, p.11.
103 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.6 No.4, Christmas 1914, p.16.
104 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.2, June 1918, pp.44-45.
105 *Advertiser* December 17 1897, 6b.

PAC had music as an 'extra' from the beginning, and by the late 1870s boys with an interest in music could learn piano, harmonium or violin.[106] Not surprisingly, since singing was so central to Methodist worship, singing was part of the curriculum in some classes. Chapple seems to have encouraged music: there were always musical items in the Speech Day programme, sometimes by his sons. The *Chronicle* of December 27 1899 contained the comment that Ernie Chapple was the fourth of the Headmaster's sons to play the piano on Speech Day. His son Harold played the organ at assembly while on a visit to the school in 1907.[107] There is a reference in the *Chronicle* to an Old Scholar who sang comic opera and was assistant organist at the Cathedral in Adelaide.[108] But music was never seen as essential in the way that science was.

St. Peter's had well-qualified music teachers but the subject did not have a prominent place in the curriculum. In the 1880s, the German Herr Puttman was employed and later Mr Hole, who gained his Mus. Bac. and Mus. Doc. while teaching at the school. A music prize was awarded but, in contrast with the other schools, St. Peter's did not always have a musical item on Speech Day, with recitations forming the major part of the programme. At Adelaide High School, Adey formed a volunteer orchestra which played at school assemblies, and the school had choirs. In none of the boys' schools was music as important as it was in the girls' schools.

Both St Peter's and PAC employed art teachers. At St. Peter's, the students' efforts lined the hall on Speech Day. At PAC, drawing was taught to almost every boy for one hour a week from 1887, when landscape artist James Ashton joined the staff. Ashton's lessons may have incidentally cultivated an interest in, and increased the identification with, the Australian environment. Chapple's ideas of education for 'well-orbed manhood' included the development of manual skills and

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106 Gibbs, *Prince Alfred College*, p.70.
107 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* September 1907, pp.562-4.
108 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* October 1896, p.475.

absorbing interests, and this, rather than any direct encouragement for artistic careers, would seem to have been the rationale for the inclusion of this subject. Indeed, in all the boys' schools, music and art appear to have been only optional to the formation of desired masculinity, not an essential masculine accomplishment.

Religion

Religion - as a subject and as an all-pervasive influence in the schools - was considered important at all three colleges, but there were differences in its significance to the formation of masculinity. All schools had scripture or religion lessons as part of the curriculum, and various other activities of a religious nature. All began the day with some form of prayer. At St. Peter's College, a short service of ten minutes was held every morning after Callover and prayers were held in the Schoolroom at the close of school. Boarders attended Sunday services.[109] Scripture lessons were a prominent part of the curriculum and prizes were awarded for knowledge in this area. Records from 1897 and 1898 show that boys at St. Peter's studied the Old and New Testaments and the Catechism.[110] In December 1899, Girdlestone told parents: 'the most important [part] of our school life, the foundation of all the qualities that we esteem highest in boy or man [is] the foundation of a God-fearing, God-loving faith.'[111] A. G. Price, in his history of the school, writes that Girdlestone 'loved the vigour of the Old Testament, and those whom he taught never forgot his vivid descriptions of events like the fall of Jericho, or his deep chuckle as he told how the left-handed Ehud stabbed Eglon in the belly'.[112]

At PAC, religion probably had a more obvious input into the construction of masculinity, because the strict moral and behavioural requirements of Methodism had a direct bearing on the everyday behaviour of the boys. What Hunt calls the

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109 *Prospectus 1905* , SPCA 601.
110 *School List* December 1896, December 1897. SPCA 150.
111 *School List* December 1899.
112 Price, *The Collegiate School,* p.32.

'Methodist way of life'[113] in late-nineteenth century Adelaide demanded a serious and earnest attitude to life and young Methodists were brought up in the ideals of temperance and strict morality which characterised the Methodist man. Like most Methodist men, Chapple took vows to abstain from alcohol.[114] His daily Bible lessons in the Big Schoolroom and Sunday afternoon's extra lesson for boarders, and his addresses to meetings of the Christian Union (founded in 1896) would have reinforced the distinctive Methodist style of ideal masculinity.

At PAC, morning worship was conducted by the Headmaster in the Assembly Hall, featuring (in the Methodist tradition) hymn singing and scripture. D. D. Harris, a student during the headmastership of Chapple's successor, William Bayly, recalls that scripture readings were in sequence from the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles.[115] Chapple presided over Christian Union meetings, which were usually well-attended. Interest grew during the war, when over one-third of the school regularly came to meetings. The Union's Bible Study circles used teacher and housemaster J. A. Haslam's textbook, *Great Leaders: Old Testament Character Studies.* In the Foreword, Haslam wrote:

> [t]he aim is to present ideals of heroic living as exemplified by leaders of Israel, who were inspired by faith in Jehovah. They were real men who lived in our world. They fought their battles as we must fight ours, and we may win our crown as they did theirs.'[116]

For boys at PAC, as at St. Peter's College, the characters of the Old Testament - Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Gideon and Saul - were models of a muscular pre-Christianity, mostly leaders, whose adventurous lives exemplified the same courage, strength and devotion needed by Christian men of the British Empire. By 1912, Christian Union activities were beginning to reflect the militarisation of the Methodist variant of Muscular

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113 Hunt, *This Side of Heaven,* p.142.
114 Gibbs, *Prince Alfred College*, p.78.
115 Harris, *Fun without Games*, p.27.
116 J. A. Haslam, *Great Leaders: Old Testament Character Studies*, Adelaide: n.d., PACA 346/1. Foreword.

Christianity. Rev. David McNicol, a former chaplain in a Scottish regiment, addressed the Union on heroes in the Boer War. Prior to his address, the boys sang 'Onward Christian Soldiers' - a hymn which invoked a militant Christianity fighting a battle against evil.[117]

At CBC, where religious education was considered the 'first and paramount duty' of the school[118], boarders had prayer on rising and before bed, and there was a daily religion lesson which was described in 1903 as a 'daily lecture in Christian Doctrine and duties'.[119] Religious duties observed by boarders at CBC in 1911 were Sunday Mass, a Sunday morning rosary, Friday evening Way of the Cross and weekly mass in the chapel. There was also an annual three-day retreat. The twenty-one members of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary were photographed with medals and a statue for the 1906 *Annual*.[120]

The figure of Mary, the Mother of Christ, was significant to the gendering of both boys and girls. While for both, Mary was presented as the ideal follower of Christ, in girls' schools, she was represented as the ideal woman, and therefore the paramount (though by no means the only) model for emulation; for boys she was an object of chivalric worship. A poem 'Mary, Star of Hope' in the 1907 *Annual* illustrates the sentimental language in which Mary was formally addressed:

> O, Mother, Guardian! Let thy clear light shine,
> And guide my footsteps with its rays benign;
> For darkness comes to all - 'twill come to me -
> But through the dark'ning gloom my eyes will turn on thee.[121]

A lecture by Brother Purton in 1916 on 'Catholic Ideals in Education' spoke about the nature of a boy's devotion to Mary: 'He must be taught to look up to Mary the sinless one ... with all the love of an affectionate son, and with all the devotedness of a

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117 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.102, January 1912, pp.603, 608-10.
118 General Report in *Jubilee Record*, 1903, p.10.
119 *ibid.*
120 *CBC Annual* 1906, p.88.
121 *CBC Annual* 1907, p.44.

chivalrous knight.'[122] Girdlestone had used very similar terms in 1912 in speaking of the school as 'an ideal queen to worship, inspirer of deeds and thoughts'.[123]

Catholic religious education at the time demanded rote learning and obedience, rather than any engaging intellectual activity. The boys were taught an uncompromising faith - by the question-and-answer method of the 1905 *Catechism*. The Catechism method itself was based on an assumption that every question had one definite answer, and that there was, therefore, no room for argument. The annual retreat was an opportunity for an intensive inculcation of religious ideals. In 1908, the gymnasium was transformed into a church for three days; 'the odours of incense and fresh flowers, so suggestive of devotion and adoration, pervade[d] the atmosphere' and the armoury at the end wall was covered by organ and altar, 'banishing all jarring thoughts of the grim array of Westley-Richard rifles standing concealed within.' The retreat brought forth 'promises of fidelity in the practice of religious duties' and of 'strict abstinence from intoxicating drinks until at least the years of manhood.'[124] (This was in contrast to Methodist practice, which was abstinence throughout life.)

Catholic men were expected to be submissive to church authority and devoted to the regular practice of Catholic worship, such as attendance at Mass and private prayer. The *Annual* praised Old Scholars for their 'devoted adherence to the practices of their religion', on which matters they were 'naturally silent, yet their silence [was] all the more eloquent.'[125] Catholic boys were urged to have the courage to speak up and defend their faith in public: a speaker at a retreat in 1913 told students that 'their religion was a thing to be proud of, and any temporizing or shrinking from open profession of it

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122 *CBC Annual* 1916, p.34.
123 *School List* 1912.
124 *CBC Annual* 1908, p.60.
125 *CBC Annual* 1907, p.7.

on account of heretical surroundings was unworthy of a Catholic young man.'[126]

Though religion was a major component of the ethos at all three schools and was a common basis for normative statements about masculinity, its relevance for boys often appeared to need reinforcement. There were several attempts at CBC in this pre-war period to defend Irish Catholicism against a soft or feminine image. The 1908 article on manliness referred to previously attempted to answer those who saw religion as de-masculinising, as 'all right for women and children'. The author argued that 'true religion strengthens our manhood', and presented St. Paul, Christ and the medieval knight as models of strength combined with gentleness and sensitivity. Men of devotion should be not 'namby-pamby milksops, nor soft-tongued hypocrites, nor psalm-singing bigots', but, like St Paul, 'the Chevalier *sans peur et sans reproche*, taking as his ideal One who was fairest among the sons of men; strong, yet gentle; stern, yet tender; just, yet always loving'.[127] The preacher at the annual 3-day retreat in 1911 exhorted the boys to be manly Catholics. A 'more virile Catholicity' would answer 'insidious attacks' and 'the indifferentism that pervades the atmosphere of our great land.'[128]

The stricter requirements of Methodism may have needed extra explanation to justify their place in modern masculinity. Methodist minister Rev. Horsley attempted to show PAC boys in 1907 how Methodist observances were of benefit to athletes. A good example was George Towns, a prominent athlete who respected the Methodist stand against training on Sunday as being in accordance with God's law and the self-control which was 'one of the first things to be possessed ... in any contest'. In this regard, Rev. Horsley said: 'I would like to warn all young fellows against taking strong drink. It is in nearly every case the beginning of failure in any calling where the best of

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126 *CBC Annual* 1913, p.98.
127 *CBC Annual* 1908, p.10.
128 *CBC Annual* 1911, p.30.

strength and endurance is required.'[129] Boys received similar lessons from reading the Methodist newspaper: 'The Evangel' in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* in January 1911 pointed out to readers that '[n]one of the contestants in a recent Marathon race in Boston, USA, used alcohol'.[130]

Traditional artistic representations of Christ as passive and gentle seemed particularly irrelevant to the requirements of war-time masculinity. A poem in the St. Peter's College magazine in 1918 pleaded for writers and artists to present stronger images of Christ, more faithful to the events of the gospels and more helpful for 'these rough days':

> Give us a virile Christ for these rough days!
> You painters, sculptors, show the warrior bold;
> And you who turn mere words to gleaming gold,
> Too long your lips have sounded in the praise
> Of patience and humility. Our ways
> Have parted from the quietude of old,
> We need a man of strength with us to hold
> The very breath of Death without amaze.
> Did he not scourge from temple courts the thieves?
> And make the arch-fiend's self again to fall?
> And blast the fig tree that was only leaves?
> And spell the raging tumult of the sea?
> Did he not bear the greatest pain of all,
> Silent, upon a cross on Calvary?[131]

At Adelaide High School, although religion was not a school subject, reports of assemblies indicate that Adey conducted some, particularly during the war, in the manner of services, with hymns and sermon-like addresses which encouraged a non-sectarian Christian morality.[132] In 1912, he addressed students on the origin of Cardinal Newman's hymn 'Lead Kindly Light', which was afterwards sung by the whole school.[133] The magazine reported that a good proportion of students went to

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129 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.88, May 1907, p.494.
130 *The Australian Christian Commonwealth* January 6 1911, p.14.
131 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.99, December 1918, p.6.
132 e.g. *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.8 No.1, Easter 1916, p.19.
133 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.4 No.3, Michaelmas 1912, p.6.

the Chapman-Alexander Mission, which was conducted in Adelaide in 1912 by visiting American evangelists.[134]

Extra-curricular activities: recreational reading, debating.

Recreational reading

At both Prince Alfred and St. Peter's Colleges, approved recreational reading appears to have reinforced the lessons of the formal curriculum and modelled normative British masculinity. The *PAC Chronicle* for November 1884 contained 'Hints about Books and Reading' in which boys were urged to read 'chiefly for instruction' and 'read thoughtfully', to read especially 'the great books of the world' and the daily paper, 'especially the telegrams from England, about important events that are taking place in various parts of the world.' Books considered 'well worth reading' included Plutarch's *Lives*, Thomas Hughes' *Alfred the Great*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the novels of Sir Walter Scott and J. R. Green's *History of the English People*. The last mentioned was an interesting choice in that Green's approach to history differed from that taken by authors of most history texts of the time. He reproached writers of 'drum and trumpet history' for giving prominence to wars and kings, to the neglect of 'that constitutional, intellectual, and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself.' Green's history, though still in the Whig tradition of history as a story of progress, aimed to focus less on military and political heroes and more on 'the missionary, the poet, the printer, the merchant, [and] the philosopher'.[135]

When borrowing libraries were established in the schools, adventure novels proved more popular that the classics of English literature which were continually recommended. A committee was set up at St. Peter's in 1900 to institute a library containing 'a good number of books which boys enjoy, written

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134 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.4 No.2, Midwinter 1912, p.25.

135 J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, London: Macmillan, 1874, Preface: p.8, p.10.

by well-known authors'. The committee requested each boy to list ten books which he would like to see in the library.[136] Suggestions and subsequent borrowing patterns indicate that imperial adventure stories, such as those by George Henty, were the most popular reading.[137] Henty's *With Clive in India, Under Drake's Flag, A Dash for Khartoum* (among numerous others) depicted British heroes performing fearless deeds in the interests of the empire. Patrick Dunae sees Henty's books as dominated by stories of commercial enterprise (although missionary activities are not absent), reflecting 'the secular ideals and the materialistic spirit which came to characterize late Victorian imperialism'.[138] Maureen Nimon, in her study of the recreational reading available to South Australian children during the second half of the nineteenth century, comments that the adventure novels demonstrated 'manliness in action'[139] - those desired personal and social masculine virtues of stoic self-control and utter fearlessness which would keep the Empire great. George Mosse remarks that in these nineteenth century tales of adventure 'the spirit of adventure and manliness were considered all but identical'.[140] Rider Haggard, whose *Allan Quatermain* was discussed in Chapter 3, was another popular author whose characters modelled the ultimate imperial-adventurer masculinity. The character of Quatermain, 'the ablest man, the truest gentleman, the firmest friend, the finest sportsman, and ... the best shot in all Africa'[141] was in harmony with the masculine ideal expressed in formal school texts. Susan Bassnett has observed some similarities in representations of gender models in Rider Haggard's novels ('evil women and strong, resilient men') and in the Victorian retellings of the Arthurian legends by Tennyson and others, where women brought about the collapse of the ideal order.[142]

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136 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol IX, No.41, June 1900, pp.206-7.

137 e.g. *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.IX No.42, September 1900, pp.232-4.

138 Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, p.110.

139 Nimon, 'Children's Reading in South Australia,' p.295.

140 G. L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: the creation of modern masculinity*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.113.

141 Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p.275.

142 The comparison is briefly discussed by Susan Bassnett in 'Lost in the Past: a tale of heroes and Englishness', p.51.

The works of Scott and Dickens were often recommended to St. Peter's boys, but the magazine's 'Library Notes' in 1903 lamented that Sir Walter Scott's works (specially bound in London and donated by an Old Scholar) were 'in a state of almost perfect preservation', while *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* was 'ready to fall to pieces'.[143] The popularity of the latter may indicate that Conan Doyle's character influenced the formation of masculinity at this school (among others). Joseph Kestner's detailed analysis of representations of masculinity in the Sherlock Holmes stories (1997) concludes that, through his fictional detective character, Conan Doyle 'constructed, interrogated, debated and critiqued the construction of male gender in culture for 40 years'.[144] In *The Adventures* and other stories, Holmes may be seen as the paradigmatic male, representing 'rationality, logic and order'[145] and functioning in his detective role as a 'monitor of maleness'[146], exposing the transgressions of numerous subversive male types - the negative examples which serve to validate and reinforce the male paradigm. Conan Doyle's portrayal of women as emotional and irrational reinforces the gendering of rationality: women are 'never to be entirely trusted - not the best of them'.[147] The self-reliant, unemotional and celibate Holmes refuses to be distracted by them: "Women have seldom been an attraction to me, for my brain has always governed my heart'.[148] Females, like the subversive male types, are seen as threats to the stability of the masculine ideal, proof, therefore, of the necessity for surveillance.

Other books popular among St. Peter's boys at the turn of the century included a few Australian books, such as *Robbery*

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143 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, No.53, August 1903, p.545.
144 J. A. Kestner, *Sherlock's Men: masculinity, Conan Doyle, and cultural history*, Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1997, p.212. For an analysis of *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, see pp.73-98.
145 *ibid.* p.34.
146 *ibid.* p.98.
147 *ibid.* p.34 (quotation from *The Sign of Four*)
148 *ibid.* p.36 (quotation from *The Lion's Mane*)

Under Arms and *The Last of the Bushrangers.*[149] Though very much in a minority, Australian novels were at least beginning to appear in the library list, decades before they were mentioned in the curriculum. Australian works were not yet seen as 'literature' in educational circles, although, as was observed in the previous chapter, several school magazines contained articles in appreciation of Adam Lindsay Gordon.

The College Prospectus for 1905 stated that the St. Peter's had a 'valuable collection of standard works of the Classics, Theology, Travel, History, and General literature.'[150] But the Library Committee in 1910 still complained at the pristine condition of the lesser-read classics, such as new volumes of Tennyson, Shakespeare, Ruskin and Thackeray, which 'did not seem likely to be worn out by constant use'.[151] What was described in 1911 as 'the predilection for adventurous literature' was manifested in the continuing popularity of books by Henty, Ellis and Conan Doyle. Sometimes books about public school life are mentioned, such as Vachell's *The Hill*, which was popular in 1907.[152] A gift of the Australian Steele Rudd's *On Our New Selection* in 1904 to the library indicates that its forerunner, *On Our Selection*, had been popular.[153] A library catalogue from 1913 contains a list which is still mainly imperial British in flavour: Kipling's *Stalky and Co* and *Jungle Book*, Fitchett's *Deeds that Won the Empire*, the five-volumes of *Southey's British Admirals,* and *Forty-One Years in India* by Lord Roberts were all tales of British courage. Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* was another predictable inclusion. The number of Australian titles had increased, now including *Wild Life and Adventure in the Australian Bush, Early Experiences in South Australia* and *Sports and Pastimes in Australia* .[154] New books featuring soldier-heroes would soon emerge: in May 1917, the magazine

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149 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.IX No.44, April 1901, pp.285-6.
150 Scrapbook/album compiled by Cyril M. Thomas, SPCA 601.
151 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.70, May 1909, p.4, No.73, May 1910, p.20.
152 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.76, May 1911, p.8, No.64, May 1907, p.40.
153 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.57, December 1904, p.26.
154 Scrapbook/album compiled by Cyril M. Thomas.

recommended *The End of a Chapter* (published 1916) by Shane Leslie, an Old Etonian soldier, as 'A Book for the Holidays' .[155]

There is evidence that library books of a very similar nature were held in PAC's library. While at the Preparatory school, the young Don Harris 'read everything they had of Ellis and Ballantyne', and observed that (Australian) Mary Grant Bruce's 'Billabong' books were favourites, with 'Boys' Own Annual' and 'Chums', for their 'thrilling serials'. He writes: 'This was largely escapist literature - a reaction to 'standards' and cricket.' Harris also bought 'The Magnet' to follow the adventures of public school fiction character Billy Bunter 'who got up to all the mischievous pranks in school that we would have enjoyed, but were not game to try for fear of Mr Robertson.'[156]

For the most part, the books in the school libraries were reinforcing the content of formal school lessons. Although the adventure novel may have been a much more exciting medium for the average schoolboy than a history textbook, these novels reinforced identical images of masculinity and Britishness to those in the staple texts. The greatness of empire and the masculine duty to maintain and defend it, the superiority of the British character over other races, and the supremacy of the British male over other males and over women were constantly recurring themes in the boys' recreational, as well as in their formal, school reading.

Debating

The most common (non-sporting) extra-curricular activity in the boys' schools was debating and/or public speaking. Elocution and debating were encouraged for a wide variety of educational needs - social, academic, religious and moral. Public speaking was emphasised from almost the beginning at CBC. At the 1897 Annual Display, held in the Adelaide Town Hall, there was a performance by the elocution class of a scene from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and elocution competitions at junior

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155 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.94, May 1917, p.19.

156 Harris, *Fun without Games*, p.16. (Harris was in the Preparatory until 1917.)

and senior levels.[157] At the 1899 Annual Prize-giving ceremony, the elocutionary items were judged by Old Scholar Councillor W.J. Denny and Irish immigrant lawyer and politician Patrick McMahon Glynn, M.P.[158] Although not an Old Scholar, Glynn had established a reputation as a debater and orator at his University in Ireland and, as a public Catholic figure in Adelaide, would have been considered a role model. An article on the Literary and Debating Society in the 1903 *Jubilee Record* - written probably by the Society's President over many years, Brother Murphy - explained the importance of being able to speak well:

> Every young man should consider himself conscientiously bound to acquire the power of being able to express himself clearly and forcibly.... the power of arranging his ideas of putting them forward clearly.[159]

The Brothers, conscious of the needs of the Catholic Church in Australia, believed that their future lawyers, politicians and priests needed to be 'well-grounded in the truths of faith' and 'armed at all points' to defend their beliefs.[160] They also believed that debating was character-building, teaching boys 'to argue without heat, to submit without malice, and to conquer without ostentatious triumph'.[161] This suggests that debating in this period held for the Christian Brothers some of the moral benefits that the English public schools attributed to games. Reports of debates and other activities of the Literary Society at CBC were published on a regular basis in the *Southern Cross* as well as in the *Annual*. Topics of speeches and debates covered a wide area of political and cultural ideas, reflecting the wide interests of the President and the encouragement he gave to young speakers to extend and broaden academic and recreational interests. A long list of political and literary topics in 1911 included Dickens, New Guinea, Dreadnoughts, Australian

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157*Advertiser* December 17 1897, 6b.
158*Advertiser* December 16 1899, p.5.
159*Jubilee Record*, p.50.
160*Jubilee Record*, p.26.
161*Jubilee Record*, p.25.

inventors, and White Australia.[162] In 1916, the list included conscription and White Australia, and an address by Brother Purton on 'the great Chinese statesman Yuan Shi Kai and his wonderful accomplishments.'[163]

Although public speaking was encouraged at St. Peter's College, as evidenced by the numerous recitations performed on Speech Days (nine in 1890[164]), debating societies appear to have enjoyed a fitful existence until recommenced in earnest in 1905. In 1886, it was suggested in the magazine that 'the future legislators and lawyers of this colony might profitably employ one evening in the week by practising their oratorical and forensic powers',[165] but reports of debates are rare. In 1899, 'Is South Australia the best colony of Australia?' and 'Woman's Suffrage' were debated, but there was a complaint about the speakers being the same ones at every meeting.[166] The revived society met regularly from 1905 on Saturday nights, with literary readings and music to vary the programme. PAC's Debating Society appears to have met fairly regularly from 1884, debating moral as well as political topics. Many Adelaide Methodist laymen belonged to Mutual Improvement or Literary and Debating Societies which encouraged public speaking[167], so it is not surprising to find it encouraged in the college in which they were training their young men for leadership roles in professional and church life. One of the early topics for debate was 'Is Dancing Morally and Physically Injurious?'; other debates concerned Home Rule for Ireland, capital punishment, conscription for the British Empire and whether the colonies were 'in a proper state of defence'.[168] Sometimes the meeting listened to an essay, such as F. S. Hone's prize-winning effort on 'Great Britain as a Colonizing Power'.[169] In May 1890, the topic

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162 *CBC Annual* 1911, p.51.
163 *CBC Annual* 1916, p.46.
164 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.III, No.5, March 1891, p.66.
165 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.II, No.13, May 1886, p.3.
166 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.VIII No.37, June 21 1899, p.105.
167 Hunt, *This Side of Heaven,* pp. 153-4.
168 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.I No.3, November 1884, p.13; Vol.I No.4, February 1885, p.12; Vol.II No.11, October 1886, p.6.
169 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.II No.13, April 1887, p.12.

was 'Which causes the most misery, war or intemperance?', the latter being voted worse, and in September 1895 'Are drinking and smoking right?'[170] The *Chronicle* published a letter in 1896 from an ex-debater who had just won the famous foot-race, the Stawell Easter Gift, and had found having to make seven speeches 'a severe strain' but was sustained by 'the memory of many a stormy debate in the PAC Debating Society' and the college cry 'Reds can't be beat'.[171]

School debating societies considered some of the serious public and political issues of the day, evidence that students were encouraged to consider both sides of these questions and to voice their opinions confidently. PAC's society had regular meetings, often with a science lecture: in 1911 there were 86 members, and lectures could attract audiences of over 100.[172] All the boys' schools debated the White Australia policy and conscription. At St. Peter's, compulsory military service was debated in 1905 and 1909, the decision both times being in favour,[173] while at PAC conscription for Australia was defeated in 1915.[174] 'Should Australia have a navy of her own?' was debated at PAC in 1906.[175] St. Peter's in 1905 debated 'That this house would view with favour the Abolition of Adult Female Suffrage' which was won, the magazine reporting that 'the general idea that one got from the debate was that 'the hand that rules the cradle ... rocks the world' (sic) but should stay at home to do it.'[176] A war-time debate in 1917 considered the strongly-worded topic 'that the introduction of women into the male labour market is disastrous and pernicious' and this, too was won (32 votes to 11).[177] The defensive reaction to these topics relating to the extension of women's roles indicate a

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170 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.IV No.25, June 1890, pp.20-21; Vol.V No.46, September 1895, pp.402-3.

171 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.V No.49, July 1896, p.462.

172 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.101, September 1911, p.545.

173 SPSC Literary and Debating Society Minutes 1905-1927, SPCA 390. Debates 4/11/05 and 14/8/09.

174 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No.113, September 1915, p.8.

175 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.IV No.86, September 1906, p.389.

176 SPSC Literary and Debating Society Minutes, Debate 15/7/1905. (The proverb has been reproduced as it was recorded in the magazine.)

177 SPSC Literary and Debating Society Minutes, Debate 7/7/17.

satisfaction with traditional gender roles, and a tendency to react strongly when these are under threat. Home Rule for Ireland was lost by 23 votes in 1906.[178] The degeneration of the British Empire was debated more than once, the House deciding in 1911 that it was not degenerating, and in 1916 that it was.[179] We know from a study of the rhetoric of the college that this had been a continuing concern to Girdlestone and was probably a matter he brought before the boys from time to time. Another occasional topic was the place of sport in schools (which was always defended), while domestic matters such as the management of the tuck shop also featured.[180]

Adelaide High School boys debated topics of far more serious import than did the girls. In 1910, when girls were debating the merits of nineteenth-century poets, boys considered compulsory military training and whether the Northern Territory was an asset to South Australia.[181] When a Literary Society was founded in 1916 for oration, debate and reading, it was for boys only. Topics debated in 1916-18 included whether arbitration could successfully settle international disputes, whether a Republic or Monarchy was better for a country and whether industries should be nationalised.[182] Members of the Society also had the opportunity to debate a court case and, on another occasion, to hold a Model Parliament - rehearsals for possible professional roles which seemed to have had no equivalent in the girls' section.[183]

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178 SPSC Literary and Debating Society Minutes, Debate 3/8/06.

179 SPSC Literary and Debating Society Minutes, Debates 17/6/11 and 11/3/16.

180 SPSC Literary and Debating Society Minutes, Debates 2/7/10 and 28/7/17.

181 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.3, Michaelmas 1910, pp.17-18.

182 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.8 No.4, Christmas 1916, p.18; Vol.9 No.3, September 1917, p.18; Vol.10 No.3, September 1918, p.20.

183 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.9 No.3, September 1917, p.18; Vol.10 No.3, September 1918, p.20.

(B) PHYSICAL EDUCATION: GYMNASTICS, GAMES AND CADETS.

Physical education in the Adelaide boys' schools in this period may be divided into three strands: gymnastics, games and cadets. There was no simple transmission of English public school athleticism to the South Australian situation: the contribution of the German gymnastic tradition was significant, and, as Mark Connellan has demonstrated, even in games, where the activities largely followed English patterns, the Australian emphasis on inter-school competition, sometimes before large crowds of spectators, was a deviation from the public school ideal of 'pure athleticism'.[184]

The relationship of school physical education programmes in Australia to wider public discourses concerning the social construction of the body has been investigated by David Kirk. In *The Body, Schooling and Culture,* he argues that the role of schools in the culturing of the body has been neglected, and yet they play a significant part in 'producing and reproducing corporeal discourse'.[185] In particular, 'physical education and sport constitute specialised sets of practices ... which make a crucial contribution to the social construction and normalisation of the body.'[186] Kirk's analysis, further expanded in *Schooling Bodies: school practice and public discourse, 1880-1950,* is based on Foucauldian concepts, thus he sees social discourses as embodying forms of 'biopower', power over the lives of citizens which is aimed at creating qualities of docility and utility.[187] Schools encourage 'appropriately gendered behaviour' by means of physical activities such as drilling, gymnastics or games.[188]

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184 M. Connellan, 'From manliness to masculinities: theoretical possibilities for writing about men, boys' education and sport in the new millennium', *End of a Century. New Work in the History of Education. Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society 28th Annual Conference,* Sydney: University of Sydney, 1999, pp.67-77.

185 D. Kirk, *The Body, Schooling and Culture,* Melbourne: Deakin University Press, 1993, p.53.

186 Kirk, *The Body, Schooling and Culture*, p.3.

187 D. Kirk, *Schooling Bodies: school practice and public discourse, 1880-1950*, London: Leicester University Press, 1998, pp.11-12.

188 *ibid.*, p.90.

While the present study does not employ a Foucauldian perspective, it does investigate school practices in the area of physical education in the light of social, particularly denominational, discourses of gender. In the boys' schools under discussion, denominational discourses of gender will be seen to have had some impact on physical education, at least until, with the advent of war, the corporeal construction of masculinity in all boys' schools became militarised and denominational differences were much less significant.

German gymnastics - an outgrowth of a patriotic drive for physical and moral fitness that was part of European nationalism - had been introduced into South Australia in the 1860s by Prussian immigrant Adolph Leschen and carried on by his son Hugo, becoming an important component of physical education in many South Australian boys' and girls' schools. Eclipsed by the volume of writing on the English games phenomenon and 'Muscular Christianity', the German gymnastic tradition in South Australia has not yet received much attention.[189] Gymnastics was taught to Junior and Senior classes in most Adelaide schools. A gymnasium was built at St. Peter's College in 1878, PAC gained theirs in 1881 and CBC in 1898. Adolph Leschen, a proponent of Friedrich Jahn's gymnastic programme, argued that games alone were not adequate for physical development:

> Whatever can be said in favour of cricket, football and other games, they do not strengthen and develop the body like the systematic training of the gymnasium does.[190]

Regular systematic exercise under expert instruction developed physical skills and improved bodily strength and stamina. Gymnastics also played a role in the formation of character,

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189 Exceptions are: J. Daly. 'Adolph Leschen: the 'Father of Gymnastics' in South Australia', in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no 10, 1982, pp.92-98; J. Tregenza, *Collegiate School of St. Peter,* pp.206-209. R.C. Petersen invites consideration of the German contribution to Australian physical education in 'Varieties of P.E. at Way College', p.331.

190 A. Leschen, in *Mens sana in corpore sano*, July 1884, quoted in Daly, 'Adolph Leschen', p.94.

since learning the exercises required obedience, perseverance and mental discipline.

At St. Peter's College from 1879 until the end of the Great War, gymnastics was taught by three German instructors. Adolph Leschen was the first Director of the Gymnasium (1879-81), then followed Herr Kirchner (1881-87) and Hugo Leschen(1887-1918), who was educated at PAC and had trained in Dresden. These teachers were respected for their own physical stamina and skills and disciplined living. Kirchner had fought in the Franco-Prussian War and came to the school from England as a teacher of German. He appears to have been a model of discipline and attention to duty as well as physical strength and skill. On his death at age thirty-six in 1887, there was a half-holiday, boys walked some miles in procession before the hearse and the school magazine paid tribute to his devotion to duty: 'His whole heart was in his work, and he was always willing to devote his own time after school hours to his pupils.'[191] Hugo Leschen's gymnastic excellence was admired at a demonstration by PAC boys in 1896, when he 'gracefully and without effort' showed how the giant swing was done.[192] On Aldoph's death in 1916, the *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* (despite the German War) paid tribute to his 'temperate life, steady industry, and thoroughness in his work'[193] - all attributes of exemplary Methodist masculinity.

From time to time, school magazines carried motivational articles describing the value of gymnastics. It was clear that behind the glamour of the school's annual gymnastic display there were hours of tedious repetition and sweaty exertion, when rewards were not always apparent. At PAC, where gymnastics was taught by Leschen from 1881, an item entitled 'Mens sana in corpore sano' appeared in 1884. Referring to the ancient Greek origins of gymnastics and its revival in more modern times, the article urged boys to join the fewer than

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191 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.II No.19, June 1887, p.5.
192 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.50, October 1896, p.480.
193 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VII No 115, May 1916, p.3.

twenty-five per cent who presently attended classes: 'in three months' it promised, they would 'feel ever so much the better for it.'[194] In 1887, gymnastics was made compulsory for boarders. [195]

Gymnastics was character-forming in a way that could be put on public display. Annual public gymnastic demonstrations were held in the schools and usually included marching, dumbbell exercises, vaulting and leaping, club swinging, exercises on horizontal bars and climbing ropes and poles. Human pyramids or, later, the giant swing, usually provided an impressive finale. Reports in newspapers and school magazines were always complimentary of the performers' physical skills and strength, and the obedience, discipline and self-control involved in the execution of precise and intricate movements. For example, an account of a demonstration at St. Peter's College in 1890 commented that in vaulting and jumping and scrambling up ropes and poles the students had shown 'much pluck and skill'[196] and following CBC's combined prize-giving ceremony and gymnastic display in 1898, the *Advertiser* wrote admiringly of the 300 boys performing 'intricate evolutions in obedience to the word of command' and giving a 'faultless' exhibition of marching and counter-marching.[197] Some aspects of gymnastics were of a military nature, notably the emphasis on uniformity, precision of movement and obedience to commands, and it may be seen as the precursor to the cadet movement. By the turn of the century, amid concern, especially in Britain, over the lack of fitness of volunteer soldiers for the Boer War, military preparedness for national defence gave further impetus to gymnastics in schools and Hugo Leschen expanded his responsibilities at PAC and St. Peter's to teaching drill and then commanding the cadet corps. *(Fig. XI)*

At CBC, the Brothers themselves took over gymnastics instruction in 1906, then in 1911 the Swedish system was

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194 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.I No.1, August 1884, pp.14-15.
195 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.II No.14, July 1887, p.7.
196 *St Peter's School Magazine*, Vol. III No.2, June 1890, pp.25-6.
197 *Advertiser*, December 16 1898, p.3.

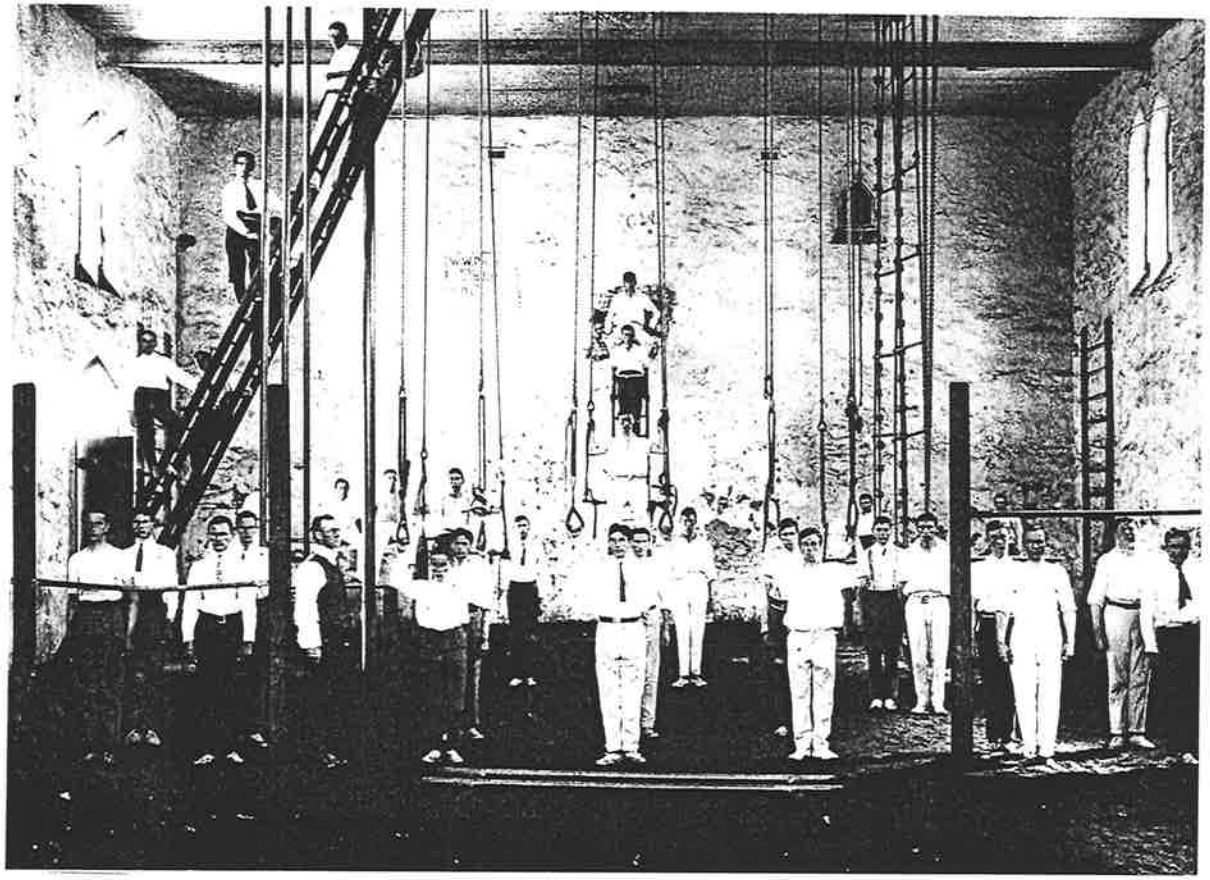


Fig. XI. A gymnastics lesson with Hugo Leschen at PAC, 1914.
R. M. Gibbs, *A History of Prince Alfred College*, Adelaide: Peacock Publications, 1984, p.131.

introduced, taught by a visiting Master, and a one-hour morning session was made compulsory for all students. This system consisted of freehand exercises, musical drill, marching, running and jumping, and apparatus exercises - using horizontal and parallel bars, rings, vaulting horse, and climbing poles and ropes. The instructor emphasised the value of the systematic exercises, which, though 'not inclined to excite a boys' interest', led to noticeable physical improvement: one pupil had 'increased his chest measurement four inches in three months, and proportionately increased in size the whole of his body.'[198]

Exemplary masculinity was thus becoming a bodily ideal as well as a mental and moral one: the emphasis on the cultivation of the male physique marks a contrast from the earlier rationale of exercise at CBC for mainly health and recreational purposes. Athletics and physical education in the college in 1903 had been chiefly for physical development and mental diversion:

> In these days when intellectual pressure is high, and competition keen, the school must in its arrangements give prominence to those exercises and games which make for the physical development of those entrusted to its care. This is the keynote of the policy of the College in this direction. Only the student who plays can reasonably be expected to study well .... The physical development of the student is further promoted by systematized training in the College Gymnasium.[199]

Amid the general anxiety of late nineteenth century society over the real dangers of epidemics, boarding schools were a particular concern, and advertisements usually reassured prospective clients of hygienic conditions in the boarding house and provisions for outdoor exercise. The 1906 prospectus advertised the college's healthy site close to the East Park Lands, its 'dormitories, baths, lavatories and dining hall ... all constructed on the very best principles' and frequent trips to Glenelg for 'the special advantages of sea-bathing.[200] Sport, at first chiefly football and the Irish game of handball, in which boys and Brothers both participated, was enthusiastically endorsed by the Brothers. It received even greater

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198 *CBC Annual* 1913, p.43.
199 *Jubilee Record* 1903, p.10.
200 *CBC Annual* 1906, p.7.

encouragement after Brother Magee, an Adelaide CBC Old Scholar, became principal in 1901. In the football report for 1903, he was thanked for his 'great impetus to sport at the College'.[201]

Sport at CBC was already starting to mean more than physical exercise. Comments on the games of the 1903 season concerned moral attributes as much as physical skills, illustrating that games were taking on a moral and social role in the culture of the school similar to at PAC and St. Peter's. The 1903 team, though 'perhaps, the lightest the College has yet produced ... played splendidly together'; in the PAC match, 'the 'Brothers' were determined to 'do or die', and every man was eager for the fray.' Lost matches earned a moral indictment, e.g. the team 'seemed completely disorganised, and played very poorly together.' The captain of the first football team earned praise for his 'goal kicking and tricky running', his coolness and decision of character'.[202] This same champion athlete is named as a soloist at the Annual Display in 1903,[203] showing a combination of heartiness and artistic sensitivity which was perhaps less unusual in a school of Irish ancestry than in those more closely descended from the public school tradition.

The 'best match of the year' was given over a page and ended with a jubilant poem beginning:

> Send the news flying thro' country and town!
> The "Brothers" have triumphed, the "Princes" went down;

The victory over Prince Alfred College was seen in terms of a victorious battle and the players as soldier-heroes:

> Proudly our foemen came onto the ground,
> As gallant an eighteen as ever were found.

Key members of the team are named, 'all panting for battle', 'fully determined to perish or score!'[204]

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201 *Jubilee Record* p.63.
202 *Jubilee Record* p.64.
203 *Jubilee Record* 1903, p.54.
204 *Jubilee Record* 1903, pp.63-65.

The 1906 *Annual* printed a photo of the football team, comments on each player and a football song called 'Hurrah, for the Ball!', also known as 'The College Chorus'. This was a Brother Murphy composition set to music by Herr Mumme, and was sung for many years at college functions. The words are a celebration of the attributes - courage, determination, persistence - which bring about sporting victory. Again, militaristic terms such as 'foemen', battle', 'conquer' are used to describe the game as a battle, a preparation for 'the battle of life' and a proof of manhood.

> On many a day
> In gallant affray
> The "Brothers" have shown themselves men.
> With foemen before us
> We'll raise the old chorus,
> And battle and conquer again.
>
> We'll never give in
> In the battle of life,
> But grapple and struggle and fend;
> By skill and persistence
> We'll win in the strife,
> And get through our goal in the end.[205]

By 1911, football's moral role was often referred to: an obituary in the *Annual* that year referred to the deceased as 'bashful and retiring, but this did not prevent him from taking an active part in all sports and games, and in many a strenuous football match ... Leo always proved himself a stout battler'.[206] The social value of football for fostering *esprit de corps* was explicitly acknowledged:

> Thanks to the wise heads who devised the Australian rules! No more character-training, man-developing, unselfish regulations could be congested into so small a code. It teaches the dependence on others; it holds us together in bonds of sincere friendship; it encourages our recognition of others' splendid qualification; it educates us in governing our tumultuous and wild thoughts; and finally it inculcates perseverance which is the crown of all successful enterprise.[207]

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[205] *CBC Annual* 1906, p.99.
[206] *CBC Annual* 1911, p.74.
[207] *CBC Annual*, 1911, p.80.

The principal's statement that 'nothing conduces more to the social well-being of school-life than a system of well-organised games' encapsulated the college's attitude.[208]

Football was a more popular game than cricket at early CBC, and perhaps the thoroughly English nature of the latter contributed to the lack of popularity with the early Brothers who had recently emigrated from a homeland where Gaelic football had become closely identified with being Irish, Catholic and male. McDevitt sees Gaelic football as crucial in the constructing of an independent Irish masculinity in Ireland after 1884 (the year the Gaelic Athletic Association was formed). Football and hurling became part of what he calls 'nothing less than a nation-wide campaign to resurrect the physical stature of the manhood of Ireland, which was deemed debilitated because of the combined effects of British rule and the Great Famine.' The footballer or the hurler conveyed a strong image of both gender and national identity which McDevitt has called 'Muscular Catholicism'.[209] The Australian Rules game was sufficiently similar to the Irish game for the Secretary of the Sports Committee to write in the *CBC Annual* in 1916 that it was 'gratifying to know that our great national game of football is of Gaelic origin.'[210]

At St. Peter's and PAC, Girdlestone and Chapple both strongly believed in the moral and social value of 'manly' games for the development of individual character and as one of the main agents in fostering the corporate spirit of the school. The Australian emphasis on inter-collegiate competition served both to unite the Australian independent schools as a sporting elite and to create rivalries between them.[211] The element of

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208 Annual Report 1911, *CBC Annual* 1912, p.12.

209 P. F. McDevitt, 'Muscular Catholicism: Nationalism, Masculinity and Gaelic Team Sports, 1884-1916' in *Gender and History*, Vol.9 No.2, August 1997, pp.262-284, 262.

210 *CBC Annual* 1914-16, p.22.

211 Geoffrey Sherington's investigation of the early history of the Athletic Association of Great Public Schools (AAGPS) of New South Wales demonstrates the social status which was attached to inter-school competition within this elite association. He writes 'the shortened prefix of G.P.S. became synonymous with a school which drew much of its status

competitiveness was criticised at St. Peter's in 1884, when the Bishop warned boys of 'a great danger which threatened the sports; games did not seem to be played for their own sakes, and nothing was thought of them except when they took the form of matches played before a crowd of spectators.' However, his advice later in the same speech that 'an early beginning should be made in rowing next season' indicated that the Bishop was not unaware of the status which attached to winning the intercollegiate regatta.[212] When the school finally rowed to victory in 1886, a half-holiday was granted in celebration.[213]

Chapple often stressed the value of sport to the formation of healthy and useful manhood. Several *Chronicle* editorials during his time expounded the benefits of 'healthy outdoor exercise' for good health, mental recreation and the physical vigour which 'adds great force to a man's character and renders him ... a much more useful member of society.'[214] The regular column addressed to 'Our Young Men' by 'Old Oxford' in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* had similar lessons for Methodist boys, such as that in 1902 which urged boys to:

> Take care of your health. God cannot do much with a dyspeptic.[215]

In 1912, Girdlestone named eight specific lessons which boys learned from team sports:

> To put self second to public interest, to carry out your captain's order,
> to organise and command others, to be prompt, to ignore nerves,
> endure hardness, keep the temper, and play the game.

Another benefit of games was that they drew a greater effort from the boys than schoolwork:

> Any master who takes a hand in teaching a boy some athletic art,

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from participation in organised games competitions.' G. Sherington, 'Athleticism in the Antipodes: the AAGPS of New South Wales', in *History of Education Review*, Vol.12 No.2, 1983, pp.16-28, p.21.

212 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol. I No.4, September 1884, p.2.

213 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.II No.13, May 1886, pp.3,5.

214 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol. I No. 7, July 1885, p.1; Vol. II No.21, May 1889, p.1.

215 *Australian Christian Commonwealth* 12 September 1902.

> knows quite well that he will get more willing attention, ambition to learn, greater zest in pursuit, if he is at the nets, or steering a boat, than he gets in his master's chair.[216]

At St. Peter's and PAC, cricket, football and rowing were the main sports played. Both also had athletics sports days, St. Peter's had swimming sports and tennis (strongly promoted by Chapple) was quite popular at PAC. Intercollegiate cricket and football matches played annually on the Adelaide Oval were the school sporting highlights of the year. The adulation given to successful players moved the Governor to comment at St. Peter's in 1884 that 'he thought that in many cases an athlete was looked upon with more admiration than a good scholar, which he considered ought not to happen.'[217] Sporting successes attracted prizes and hero status. Many sporting heroes were selected as prefects. In 1890, the year in which the school gained its coat-of-arms, the first and second cricket and football teams were given distinctive colours: the prestigious First XI were to wear caps bearing the college crest, while the First Football team would wear guernseys of a blue and white design, with blue stockings and a blue and white cap. The colours were a reward for excellence, and it 'was not thought advisable to give any colours to the third, at any rate until it should improve somewhat upon its present form.'[218]

Headmasters and staff identified themselves with sport, personally rewarding outstanding individual efforts and sometimes joining in the games. At St. Peter's, Rev. George Farr had established rowing in the school. Girdlestone (whose sporting prowess as an Oxford rowing 'blue' had, as already noted in Chapter 5, helped persuade the Bishop to select him as Head Master) formed a boat club in 1895 and coached the rowing team on some occasions. In 1902 the team's new boat was called the 'Helen' after Mrs. Girdlestone.[219] Chapple was a familiar sight on PAC's cricket fields and tennis courts. He

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216 *School List* 1912.
217 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol. I No. 6, March 1885, p.3.
218 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.II No.1, March 1890, pp.1-2; p.2.
219 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.IX No.49, June 1902, p.411.

offered a gold medal to the top-scorer in cricket and a silver medal to each boy who scored fifty runs or more in a first-grade match. When Old Scholar Lawrence Evan died in 1894, he was remembered as a 'manly Christian' and 'a vigorous athlete ... fond of manly sports'. His obituary stated that he 'could almost have made a necklace of silver medals he won for the 50s made in First XI matches'.[220]

Games were written up in the magazine and performances subjected to scrutiny. Sporting arenas had become testing sites for the desirable qualities of manhood. In particular, teamwork was essential, and its absence, especially when due to selfishness, laziness or apathy, won severe reprimands, such as followed St. Peter's defeat in the 1890 inter-collegiate football match:

> The immediate cause of this defeat was the complete inability of the school team to play together. Each player played for himself.

The reporter blamed 'wanton negligence of training or practice'.[221] Individual critiques for the 1892-93 cricket season praised the Saints player who 'worked hard and conscientiously in the field' and the 'plucky and determined batsman' and freely criticised the wicket-keeper who 'did not practise consistently enough', the player who 'can field very well indeed but is sometimes lazy over it' and the boy who 'would make a good batsman if he would practise patience and perseverance'.[222] Bowlers were asked to 'peg away with a big heart'.[223] Effort, perseverance, endurance, determination and courage counted for more than exceptional sporting ability. The English term 'pluck' was often used, especially in contexts of fighting against the odds - e.g. 'British pluck is only raised to

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220 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.IV No.42, September 27 1894, p.326.
221 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.III No.2, June 1890, pp.13-14.
222 'Characters of the Eleven', in *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.IV No.13, March 1893, p.188.
223 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol. III, No.1, March 1890, p.9.

greater efforts by failure,' and (of one smallish PAC footballer) 'What he lacks in weight he makes up in skill and pluck.'[224]

The overall motivation for all the above qualities was unfailing loyalty to the school. It was assumed that every loyal boy would naturally want to play sport; those seen 'loafing in the school yards'[225] gained no admiration, and certainly no understanding. Comments in a strikingly similar vein would reappear in the context of the Great War, in reference to 'those stay-at-homes, whom one sees, unfortunately, too often blocking the street traffic'.[226] Those exhibiting such lack of patriotism towards school or country were dishonourable, the failures. Successful team players were given high praise. A poem written in 1892 about the Lower Sixth classroom at PAC, and 'the mantelpiece, with football teams arrayed',[227] suggests that photographs of football teams were displayed in classrooms, where they would be looked upon every day. A special status was accorded to those senior boys who proved their loyalty by postponing their careers in order to represent the school in sport. One such was V. G. Heseltine, winner of the College Cup in athletics at St. Peter's College and member of the football twenty, who delayed his departure for medical studies in England in 1895 in order to help his school row against PAC and Geelong.[228]

Sporting songs often drew parallels between playing the game and facing the struggles of life. PAC's 'Football Song (1892), with its cries of 'Reds can't be beat' and 'Go in Princes!' has already been mentioned. The Tennis Song (1895), with words by teacher Mr Harry, also illustrates the games-life parallel:

> So in the game of the battle of life,
> There's many a tough struggle yet, boys;
> Then all do your best when it comes to the test,

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224 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.I No.4, February 1885, Editorial; Vol.II No.14, July 1887, p.13.
225 *ibid.* p.10.
226 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, No.89, August 1915, p.1.
227 'Echoes from Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village': Lower Sixth Classroom', *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol. 4 No.35, Dec 1892, p.161.
228 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.V No.21, April 1895, p.325.

And take all the chances you get, boys.[229]

This song was sung for the Speech Day audience in 1895.

The schools took pride in their provisions for sport. A section on 'Playground and games' in the 1905 St. Peter's College Prospectus announced the school's thirty acres of playing fields, dressing rooms and pavilion, fives courts and gymnasium with 'all the latest and most complete appliances'.[230] Sport reports and photographs, particularly of cricket and football teams, were given prominence in the magazine and sporting heroes received the adulation of the student body. Accounts of hard-fought Oxford-Cambridge boat races reminded rowers at St. Peter's of the prestigious English traditions of their sport.[231] In 1893, the Blackmore Challenge Shield, donated by the rowing coach G. E. Blackmore, who was also a Governor of St. Peter's, was offered for the first time for a rowing challenge between the two colleges. The symbolism of the shield was proudly English: carved out of English oak with a border of oak and laurel leaves, it featured the coat-of-arms of four schools: St. Peter's, King Edward VI's School, Bath (because, the donor explained, 'it was there I was taught to row'), Winchester (because this school was celebrating its five-hundredth anniversary and it was the Headmaster's old school) and St. Peter's, Westminster (the oldest rowing school in England and *alma mater* of the late Bishop Short who founded and named St. Peter's College). Prince Alfred College was not featured at all because at that time it had no coat-of-arms. Later that year, the shield had been won by St. Peter's boys and was hanging in the Dining Room.[232] CBC introduced rowing in 1910, and won its first 'Head of the River' regatta in 1913. Adelaide High School was able to begin rowing in 1911, at first using a boat offered by the University Rowing Club. The cost of purchasing and

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229 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No. 47, December 1895, p.420.

230 *Prospectus 1905.*

231 e.g. a detailed account of the 1891 Boat Race in *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol.III No.7, pp.95-6.

232 *St. Peter's School Magazine* Vol. IV No.14, June 1893, pp.209-211; Vol. IV No.15, Sept. 1893, p.220.

housing boats caused anxiety, but Adey strongly encouraged the sport. He made special mention in his Annual Report for 1913 of the christening of the school's new boat, the 'A.H.S' and expressed confidence in the school's rowing future.[233] Participation in the 'Head of the River' beside the elite schools was an indicator of status, which mattered far more than winning the elusive trophy.

Adey believed that 'many of the most valuable lessons of life are learnt in the playing field',[234] particularly 'the resourcefulness, quick decision, the necessity for taking knocks and blows as part of the game, the responsibility of the elder boys, the hero worship of the younger lads' all were 'important factors in producing manliness and self-reliance.'[235] Provisions for sport were constantly hampered by lack of space and funds, and Adey was justly proud of what the school sportsmen achieved. A long-awaited victory over 'so worthy a rival as St. Peter's College' at football in 1915 earned special mention in his Annual Report.[236]

It is perhaps surprising that the English public school sport of rugby, which, in Queensland and New South Wales, was 'more than simply a game', and represented 'a discernible link to the British empire', reinforcing key elements of a middle-class, Anglophile culture',[237] was not adopted at St. Peter's. Tregenza's history suggests that St. Peter's favoured the rugby game, but its influence was not sufficient to prevent the adoption of Victorian rules in South Australia. The earliest games of football at St. Peter's were adaptations of rugby. When an Adelaide Football Club was formed in 1860, about half the members were St. Peter's Old Collegians and they played by

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233 *SAPP* 1914 No.44, p.55.
234 *SAPP* 1909 No.44, p.34.
235 *SAPP* 1910 No.44, p.37.
236 *SAPP* 1916 No.44, p.39.
237 D. Adair, J. Nauright and M. Phillips, 'Playing Fields Through to Battle Fields: the development of Australian sporting manhood in its imperial context, *c.* 1850-1918', in *Journal of Australian Studies* 1998, pp.51-67, 61. The relationship between rugby and masculinity is more fully analysed in J. Nauright and T. J. L. Chandler (eds.), *Making Men: rugby and masculine identity*, London: F. Cass, 1996.

rules which were close to rugby. A meeting held in 1877 to form a South Australian Football Association decided, despite protests from the Adelaide Club that their rules were 'genuine football', to adopt Victorian rules. The convenience of interstate competition with Melbourne helped decide the issue.[238] Lacking the imperial dimension, Australian Rules Football did not have quite the same prestige, but was fast, exciting and very popular. While quite similar to Gaelic football, it did have a substantial English component and Hibbins views it as a product of the English ideal of Muscular Christianity which was a prominent part of the culture of middle-class Victorians after the gold rushes.[239] Played first in Victoria in 1859 in an inter-collegiate game, it quickly became the main winter sport in several of the colonies, including South Australia. Regardless of whether the code was rugby or Australian Rules, football could be a vehicle for the inculcation of desirable manly qualities. Certainly the Governor, Lord Tennyson, believed this when he congratulated the PAC boys for the manner in which they 'stood firm' in the tradition of King Alfred and the Duke of Wellington to win the 'Royal Match' which was played against St. Peter's before more than 12,000 spectators in 1901.[240]

It would seem appropriate to seek indications of a 'sporting nationalism' in the schools in the late 1890s when Australian cricketing teams were meeting with success in England. However, at St. Peter's College, pride in Australian victories served to reinforce imperial pride. A triumphant article in the St. Peter's magazine in September 1899 headed 'Australia Victrix' boasted that the Australians had 'proved beyond all shadow of doubt that at the present day Australian cricket is superior to English.' The rest of the article celebrated the Britishness of the victorious Australians, their 'pluck and true grit' and 'the value of our national games in building up the national character' and concluded: 'It is not too much to say

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238 Tregenza, *Collegiate School of St. Peter*, pp.120, 119, 195-6.

239 G. M. Hibbins, 'The Cambridge Connection: the English origins of Australian Rules Football', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *The Cultural Bond: sport, empire, society*, London: Frank Cass, 1992, pp.108-127.

240 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.VI No.71, January 1902, p.507.

that these visits of Australian cricketers to England and English cricketers to Australia may be a very important factor in drawing tighter the bonds that knit the mother country with her offspring.'[241] This example is consistent with the 'Anglo-Australian' attitude in Australian cricket which Cashman sees as strengthening the imperial cultural bond.[242]

A more distinctly Australian focus, however, may be observed in the magazine of PAC. In 1884, the *Chronicle* urged its readers to welcome home the Australian cricketers who had been touring England and:

> as united Australians ... feel justly proud of our representative cricketers, who have ... manfully and gloriously sustained the honour of Australia as the home of first class cricketers.[243]

Two PAC cricketers, Joe Darling and Clem Hill, had both made high scores in inter-collegiate matches then later played for South Australia. When both toured England in the Australian team in the 1890s, they were school heroes. Their photographs and school cricketing records were published in the *Chronicle*,[244] and it is easy to imagine their names occurring enthusiastically in school-boy conversation. One of Alfred Chapple's letters to his father from England related proudly how 'Clem caught Grace out, and both he and Joe fielded brilliantly',[245] and the *Chronicle*'s statement that 'Every PAC boy shouts 'Hurrah' and hits harder himself, in hope to do likewise, or near it'[246] may not have been an exaggeration, for the idea of playing for Australia may have been on many boys' minds. Their heroes 'Clem' and 'Joe' personified a link between school loyalty and loyalty to Australia, and their 'Hurrahs' were probably expressive of both. At this school, despite its imperial orientation, the sense of an Australian identity may have been

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241 *St. Peter's School Magazine*, Vol.VIII No.38, September 20 1899, p.131.
242 Cashman, 'Symbols of Imperial Unity'.
243 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle*, Vol.I No.3, November 24 1884, p.3.
244 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.55, December 1897, p.102.
245 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.51, January 1 1897, p.487.
246 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.50, October 1 1896, p.475.

nourished by sporting nationalism in connection with Australia's cricketing successes.

The traditions of cricket, however, were essentially identified with imperial masculinity. When the King's representative, Governor-General Lord Dudley, batted in the nets at PAC on his visit in 1909, granting the boys a half-holiday for every time he was bowled out, the *Chronicle* reported: 'Lord Dudley's love of cricket - that grand old English game - delighted us.'[247] Less rough than football, cricket relied on judgement, finesse and patience, and the word 'cricket' itself came to represent a sense of fair play in all spheres of life. Cecil Madigan's decision to postpone the commencement of his Rhodes Scholarship term at Oxford in order to accompany Mawson to the Antarctic moved the PAC Old Collegians' Chairman to declare: 'It was cricket'.[248]

The game gained popularity at CBC. An original contribution from the Literary Society in 1912 began:

> Our life is a game of cricket, lads!
> An earnest and noble game!

In the last verse, the cricket analogy was given religious significance:

> Make 'runs' as freely as you can,
> But if your score be nought,
> Remember many another man
> Has failed, who bravely fought.
> And the Captain above keeps a roll of fame,
> That heeds not chance or luck,
> In which is many a golden name,
> That was credited here with a "duck!"[249]

At Adelaide High School, where playing areas were inadequate, space was rented in the nearby Park Lands and an asphalt pitch was laid.

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247 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.94, May 1909, p.165. (Lord Dudley was bowled out twice.)
248 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.109, May 1914, p.232.
249 *CBC Annual* 1912, p.23.

The relationship between sport and masculinity, so deeply ingrained in the public school tradition, took on a new dimension in the Australian context. Connellan sees sport in Australian schools as departing from the public school tradition and becoming identified with the development of modern mass spectator sport.[250] Games were sometimes played before large crowds of spectators, and football or cricket matches came to be a highly visible celebration of masculine attributes. Connellan sees games as 'a practice of hegemonic masculinity',[251] controlling masculine behaviour, testing and policing it by means of strict codes of conduct and the rules of the game. Young males learned 'masculine' ways of using their bodies: roughness in the tussle with other males (as the opposite of more gentle or erotic contact) implicitly reasserted heterosexuality as the norm.[252] Sport also reinforced the duality of male-female roles, sustaining ideas about the exclusivity of 'male' traits such as rationality and emotional stability. Girls were merely spectators, or supporters in other ways, who regarded this serious manly activity with due respect and even awe: the *PAC Chronicle* reported of the inter-school final in 1901 that 'several of the weaker sex became almost hysterical in the support of their doughty champions who were doing battle in the arena below.'[253] At Adelaide High, although girls played their own cricket games, their role on 'serious' cricket occasions, such as when the Gawler boys' team visited, was preparing lunch for the cricketers and then washing their dishes.[254] The first female photograph in CBC's *Annual* is of a Ladies' Committee which assisted at the annual sports in 1917.[255] From the male viewpoint, girls' sport was seen as merely a frivolous imitation, as evidenced by some (albeit light-hearted) comments from St. Peter's boys in 1917:

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250 Connellan, 'From manliness to masculinities', p.74.

251 *ibid.* p.76.

252 Kirk maintains that this view of games as 'a means of civilizing bodies and thereby ensuring the dominance of heterosexuality among males' was all the more powerful because it remained unarticulated and therefore unscrutinised. *Schooling Bodies*, p.141.

253 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.69, July 1901, p.461.

254 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.1, April 1915, p.31.

255 *CBC Annual* 1917, p.23.

> The wonted serenity of our Saturday afternoon's cricket was seriously disturbed on November 10th by the weird howlings of a number of small girls round our tennis courts. The occasion was a match between Girton Hall and St. Dominic's resulting in a draw.[256]

References to the girls' 'weird howlings' and the (insignificant) drawn result convey an impression of their unsuitability for the stern demands of serious competitive sport.

For schools and for individual players, participation in inter-school competitions symbolised membership of an élite group. Successful players were assured of acceptance, even adulation, within their school communities. However, those less successful and non-participants were more vulnerable: to the extent that sport was aligned with masculinity in a school, boys were classified as successful or (literally) side-lined. From its beginnings in Australian schools, sport has helped 'to construct and clarify differences and hierarchies among various masculinities'.[257]

Cadets

Cadet units existed in all the boys' schools studied here prior to the introduction of compulsory training in 1911. The previous chapter commented on representations of cadets in the school magazines and the prestige attached to the image of the soldier, an image which connected masculinity directly with national identity. With the introduction of compulsory cadet training in 1911, the movement and physical appearance of all schoolboys were to be ordered in accordance with this national military ideal. Progress was sometimes measured publicly when inspections were conducted by military or imperial dignitaries: when PAC cadets formed a guard of honour for the Duchess of Cornwall and York in 1901, it was commented that their 'set faces proclaimed the power of military discipline, and they bore themselves bravely.'[258] General Sir Ian Hamilton, Inspector-

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256 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.96, December 1917, p.1.

257 Lorber and Farrell, *The Social Construction of Gender,* p.73.

258 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.VI No.69, July 1901, p.462.

General of Overseas Forces, inspected the South Australian cadets in 1914 and praised their 'turnout and physique', noting that they 'moved with cohesion and with a fine, serious, soldierly bearing'.[259]

Public occasions, successes in cadet and rifle championships (such as those celebrated by Adelaide High School[260]), smart uniforms and prestige within the school gave cadet duties an attractive public face, but routine cadet activities were often monotonous, to be endured as a masculine duty. The boys' lives became more regimented. Hours of marching and target-shooting were repetitive and tedious, and sometimes involved long hours of waiting, as the 'Cadet Notes' in the St. Peter's magazine for May 1912 made very clear:

> On Thursday, 29th February, a whole day's parade was called for the purpose of getting through as much of the musketry course as possible. The companies fell in at the Adelaide Railway Station, and travelled by the 8.45 train to Port Adelaide.... [By] lunch time each cadet had only shot five rounds. Two more practices were shot off in the afternoon, making up a total of 15 rounds each cadet. By the time Adelaide was reached again the parade had lasted 9-1/2 hours.

Formal duties could also prove monotonous: the same article described the experience of forming a guard of honour for the Governor on the opening of Parliament. Their ceremonial duty was scheduled for 1.45, but on their arrival, the cadets learned that it was postponed until 4 o'clock. They were permitted to rest in the meantime on the lawns of nearby Government House.[261] Such experiences magnified the lessons of obedience and self-sacrifice for the team which were also associated with games, but cadet experiences lacked the initiative and assertiveness of daring individual sporting feats.

At CBC, where cadets were introduced in 1906, a magazine report in 1909 complained of the monotonous nature of the 3-4 hours of rifle practice on Monday afternoon, but added 'our brave Cadets endure it for the sake of patriotism, for they know

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259 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No. 85, May 1914, p.58.
260 *SAPP* 1910 No.44, p.37.
261 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.79, May 1912, pp.38-39.

they are doing it for their country's good.'[262] After the unit was reorganised in 1911 under the Compulsory Training Act (whereby every 14-17 year-old that year had to enrol for service until the age of 25), the boys were told that 'the nation calls on them to form the nucleus of our future great army'.[263] eekly parades were held on the school grounds. A long article in the 1913 issue by the cadet instructor explained that the college's military training was built up from the Swedish system, and was 'far removed from the old style of military physical drill, as it is now dealt with from a medical and physiological aspect, as an individual training'. The lessons of physical training ('discipline, concentration, activity of brain, obedience, self-control, initiative, individuality') were useful for business life and ultimately for 'the building up of a national character - upright, steady, fearless'.[264] The connection between physical training and the building up of an Australian national character was referred to again during the war in an article by the secretary of the Sports Committee, which stated:

> Though indeed the history of the whole world is witness of the importance of sport and physical culture in the building of a national character, no country can boast a higher standard of athletics than that attained by our own sunny Australia. Australians have magnified their country's name on the green sward and on the water, and the fame they won has been now forever sealed by the immortal deeds of prowess that helped to scale the heights of the Dardanelles, that led the charge over cratered fields to Pozieres.[265]

By about 1914, the rationales for teaching games, military training and gymnastics in the boys' schools had converged, with all three strands directed towards military preparedness: gymnastics and games shared the aim of building up physical fitness, strength and discipline in the national interest, while cadet drill and target practice rehearsed skills specific to military service. This unity of purpose is evident at St. Peter's, where, after the Commonwealth Act of 1911, physical training, as well as drill, had become compulsory, football training was

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262 *CBC Annual* 1909, p.77.
263 *CBC Annual* 1911, p.59.
264 *CBC Annual* 1913, p.28, p.43.
265 *CBC Annual* 1916, p.22.

made compulsory for at least one session a week, and the gymnastics hour with Hugo Leschen (now Major Leschen, C.O. of the battalion) was to be counted as physical drill.[266]

Conclusion

In each of the four schools studied, the construction of masculinity was a central educational concern. Prior to about 1910, differing discourses of gender and national identity resulted in denominational and ethnic variants in the images of masculinity presented to boys in the schools, but these variations diminished as imperial defence concerns led to a universal militarised model of manhood, exemplified by the Old Scholar soldier and his embryonic form, the cadet.

At St. Peter's College, the primary loyalty to Britain and Empire and a preoccupation with reproducing 'British boys' in imitation of the English public schools precluded the consideration of an identifiably Australian identity. It is difficult to find any one of Roe's five aspects of Australian nationalism being encouraged at St. Peter's. The same imperial discourse and the overall aim of producing the kind of men the empire needed are equally in evidence at PAC, whose headmaster believed that 'the finest thing the world had produced was a real, true Englishman'.[267] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when two PAC Old Scholars were in the Australian team playing cricket against England, there is evidence at this school of a pre-federation 'sporting nationalism', an element which could co-exist with the wider loyalty to Empire. However, neither school cultivated an Australian nationalism in the sense that it was defined in Chapter Two of this study, as 'a desire to create, preserve or enhance a distinctively Australian national or cultural identity'.

PAC's Wesleyan Methodist background provided denominational exemplars of masculinity, including numerous successful

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266 *St. Peter's School Magazine* No.77, August 1911, p.1, p.11. This school regulation may have been introduced to save time: all the schools spent long hours on target practice and parades.

267 *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol.V No.95, September 1909, p.213.

Adelaide Methodist men who were models of industriousness, devout teetotalism and leadership in church, business, professional or political life. The PAC emphasis on science fitted the tradition of interest in natural history, manual skills and habits of earnestness and usefulness which were traditionally part of male Methodist education.

CBC's Irish cultural background made its loyalties complex, and Partington's observation of the possibility of 'dual and even triple loyalties' ('to Irish-Catholic traditions, English constitutional principles, and the life of the new colonial societies')[268] seems apt. The early immigrant Brothers equated Catholicism with Irishness and kept the Irish grievance alive, while maintaining polite demonstrations of imperial loyalty. The college's vigorous cultivation of an Australian nationalism from the early years of the new century contained a strong element of 'assertion' against the overpower (in Roe's terms), but retained a profound faith in (British) ideals of political freedom and self-government. War-time rhetoric largely bypassed imperial loyalty and emphasised allegiance to Australia. Prior to about 1910 there are signs of a sensitive, artistic strain of masculinity embodying Irish accomplishments such as oratory, instrumental music, singing and traditional Irish dancing. The Christian Brothers modelled celibacy, asceticism and other-worldliness - the traditional path to piety for the church's spiritual elite. But the majority - in an era when Catholic spiritual leadership was totally clerical - were expected to work industriously towards professional or commercial careers, live lives based on spiritual values and submit to the authority of the male Catholic hierarchy. The college's enthusiastic adoption of team games may be seen as a movement towards the hegemonic, imperial-based, model of masculinity which dominated the ethos of St. Peter's and PAC, but it was also the product of an Irish-Australian masculinity which valued courage and persistence in situations of perceived disadvantage and saw Australian Rules football as a valuable instrument in the cultivation of a strong Australian Catholic manhood.

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268 Partington, *The Australian Nation*, p.60.

Adelaide High School appears to have cultivated a dual imperial and Australian allegiance consistent with Jebb's colonial nationalism. The imperial fervour promoted in the school by Miss Rees George was able to accommodate an Australian nationalism, and 'Rule Britannia' and 'Song of Australia' were both sung at assembly without disharmony. The school encouraged appreciation of the country's history and geography and recognised an emergent national culture. Heroes in the curriculum were mostly British, but early in its history the school recognised local exemplars who, like Tom Price and Alfred Williams, were assiduous workers with a respect for scholarship and a commitment to Australian society. Student models demonstrated the relationship of examination success in high status 'masculine' subjects such as physics and chemistry to successful male careers. The assumption that the abstract sciences belonged to the male domain would long persist. As in the colleges, the image of the Old Scholar soldier was revered, thus contributing to the construction of a male-oriented ethos at this coeducational school.

Despite variations in images of the masculine ideal, common elements emerge in the construction of masculinity during this period. At all the schools, a pre-adult masculinity was being defined, relative to the gender order of society. During the period 1880-1919, secondary schools were institutionalising the lives of middle-class boys and were effectively defining the relatively new concept of adolescence. The physical appearance of the adolescent male was becoming more uniform as programmes of physical education, rules, regulations and strict daily timetables controlled his movement, dress and, to some extent, his thinking. Exemplary adolescent masculinity was characterised by the attainment of adult physical and mental qualities, whose importance varied somewhat in different school contexts. Desired attributes included 'Muscular Christian' traits such as athletic ability, endurance, toughness, competitiveness and stoicism in the face of pain, pride in the political and religious heritage and readiness to serve one's

country when called upon. Intellectual abilities were important, especially in those academic subjects which were the path to male careers, power and status in the community. Masculinity was defined, displayed and tested in various school contexts, including the games arena and the examination room. Games, like examinations, tested and classified young males, constructing a hierarchy in which most were necessarily subordinate.

Patriotism in various forms was a component of the masculine models in all the schools. David Gilmore observed that 'manhood ideologies always include a criterion of selfless generosity, even to the point of sacrifice'.[269] It was through loyalty to a greater end - be it the team, school, country or empire, in administration or battle or in the interests of science - that men demonstrated their manhood. With the onset of war, physical education was increasingly valued for its contribution to physical fitness and moral character. Games helped to cultivate a strain of Australian masculinity based on competitive outdoor physicality which culminated in this period in the image of the ANZAC, a model which both defined and problematised Australian masculinity.[270]

In defining an adolescent form of masculinity, the schools were at the service of society, maintaining the gender order and acting as agents of the hegemonic masculinity. Within the context of their various discourses of gender and national identity, the schools made statements about normal masculinity and represented a set of ideals consistently and forcefully, offering little scope for variation or flexibility. Silence on alternatives was eloquent support for the *status quo*. Boys who exemplified the approved model were accorded recognition in the form of leadership status or prizes, while dissenters were castigated (e.g. the non-sporting were labelled as 'loafers') or simply not recognised. Student leaders were groomed for public leadership roles and the remainder - the majority - were taught

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269 Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making*, p.229.

270 S. Garton, 'War and Masculinity in Twentieth Century Australia' in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No.56, 1998, pp.86-95.

acceptance of, and deference to, male authority as a preparation for subordinate roles within a male hierarchy.

At all the colleges, the masculine ideal was deliberately cultivated in isolation from women. Where females do feature in these all-male institutions, they are as patient, self-effacing women in caring and supporting roles, such as headmaster's wife or school matron, or on fundraising committees. In curricular and recreational reading, countless literary examples illustrated women as a potential threat to the gender order. Other female figures reinforced the chivalric elements of masculinity: Girdlestone depicted the school as a queen to worship and the Christian Brothers idolised Mary as an object of chivalric devotion. At Adelaide High School, where boys were educated in the company of female students and staff, masculinity was constructed in the presence of its opposite, and the school's gender regime was visibly demonstrated daily in the complementarity of roles, with segregation in most classes and at sport.

The enormous efforts on behalf of ideals of manhood testify to strong convictions regarding both the 'correctness' of these ideals and the appropriateness of the school institution as the site for their enforcement. Girdlestone's strong conviction that the school was the ideal site for the formation of 'those habits ... that go to form a man' led him to view the home and other outside interests as dangerous 'distractions'. At none of the boys' schools did the construction of masculinity entail merely the complacent reproduction of a stable gender ideal. Institutions founded for religious purposes sought to maintain the existing gender order, often by appeal to normative statements based on firmly-held religious principles, but there are indications, even during the less eventful pre-war period, of underlying uncertainties and anxieties which suggest the inherent dynamism and potential fragility of the gender order. Feminist issues, female suffrage and women's access to 'male' professions are all but ignored. The constant and persistent efforts to maintain, police and defend masculine ideals suggest

underlying stresses and uncertainties in the struggle for hegemony. As Brod remarks, the 'seemingly unremarkable daily transmission and perpetuation of masculinities through time and space'[271] only appears to be unproblematic.

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[271]Harry Brod (ed.), *The Making of Masculinities: the new men's studies*, New York: Routledge, 1987, p.16.

CHAPTER 7:

The Girls' Schools 1880-1919- PART I:

Femininities and national identities expressed in school rhetoric and organisation.

Introduction

> If we look carefully on the girl-life around us we will find that ... life is fuller and richer than it has been hitherto, and that it bears with it the promise of a glorious womanhood.[1]

Just as revisionist interpretations of nineteenth-century women's education in England challenged the significance of the reform movement,[2] similar studies by Australian educational historians have found that the 'new' Australian girls' schools established in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries represented little challenge to relations between the sexes.

Marjorie Theobald's challenge to the 'mystique' of Presbyterian Ladies' College Melbourne as the prototype of Australian girls' education reform has recast this school as very much a product of the existing gender order, inspired by conservative religious and patriarchal ideals.[3] Its early curriculum can be seen as substantially a continuation of the offerings of the 'ladies' colleges', whose 'accomplishments' were often rigorous, broad, and more seriously academic than had been acknowledged.[4] Theobald has striven to convey an understanding of what the 'accomplishments' were and their essential relationship to the

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[1] Essay 'The Girl of Today', by 'One of Them', *Wattle Blossom* December 1912, pp. 28-30, p.30.

[2] See Chapter 3.

[3] M. Theobald, 'The PLC Mystique: reflections on the reform of female education in nineteenth-century Australia', in *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol.23, No.92, April 1989, pp.241-259.

[4] The curriculum of the ladies' colleges is further discussed in M. Theobald, "Mere Accomplishments'? Melbourne's Early Ladies' Schools Reconsidered', in *History of Education Review*, Vol.13 No.2, 1984, pp.15-28.

gender order of society. In *Knowing Women* (1996) she states that:

> '[a]ccomplishment' signified more than an area of study, a method of study, an attitude to study, or a standard of achievement, although it owed something to each; it symbolised *the appropriate use of woman's intellect in man's society.*[5]

In reality, the 'accomplishments' often included a strong academic component in what was commonly referred to as 'a sound English education', i.e. English grammar, literature, composition, elocution and calligraphy, modern languages, history, geography, arithmetic and natural science, as well as those elements regarded as the traditional feminine accomplishments - music, art and sometimes dancing, gymnastics, calisthenics, crafts and needlework.[6] Many of these areas were continued in the curricula of the new girls' schools, some of the traditionally 'feminine' elements (such as languages, music and art) gaining new respectability within the meritocratic framework of public examinations. With the implementation of progressive educational programmes in some Australian schools, particularly in the 1930s, the expressive arts and crafts were invested with a new vitality and even found their way into some boys' schools.[7]

Other researchers have demonstrated the essentially conservative outcome of the new schools. In South Australia, Alison Mackinnon's research into the Advanced School for Girls concluded that the girls educated at Adelaide's first government secondary school 'moved into the public sphere in a manner totally consistent with the prevailing views of womanhood',

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[5] M. Theobald, *Knowing Women: origins of women's education in nineteenth-century Australia,* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.22. [Italics in the quotation are mine.]

[6] Theobald, *Knowing Women,* pp.14-15.

[7] M. Scott, 'Progressive Educational Ideas and Practices in South Australian Non-catholic Independent Secondary Schools, 1919-1975', M. Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1995. [I did not consider that progressive ideas may have represented a challenge to the gender order: e.g. proposing that men should be 'accomplished' in areas that were traditionally feminine could be seen as an alternative form of masculinity. This could also explain why they were resisted in some of the more conservative boys' schools.]

leaving unquestioned the assumption that women's work was care-giving and primarily domestic.[8] In *The New Women*, Mackinnon investigated the lives of Adelaide's first women university graduates, women who entered professions 'taking the interests of women and children into the public arena' and thereby expanding the limits of woman's sphere without presenting any real challenge to men's occupations. Mackinnon here found evidence that higher education had a 'genuinely liberating' effect for individual women - 'a new sense of self-worth, of confidence in their abilities and of their contribution to the world,' even if they continued to be constricted by 'the narrow realities of women's social and economic situation'.[9]

In further research, Mackinnon explored demographic statistics to reveal that women graduates 'were in the forefront of the fertility decline, the great transition which changed the shape of the Western family in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries'.[10] Education, it seems, influenced the subjectivities of women, increasing their capacity for autonomy. While in the case of graduates, it could be argued that it was the financial and personal independence that came from a professional career which increased women's sense of active agency in their lives, Mackinnon suggests that access to 'the language of education' gave girls verbal and reasoning skills which enabled them to question aspects of women's role.[11]

This study is concerned not with outcomes of education for women, but with the various ways - in the rhetoric,

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[8] A. Mackinnon, 'Educating the mothers of the nation: the Advanced School for Girls, Adelaide', in Margaret Bevege *et al*, (eds.), *Worth Her Salt: women at work in Australia*, Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1982, pp.62-71, p.68. See also A. Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder: origins and outcomes of girls' secondary education in South Australia*, St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1984.

[9] A. Mackinnon, *The New Women: Adelaide's early women graduates*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986, p.210.

[10] A. Mackinnon, 'Male heads on female shoulders? New questions for the history of women's higher education', in *History of Education Review*, Vol.19 No.2, 1990, pp.36-47, p.43. Mackinnon expanded these ideas in a broader study: *Love and Freedom: professional women and the reshaping of personal life*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

[11] Mackinnon, 'Male heads on female shoulders?' p.44.

organisational features and curriculum - in which the feminine identities of girls were being constructed in the secondary school context. The MLC student quoted at the head of this chapter believed that her school experience offered something liberating: a 'fuller and richer' dimension of female life than had been available to her mother's generation. Miss Jacob saw herself as constructing a female category which she called 'the genus schoolgirl'.[12] It is argued here that the girls' schools became sites where a distinctive style of femininity could be practised, that 'schoolgirl femininity' was a pre-adult stage that allowed for an extended set of behaviours and experiences which sometimes challenged the boundaries of current ideas of femininity. Sport and physical education programmes, for instance, legitimised freer forms of dress and movement hitherto considered unfeminine. This enlarged concept of femininity, on the other hand, could sometimes be seen to revert to more conventional practice outside the school's 'female space', in public situations when males were present. For instance, on Speech days it was common early in the twentieth century for a male official to read a headmistress's annual report.

Theobald, in *Knowing Women,* invites consideration of how the collective educational experience may have influenced the formation of individual female subjectivities; whether, for instance, 'girls at school experienced a debilitating double load of the masculine and the feminine, as some scholars have suggested, or new and exciting ways of being a woman?'[13] She called for the historiography of women's education to advance beyond Delamont's concept of 'double conformity', which arose from the preoccupations of 1970s women's history.[14] Such a concept, she writes, 'locks the historian into a perception of failure in the past'.[15] For this study, the concept of 'double conformity' would prejudice the understanding of some aspects of girls' education which may actually have been experienced

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12 *The Tormorean*, Vol.XIV No.47, December 1914, p.3.
13 Theobald, *Knowing Women*, p.126.
14 Theobald, *Knowing Women,* pp.211-212.
15 Theobald, *Knowing Women*, p.212.

individually in a very positive light, in terms of opportunity rather than conformity. The 'double conformity' concept also impedes an understanding of the complexities of the experience of schooling, where the 'conformities' expected were actually multiple (academic, moral, religious, social, cultural and institutional) and varied from school to school. A more serious objection to the concept is its implicit assumption that serious academic standards had ever been historically exclusive to male students, a view which Helen Reid's research has shown to be as untrue for the early South Australian private girls' schools as Theobald has demonstrated for Melbourne.[16]

Most of the girls' schools to be discussed in this study were administered solely by women. In her study of some Adelaide girls' private secondary schools, Bronwyn Halliday pointed out that a school conducted by a headmistress and with men involved only 'in a subordinate, indeed humble capacity' (such as gardener) was not unusual for South Australia.[17] Caroline Jacob's Tormore House had no governing body, the Mercy sisters were financially self-supporting and subject to less external control in relation to daily school practice than the headmistress at the government-controlled Advanced School for Girls. Methodist Ladies College had a committee, but (unlike its Melbourne counterpart) its Head was a woman. These women were highly respected in the community and their intellectual and managerial capabilities made them obvious role models of independent and powerful femininity.

While girls' secondary education in South Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should not be seen as a totally emancipatory experience, it did offer, for those girls able to take advantage of it, an all-female space where gender

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[16]H. M. J. Reid, 'Age of Transition: a study of South Australian private girls' schools 1875-1925', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1996. Since published as H. M. J. Reid, *Age of Transition: a study of four South Australian private girls' schools 1855-1926*, Adelaide: Hyde Park Press, 2000.

[17] B. K. Halliday, 'Such Great Opportunities... A comparative study of four girls' private secondary schools in Adelaide, South Australia from approximately 1885 to 1925', M. Ed. Dissertation, University of Adelaide, 1986, p.20.

boundaries could be expanded to encompass new possibilities without encroaching upon male territory. It could be argued that the schools, in legitimising new ways for girls to think, move and act in the school context, were attempting to contribute to some redefinition of appropriate roles for South Australian women, modifying discourses of femininity while not challenging the complementarity of male-female relations.

The girls' schools investigated in this study are: the Advanced School for Girls, which was established by the South Australian Government in 1879,[18] The Convent of Mercy (from 1904 known as St Aloysius' High School and Boarding School), founded in 1880 by Catholic Mercy sisters from Argentina,[19] Tormore House School, conducted by Miss Caroline Jacob from 1898, which, though never incorporated as a church school, maintained a close association with the Church of England, the Methodist Ladies' College,[20] founded in 1902 and Adelaide High School, a coeducational government school which absorbed the Advanced School for Girls in 1908.

(A) THE RHETORIC OF SCHOOL ETHOS

The Advanced School for Girls: education and noble deeds.

This school was founded by the state government to provide girls with educational opportunities comparable to those

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[18] The Advanced School has been researched by Helen Jones, 'Women's Education in South Australia: institutional and social development, 1895-1915', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1982, and H. Jones, , *Nothing Seemed Impossible: women's education and social change in South Australia, 1875-1915*, St. Lucia Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1985, and by Alison Mackinnon, 'Less for fashion than for substance: the Advanced School for Girls, 1879-1908: a case study in the history of women's education', M. Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981, and Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder.*

[19] Now St. Aloysius College. The school will be referred to as the Convent of Mercy throughout this study.

[20] MLC was renamed Annesley College in 1975 following the unification of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Australia, forming the Uniting Church of Australia.

available for boys in the corporate schools. From its inception, the school reflected both the idealism and pragmatism attached to girls' education: it was established at a time when the University of Adelaide was awaiting only the Queen's Letters Patent to be able to confer degrees on women and there were as yet few opportunities for girls to reach the required admission standard. A Teachers' Training College had been established in 1876 and Helen Jones suggests that the provision of a pool of female teachers for the government's schools may have been one practical incentive behind the foundation of an advanced girls' school.[21] The liberal attitude of its principal founder, John Anderson Hartley, then Inspector-General of Education, towards the education of women was also influential. Hartley remained a supporter of the school, even giving Latin lessons on some occasions.[22] It was a fee-paying school and its financial status was closely monitored by Parliament.[23] The school appealed to a broad section of the middle class: research by Mackinnon has shown that enrolments included daughters of professional men and skilled workers, as well as an increasing number of bursary holders.[24]

The first headmistress, Miss Jane Stanes, became ill within two months of assuming leadership of the school, and assistant teacher Miss Edith Cook replaced her. Upon Miss Cook's marriage Miss Madeline Rees George became headmistress in 1886, and retained the post until the school closed in 1908. Miss George was English-born and had been educated at a German

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21 H. Jones, "Pinnacle of the State-School System": the Advanced School for Girls, Adelaide', in *ANZHES Journal* Vol.4, No.1, 1975, p.2.

22 Hartley gave the Latin students special teaching in 1891. H. Jones, 'Pinnacle of the State-School System', p.5.

23 Public support was not disappointing: during the final quarter of 1879, the school's first quarter of operation, thirty students were enrolled; by the end of the following year enrolments had reached 77, and the Minister Controlling Education was pleased to report that, after the initial financial outlay, there appeared 'every prospect that it will pay its way.' Report of the Minister Controlling Education, *South Australian Parliamentary Papers, 1880*, Government Statistician, 1881, p.ix. The accompanying statement of receipts and expenditure showed a profit of one pound, one shilling and seven pence for the last quarter of 1880.

24 Mackinnon, 'Educating the Mothers of the Nation', p.65. By 1908, 51% of the girls were bursary holders. (*ibid.*)

boarding school. After governessing in Europe and South Australia, she was employed from 1880 as a teacher of French and German at the Advanced School, except for a year (1885) when she conducted her own private school. She was an energetic imperialist, who infused generations of students at this school, then at Adelaide High School and later MLC, with a knowledge of the greatness of Empire. She became foundation secretary of the South Australian Branch of the League of the Empire in 1904.[25]

Annual Speech day reports illustrate the school's serious academic focus. Subject prizes awarded included English, French, German, Science, Latin and Mathematics. In 1891, the school was proud to announce that year's 26 passes in Preliminary Public Examination, 15 in the Junior (two of those in First Class) and 12 (out of 12) in the Senior (the University entrance qualification), four of these in First Class, four in Second and four in Third.[26] Photographs of successful examination candidates formed a 'gallery of honour' for the inspiration of younger students.[27] Each year, the school's successes were listed in the local newspapers: in the Senior Public Examination for 1896, ten of the thirteen successful girl candidates came from the Advanced School.[28] The school's success in preparing girls for university was undisputed: between 1885 and 1898, 13 of the 14 women graduates from the University of Adelaide were Old Scholars of the Advanced School.[29]

However, this academic emphasis was sometimes perceived in the wider society, and by authorities within the Education Department, as at odds with woman's domestic role as mother

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25 H. Jones, 'Madeline Rees George (1851-1931)', in B. Nairn and G. Serle (Gen eds.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Vol 8, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981, p.639.

26 *The Observer* 26 December 1891, 5d-e.

27 1905 Annual report, quoted in H. Jones, 'Pinnacle of the State School System', p.8.

28 Advanced School for Girls, Headmistress's Report, *SAPP.* 1897, Vol.2, Part I, No.44, p.19.

29 Mackinnon, *The New Women*, p.215.

and moral guardian. This role was often referred to as the 'traditional' or 'higher' role, terms which emphasised it as naturally or morally right. The Minister of Education's address at Speech day in 1891 revealed an attitude of cautious approval of women's higher education, so long as it did not interfere with woman's domestic role:

> Most of the girls would perhaps not have to work very hard in after life; but no one knew of what practical advantage their training might become. There was no reason why women should not continue to enter pursuits until recently limited to the other sex. He believed in women having equal political rights with men. ... The high-class education did not in any way interfere with the higher life of woman - her holy domestic duties.[30]

At the end of 1901, Miss Madeline Rees George's annual report rejoiced in the school's successes in the new Higher Public Certificate examination, the awarding to one of its students of a Tennyson Medal (a prize instituted by Lord Tennyson, Governor of South Australia 1899-1902 and son of the poet, to encourage the study of English Literature) and congratulated Old Scholars on their successful studies at the University. The Minister of Education, Mr. T. H. Brooker applauded the school's motto, 'Non scholae sed vitae' ('Not for school but for life') and closed his prize-giving address by reminding the audience that 'the strength and the state of the nation depended upon the nobility of the women' and quoting Charles Kingsley's words about goodness being preferable to cleverness in a woman:

> Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever;
> Do noble deeds - not dream them all day long -
> And thus make today, tomorrow, and the vast forever
> One long sweet song.[31]

To quell this sort of anxiety, women's education had to justify itself as enhancing, rather than destroying, the moral guardianship role. Equipping the mothers of the nation with cultivated minds needed to be seen as assisting them to 'do noble deeds'. Alison Mackinnon suggests that this assurance had been an important condition of the public acceptance of the

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30 *Observer* 26 December 1891, 5d-e.

31 *Register* 19 December 1901, 4b-d. The quotation is from Kingsley's poem 'A Farewell' (1858).

state's provision for women's education from the time it was first debated in the South Australian parliament.[32]

One of the first bursary-holders to attend the Advanced School was Edith Emily Dornwell, who subsequently won an Exhibition for Girls and became the first woman to graduate from the University of Adelaide. Between 1885 and 1893 she taught in girls' secondary schools, including the Advanced School. Upon her marriage in 1893, Edith's professional life ended.[33] Her career illustrates both the extent of women's educational and professional opportunities at the time and their limitation by social expectations relating to women's role as wife and mother.

The Convent of Mercy: tradition and liberation.

The Catholic interest in girls' education in late nineteenth century Australia was motivated on an official level by a belief in the moral influence of women in home and society. Adelaide's Bishop Sheil stated in 1868 that 'on the proper education of our females depends the spiritual and temporal welfare of the family and, by consequent necessity, that of Society'.[34] The Rules of the Sisters of Mercy (an order founded in Ireland by Catherine McAuley in 1831) showed the same commitment: 'for whatever be the station they are destined to fill, their example and their advice will always have great influence'.[35] Patrick O'Farrell's view that 'the content of Catholic education reflected the prevailing social concepts of male and female roles'[36] is probably generally accurate. However, central to the ethos of the Mercy sisters was the liberation of women, and this focus, together with other factors unique to the origin and development of the Adelaide Convent of Mercy, had implications for the educational ethos of that institution. There

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32 Mackinnon, 'Educating the Mothers of the Nation, p.63.

33 Theobald, *Knowing Women,* p.1.

34 P. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community. An Australian History*, Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1985, p.260.

35 'Rules and Constitution of the Religious called the Sisters of Mercy, Dublin 1870', cited in M. Crotty, 'The issue of Women and Schooling in a South Australian Catholic College', M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981, copy of chapter held in Mercy Archives of South Australia, p.12.

36 O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church*, p.260.

was sometimes a marked difference between episcopal rhetoric and the reality of the education of Catholic girls.

Nuns have not figured prominently in either church or educational history, however, a growing literature has begun to establish their place within the broader context of women's history. Recent research into the role of nuns in the education of girls in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries shows that, although in many respects they encouraged traditional forms of femininity, there were elements in a convent education which encouraged girls to transcend conventional barriers and educate themselves for positions traditionally regarded as outside the female sphere. Marta Danylewycz's research into the role of nuns in Canada in *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec 1840-1920* (1987) shows that for many women the religious life was a career path, chosen for a combination of personal and professional reasons, which allowed women to exercise power and sometimes live more publicly active lives than would normally have been possible for a woman. 'In the final analysis,' Danylewycz concludes, 'entering a convent could well mean overcoming the disadvantage of being a woman in a man's world.'[37] Janet West writes of the 'pattern of female independence' which Australian nuns modelled for their girl students[38] and in South Australia, research by Stephanie Burley has demonstrated that many Mercy and Dominican sisters were capable administrators, leaders and businesswomen, who, through their schools, may have had an impact for social change. From her study of several Adelaide Catholic girls' schools between 1880-1925, Burley concludes that the 'girls learned paradoxically to be good

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[37] M. Danylewyc, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec 1840-1920*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, n.d. (1987) p.160. S. Burley, 'Silent Sisterhood(s): Catholic nuns, their public work and influence for social change in Australia, in particular South Australia c.1880-1930', a paper presented at the conference for the International Federation for Research in Women's History, University of Melbourne, 1998, includes a comprehensive review of the literature on nuns in USA, Canada and Ireland.

[38] J. West, *Daughters of Freedom: a history of women in the Australian church*, Sydney: Albatross Books Pty. Ltd., 1997, p.100.

Catholic women on the one hand, and to follow their single independent role models, the teaching sisters, on the other.'[39]

Anne McLay, in her history of the Adelaide Mercy nuns entitled *Women on the Move,*[40] sees the Mercy Convent Schools as challenging prevailing ideas of women's roles and 'contribut[ing] ... towards redefining the spheres within which women might operate'.[41] She found the Adelaide Convent to be 'a striking example of the way in which convent schools were paradoxically conservers of the status quo and seedbeds of the women's movement'.[42] In Adelaide:

> [T]he building of a climate in which girls could aspire to moving out of the narrow places set for them by society and church was, without doubt, begun in the Mercy foundation story and in their early years of consolidation. Women could be flexible and creative, could take risks, could move beyond their allotted sphere.[43]

The 'Mercy foundation story' referred to here contained two elements - the community's Argentinian origins and the Mercy ethos itself - which distinguished the Adelaide Convent of Mercy from the more conservative mainstream Catholic education. The founding sisters - mostly of Irish-Argentinian origin - fled revolution in Argentina in 1880 and came to South Australia at the invitation of the Bishop. These cultured ladies, some from wealthy Argentinian families, brought a colourful, exotic element unique in South Australian girls' education which moderated the predominantly Irish cultural identity of Australian Catholicism and its schools in that era. Inherent in

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[39] 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, p.i. This same 'paradox' is explored by former Australian federal politician Susan Ryan in her autobiography, *Catching the Waves: life in and out of politics*, Pymble, NSW: HarperCollins, 1999. See also S. Burley, 'Past Principals: 'The Public Pervasive Presence of Powerful Women in the Church' in South Australia, 1880-1925', in *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, Supplementary Series Vol.V, 1999, pp.339-352.

[40] A. McLay, *Women on the Move: Mercy's Triple Spiral. A History of the Adelaide Sisters of Mercy Ireland to Argentina 1856-1880 to South Australia 1880-*, Adelaide: Sisters of Mercy, 1997.

[41] McLay,*Women on the Move*, p.305.

[42] McLay,*Women on the Move*, p.xxiii.

[43] McLay,*Women on the Move*, p.297.

this foundation story and the Mercy ethos were a spirit of adventure and adaptability, of women pioneering new possibilities. In Ireland, the Mercy order was distinguished from other Irish religious orders for its lack of enclosure and the public, more adventurous nature of its charitable work. Mother McAuley's work in Ireland was focussed on the liberation of women, both those in underprivileged situations and middle-class girls, for whom an education meant liberation from a life of decorative immobility, and the possibility of professional fulfilment. C. M. Lewis observes:

> Through an education centred in the mainstream of Christian humanism, she desired to help in the cause of social justice by preparing individuals to become free people, with a mastery over their lives.[44]

The Adelaide secondary school, first called St. Angela's Select Intermediate School for Girls and later named after St. Aloysius Gonzaga, the Jesuit patron of youth who had contracted the plague while working among the poor in Rome, was a fee-paying school, unlike the sisters' primary school. Until 1891, the Mother Superior of the convent also administered the Select School. The three women who filled this dual role in the first decade were from Argentina, two being Irish-born and educated and the third Argentinian-born.[45] The first principal of the school, when this became a separate post in 1891, was Australian-born Mother Magdalene Carroll, daughter of an Irish policeman from Geelong, Victoria, who remained in charge for twenty-three years. Magdalene had taught at a private school and been a governess before entering the convent and was given charge of the Angas Street secondary school at the age of 27. During her administration, the curriculum was broadened, its academic emphasis was firmly established and physical education was given strong encouragement. With the ageing of the Argentinian nuns, a new generation of Australian teachers, trained in Victoria, took their places. By 1912, only two Argentinian teachers remained: Sisters Margaret Mary Kenny,

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[44]C. M. Lewis, 'Provision for the Education of Catholic Women in Australia Since 1840', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1988, Vol.2, p.275.

[45] McLay, *Women on the Move*, pp.38-43, 70-71.

who taught music, and Evangelist Vian, teacher of French and needlework. Mother Magdalene taught much of the Senior work from 1891 and trained the boarders' choir. She left no written records of speeches: her ideas are accessible only through occasional reminiscences, records of organisational aspects of her school, and the three editions of the school magazine published during her term as principal, which are analysed in the following section.

The annual school concert and prize-giving ceremony are appropriate occasions to observe the public face of the school. The Archbishop usually distributed the prizes and the annual report was read by a priest. This public deference to traditional male public roles on the part of capable women in responsible administrative positions appears to have been common practice: at the Advanced School for Girls, Miss Rees George's annual report in 1891 was read by Hartley,[46] (although Miss George read later reports herself), and as late as 1911, Miss Patchell's Annual Report at the Methodist Ladies' College was read by the Chaplain.[47] Crotty has observed the change in the order of items in the convent's annual concert between 1891 and 1909 as evidence of changing priorities: the 1891 programme began with displays of needlework and handwork, followed by musical items then lastly, academic prizes, whereas in 1909 prizes for academic work were distributed first, with musical items and displays following.[48] However, even in 1891, the awarding of valuable prizes, presented by notable Adelaide people, for passes in Junior and Senior examinations indicated that academic learning was being strongly encouraged. The small numbers entering for public examination, an enduring emphasis on music and handiwork, as well as the continuation of prizes for such ladylike attributes as 'amiability' have

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46 *Observer* 26 December 1891, 5d-e.

47 *The Australian Christian Commonwealth* 6 January 1911, p.21.

48 Crotty, 'The Issue of Women and Schooling', pp.19-20.

perhaps been factors in the tendency for educational historians to neglect this school's early academic offerings.[49]

Although the parents of many of the nuns, and probably of a majority of the girls, in the early decades were from Ireland, Irish influence at the Convent is much less obvious than at CBC. The Spanish Argentinian culture was celebrated at the annual school concert, with entertainment often including colourful Spanish items such as dancing and operettas, and only occasionally an Irish song. Musical and dramatic performances dominated the entertainment: in 1891, a double piano duet was followed by a cantata in three parts, interspersed with other musical items.[50] By 1897 there was more variety: that year's display included an operetta, a farce, club-swinging and a dumbbell and weaving display,[51] and by 1901, the entertainment extended to an overture by the school orchestra, an operetta in three scenes, a Grecian dance, two-part singing, piano duets and an amusing sketch.[52]

The prizes awarded to girls for academic achievement appear to have been chosen as emblems of genteel femininity, illustrating publicly the school's intention of making girls learned *and* ladylike. . In 1891, for instance, the dux received a diamond brooch (presented by local identity Mrs T. E. Barr Smith) and other prizes were mostly gold brooches and bracelets.[53] For 1897, prizes were given for passes in the Senior and Junior examinations and for individual subjects. One girl was awarded 'a handsome set of books' (titles not specified) for passing her Senior, a gold bangle (for general proficiency) and a desk (for French). A gold watch, donated by Mrs Barr Smith, was awarded for the Junior certificate, while other prizes included a silver serviette ring (for fancy darning), a silver bangle (for music) and 'a handsomely framed picture' for Christian

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49 Prior to Burley's research, some recognition of this school's academic standards was given by Helen Jones, 'Women's education in South Australia', p.118

50 *Observer* 26 December 1891, 27e.

51 *Advertiser* 16 December 1897, 6i

52 *Register* 19 December 1901, 8f-g.

53 *Observer* 26 December 1891, 27e.

Doctrine.[54] In 1908, the Dux of the school received a gold watch and a volume of Tennyson.[55]

But despite such demonstrations of the compatibility between education and femininity, Catholic clergy only gradually reconciled the idea of the educated female with their more conservative religious feminine ideal which idealised women's domestic role. The encouragement to mastery over one's own life which was essential to the Mercy ethos sometimes seemed at odds with the official rhetoric of a patriarchal church. Archbishop Reynolds had told a school speech night audience in 1889 that he believed university honours 'very often destroy or at least tarnish those virtues which should form the chief characteristics of the Catholic gentlewoman.'[56] By 1916, however, official church representatives were expressing pride in the academic achievements of Catholic girls and actually encouraging more to excel. The chaplain at the Convent of Mercy remarked during the annual prize-giving ceremony on 'the success of Catholic students at examinations', and the Archbishop proudly commented on Old Scholar Mary Cecil Kitson's achievement in becoming Adelaide's first lady lawyer, telling the girls that it 'should be their ambition to follow in her footsteps. He hoped they would follow her example and that at another future time they might have a pupil not only successful in the law, but the medical examinations, or perhaps a doctor of music.'[57]

Unlike at the Advanced School, the inculcation of imperial loyalty was not pronounced at the Convent of Mercy. As at CBC, there is frequent reference to loyalty to country (Australia) and the cultivation of an Australian type without much reference to Empire. However, the school appears to have enjoyed a cordial relationship with the State's Governors. Newly-arrived Sir Hort Day Bosanquet presided at the distribution of prizes in 1911

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54 *Advertiser* 18 December 1897, 9b.
55 *Golden Wattle* 1909, p.51.
56 Cabra Convent Speech Night, *Southern Cross* 27 December 1889.
57 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.23.

and addressed the audience on character training.[58] The school magazine featured his full-page photograph in 1912.[59] The daughter of Lady Galway (wife of the State Governor 1914-1920, Sir Henry Galway) later attended the school. Lady Galway was a regular official guest at this and other girls' schools: for instance, in December 1914 the *Register* reported that the Convent's annual concert was held in the presence of Lady Galway and her daughter Miss d'Erlanger, and proceeds were in aid of Lady Galway's Belgian Relief Fund.[60]

Tormore House School: 'Nay, little maid, be good and clever too'.

Caroline Jacob, who purchased Tormore House School, North Adelaide, in 1897, played a significant role in characterising educated femininity for South Australian women. Educated by her mother and at a private girls' school in North Adelaide, Caroline Jacob taught for many years at the Advanced School for Girls under Miss Rees George.[61] At Tormore under its previous ownership, 'few girls then studied other subjects than English and Music and these without aiming at a definite standard.'[62] From 1898, fees were increased from two guineas to three guineas per quarter, and Latin, Mathematics and Science were made compulsory. There were no charged 'extras'. The unambiguous purpose of the school under the management of Caroline Jacob and her sister Annie (also a teacher) was to qualify girls for University entrance. Miss Jacob regretted that many parents did not seem to encourage their daughters to pursue University studies, the majority being 'satisfied with keeping them at school till they are 16, the age for leaving a

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58 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.9.
59 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.7.
60 *Register*, 17 December 1914.
61 H. Jones, 'Caroline Jacob (1861-1940)' in B. Nairn and G. Serle (gen eds.) *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Vol.9, Melbourne: Melbourne Universty Press, 1983, p.460.
62 Caroline Jacob, 'Tormore House School', n.d., MLSA 196/16/7, p.5. The school had also taught singing, dancing and painting.

middle school in England, the age at which most girls are just ready to begin study in earnest.'[63]

Miss Jacob frequently referred to her school's links with the English girls' High Schools such as Miss Beale's North London Collegiate, and was admitted to the English Head Mistresses' Association as a Correspondent. When the Bishop's wife referred to Tormore as 'the Cheltenham of South Australia', Miss Jacob graciously accepted the compliment.[64] Her expressed aim had always been 'to build up a school worthy to rank with the Girls' Grammar Schools of the other Australian states'[65], and, although her plan for Tormore to become an incorporated church school did not eventuate, it operated as a *de facto* Church of England school until, sadly deficient in numbers (having only a total of 37 students, and none interested in taking public examinations) it closed its doors in 1920.

Five years after the Minister of Education had quoted Kingsley's words about true maidenly behaviour, there appeared in *The Tormorean* a version of these words more in keeping with the Tormore style of educated femininity, under the telling title, 'To a Modern Maid':

> 'Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever?'
> Nay, little maid, be good and clever too;
> For surely goodness by itself will never
> Do half what it with cleverness will do.
>
> So little maid, I'd have you ever willing
> To gather stores of knowledge day by day;
> Your soul with love, your mind with wisdom filling,
> Go, shedding light and sweetness on your way.[66]

The idea of knowledge cultivating moral goodness in women was a constant theme at Tormore under Caroline Jacob. Devotion to studies was seen as virtuous. A student's obituary in 1903 praised 'an earnest worker who loved learning for its

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63 Annual Report for 1910, Speeches by Caroline Jacob 1891-1927, MLSA SRG 196/16/2, p.8.
64 *The Tormorean*, Vol.XIII No.44, December 1913, p.8.
65 Old Scholars' Association Presidential Address 1913, Speeches by Caroline Jacob 1891-1927, MLSA SRG 196/16/4.
66 *The Tormorean* November 1906, p.12. The author was given as 'A.C.C.'

own sake', who showed a 'love of books ... gentleness and trustworthiness.'[67] Strong religious and moral convictions underpinned the Tormore ethos and organisation. To emphasise only the academic focus of the school is to miss a crucial part of Tormore. It was a religious school, whose close links with the Church of England made it natural for Bishop Wilson to refer to it on Speech Day 1912 as 'a church school'.[68] Its headmistress was a serious bible student, whose 'deep religious fervour'[69] was said to have permeated Tormore. Addressing the Old Scholars' Association in 1913, Miss Jacob expressed a hope that some Old Tormoreans would decide to study at the Theological College in Sydney.[70] The commitment to academic learning, earnest study for examinations and the quest for high marks in all aspects of school work were invested with religious significance: Caroline Jacob proudly told parents that 'even our second class take their part in [the examination] with zest and comparative ease ... as I heard a Bishop once say 'an unexamined life is not worth living'.[71]

Miss Jacob believed education was appropriate for all women, and 'the highest education the country affords ... the best preparation for the fulfilment of the highest duties and for the enjoyment of the fullest privileges of womanhood.'[72] While celebrating those Old Scholars who had achieved at university and in professional careers, Miss Jacob frequently commented proudly on those Old Scholars who 'have married and are happily occupied in woman's highest work - the training of their own children.'[73]

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67 *The Tormorean* Vol.3 No.12, April 1903, p.2.

68 *Advertiser* 11 December 1912, p.19.

69 D. Angove, *A Tribute to Caroline Jacob From the Tormore Old Scholars' Association*, Adelaide: Tormore Old Scholars' Association, 1962, p.10.

70 Speeches of Caroline Jacob, MLSA 196/16/4.

71 Annual report, n.d. (1903?) Speeches of Caroline Jacob, MLSA SRG 196/16/5. The bishop was quoting the words of Socrates, in Plato's *Apology*, 38a: 'The unexamined life is not worth living.'.

72 *The Tormorean* Vol.XIII, No.43, August 1913, p.7.

73 Old Scholars' Association Presidential Address, 1913, Speeches of Caroline Jacob, MLSA SRG 196/16/4.

Bishop Thomas expressed a note of caution on the destination of educated women at the 1908 Tormore Speech day, saying he 'did not wish to see women entering into a rough and tumble competition with men on their own ground' but nevertheless he 'hoped many a girl would make up her mind to carve out some great useful career for herself.'[74] The emphasis on a 'useful' career suggests that he still saw woman's role as one of service to others, in a caring career such as nursing. It is arguable that Miss Jacob's own opinion was not too dissimilar: although she encouraged girls to be competitive academically, she had a strong belief in the importance of women's domestic role and their suitablity for working in caring roles. Perhaps her attitude agreed with that expressed in a girl's prize-winning essay on 'Vocations Open to Modern Women' in 1911, which elaborated upon business and professional opportunities and concluded:

> Of course no ambition to make a career for herself should make a girl forget that one of her most sacred duties is to help to make the home bright and cheerful for those dear to her, and that wifehood and motherhood are still the highest vocations to which she may be called.

Miss Jacob often referred to the caring and serving role as the natural, divinely-ordained lot of women. In 1920, she commented: 'I do rejoice in the happiness of our Old Scholars and in the capacity they shew for service and for sacrifice.'[75] Her own life was a demonstration of how this self-sacrificing role could be lived in combination with a professional career. After purchasing the Misses Thornber's Unley Park School in 1907, she administered both schools.[76] Some students found her daunting, one later recalling her

> commanding presence, tall with a halo of white hair, and as she stood at the door of a classroom quite silent, with folded arms and eyes that not only penetrated to every corner of the room, but seemed to many of the girls before her, to search out all their short-comings and misdemeanours, it is little wonder that the respect aroused was also mingled with apprehension.[77]

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74 *Advertiser* 17 December 1917 p.9.

75 Address to the Old Scholars' Association, 1920, Speeches of Caroline Jacob, MLSA SRG 196/16/6.

76 For more detail, see Reid, *Age of Transition*, p.139.

77 Angove, *A Tribute to Caroline Jacob,* p.13.

But she also fulfilled the typically 'female' duties of nursing her ailing sister and keeping house for her ageing father.[78]

Methodist Ladies' College: 'the standard of the women is the standard of the nation'.

By the time the Methodist Ladies' College was founded in 1902, female suffrage had been an accomplished fact for almost eight years in South Australia and higher education for women was accepted practice, at least for those able to afford it. For the Methodist community, the education of girls, including equipping them to use their vote wisely, was closely linked with the strong Methodist commitment to the moral improvement of society.

A strong conviction of the moral leavening power of women in society is evident in much of the rhetoric of the college, coupled with a confidence that the Methodist college could help create 'Earth's noblest thing: a woman perfected.'[79] There is also an implicit belief in the intellectual capacity of women. At the official opening, the Headmaster of Prince Alfred College, Mr. Frederic Chapple, whose daughters had attended the Advanced School for Girls, spoke of the new school's role in equipping girls for work or home life and teaching them to think for themselves. 'Mind and heart', he believed, 'must grow together, each finding its true awakening in the inspiration that comes only from religion.'[80]

The college's first prospectus, entitled 'Our Girls: their education' (1902), featured photographs of the newly-crowned King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra on the first page, an indication of a strong imperial allegiance which was to be

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78 Mr Jacob was a respected presence around the Tormore grounds and financed the building of the school's gymnasium. On his death in 1910, *The Tormorean* featured a photograph and a lengthy obituary on page two. *The Tormorean* Vol.XI No.35, December 1910, p.2.

79 'Our Girls: their education', Prospectus of Methodist Ladies' College, 1902, front cover. The quotation is from Robert Lowell.

80 'Our Girls: their education', p.11.

sustained throughout the period under study. Photographs of the college building in suburban Malvern and its interior features illustrated the comfort, healthiness and attractiveness of boarders' facilities and surroundings which the committee hoped would be 'a home from home' for girls.

The first headmistress, Miss Edeson, M.A., had been educated at Presbyterian Ladies College in Melbourne and was a graduate of the University of Melbourne. She had studied in Germany before returning to Victoria and eventually becoming Principal of her own school in Hawthorn. A photograph in the 1902 prospectus of a dignified Miss Edeson reading in her private sitting room captured the serious tranquillity and feminine elegance of both the setting and the subject.[81]

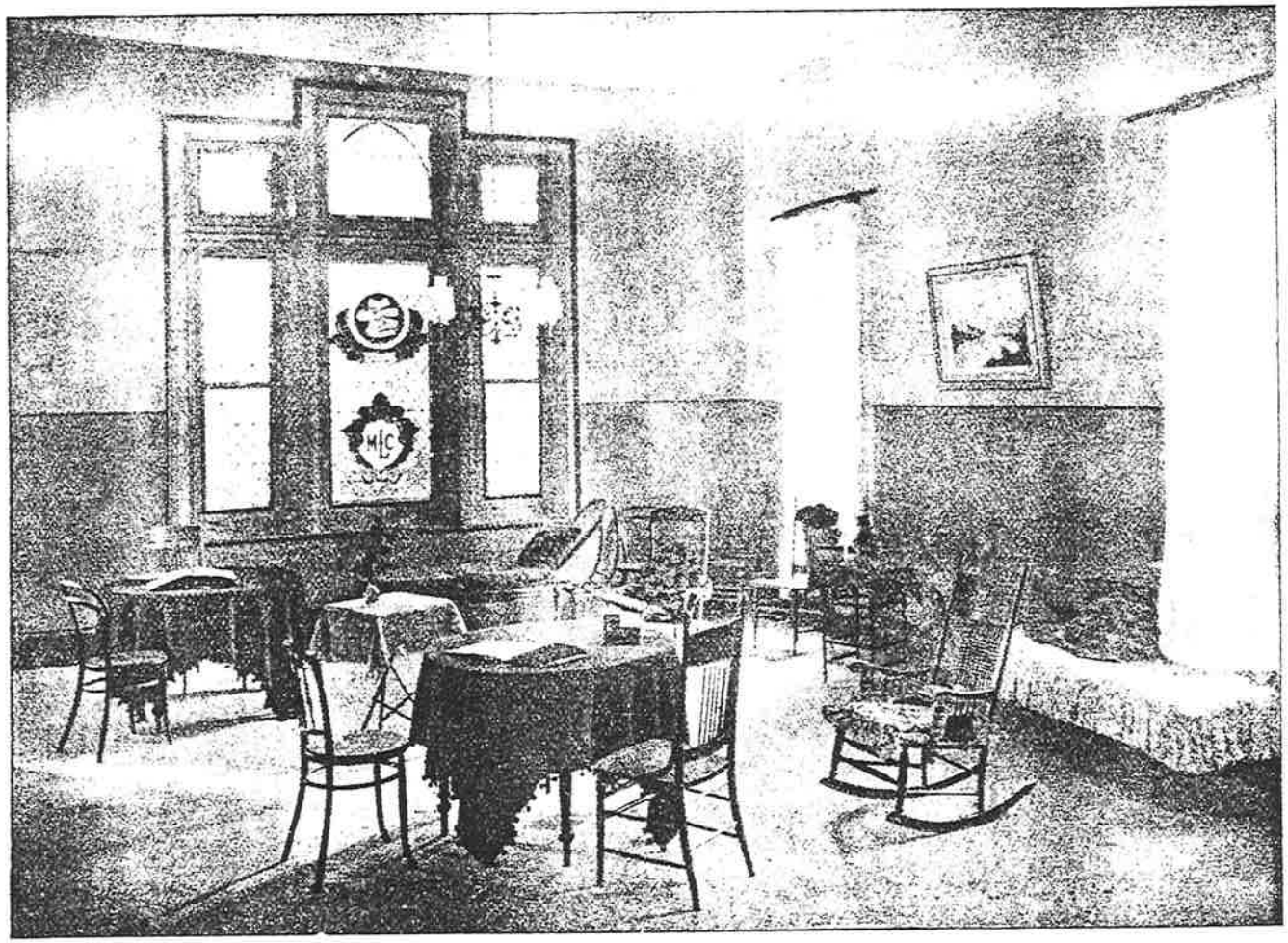
The college moved in 1904 to the more expansive site of Way College (a Bible Christian boys' college which closed after the amalgamation of the Methodist churches in 1901), refurnishings and alterations having been undertaken to effect the transformation to a girls' boarding establishment.[82] Photographs in the 1905 Prospectus depict an interior furnished in the 'feminine' style of the typical middle class drawing room:[83] *(Fig. XII)* the sitting room has round tables covered with decorative table cloths and couch and rocking chairs decorated with patterned cushions, while a boarders' bedroom contains a dressing table with mirror, washstand with lace tablecloth and brass beds with pretty covers. A photograph of

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81 'Our Girls: their education', p.5.

82 Phyllis Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom: the story of the first seventy-five years of the Methodist Ladies' College 1902-1977*, Adelaide: Annesley College, 1977, p.28, mentions approval being given to work by the architect and builders.

83 Juliet Kinchin, 'Interiors: nineteenth-century essays on the 'masculine' and the 'feminine' room', in Pat Kirkham (ed.), *The Gendered Object*, New York: Manchester University Press, 1996, pp.12-29, discusses the nineteenth century middle class home, where the 'masculine' dining room, with its heavy furniture and serious atmosphere, and the 'feminine' drawing room, with its light colours and more delicate furniture, stood in sharp contrast. pp.12-14.



THE METHODIST LADIES' COLLEGE SITTING-ROOM. THE CHARLES DREW WING.

Fig. XII. A 'feminine' room: the Methodist Ladies' College sitting-room, 1905. MLC Prospectus, 1905.

the college dining room shows two long tables, meticulously set for dinner and decorated with potted plants.[84]

The headmistress reported in 1905 that MLC had become the largest secondary girls' school in the State, with 142 students. Successes in the public examinations were establishing an enviable academic reputation, and already the college had pupils at the University.[85] Miss Walker, B.A., headmistress from 1907-10, who came to the school with wide teaching experience in England and Wales, has passed into the school history as an unfortunate interlude, having failed to adjust to the Australian social and educational practices, causing 'at best, embarrassment, and at worst, resentment by continual disparagement of South Australia, and invidious comparisons of English and Australian education.'[86] There had been no South Australian applicants for the position.

The Old Scholars' Service, instituted in 1909, became an annual event, where a Methodist minister preached on some aspect of women's role. In 1911, the topic was 'A Virtuous Woman - Her Influence in the Home and Indirectly on the Nation' and in 1912 the preacher urged young women to forego mercenary motives and obey 'the clear call of fruitful self-sacrifice' which had led so many women into missionary work.[87] The 1913 sermon on 'Social Changes in the Life of Women' was an eloquent defence of women's domestic role, expressed in the context of the idealised image of women favoured by clergymen of all denominations. The Reverend J. E. James told his audience that although women could carry a beneficial moral influence into business and social life, they risked losing 'that indefinable grace and charm which makes men reverence women'. He told the gathering:

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84 'Methodist Ladies' College, Wayville South Australia' [Prospectus] 1905, photographs on pp.22, 20, 18.

85 Prospectus 1905, pp.9-10.

86 Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom,* p.41.

87 *Wattle Blossom* Vol.V, No.5, December 1911, p.5; December 1912, [from this issue on the annual was not numbered] pp.21-22. Directly below the account of this sermon the magazine featured an article recounting the missionary experience of 'An Australian in India.' p.22.

> Woman is by nature the home-maker. Nature evolved the mother and has never evolved aught higher. Human life is strong and sweet in so far as its homes are. In the hands of the home maker is the future - honour, integrity, truth, religion.[88]

Methodist ideals of femininity were articulated in unambiguous terms in the regular column 'Talks with Our Girls' by Thelma in *The Australian Christian Commonwealth*, from 1902. Girls were often exhorted to practise self-control, courage and frugality. Prescriptive messages such as 'no Christian has any right in a ballroom'[89] were typical. In September 1902, Thelma wrote admiringly of Mrs Roosevelt, wife of the American president, who, in the course of her official duties had shown courage in refusing to be introduced to the Grand Duke Boris of Russia - 'a man of loose morals'. Mrs Roosevelt was also praised for her lack of extravagance and simple style of dress. Thelma recommended that girls take good care of garments and learn to adapt old clothes, concluding:

> I do admire the courage of the girl or woman who can **wear an old dress with dignity.**[90]

The college's long-serving third headmistress (1911-27) was South Australian Miss M. E. Patchell, B.A., B.Sc., whom students later recalled as 'a very stately lovely lady',[91] 'strict yet entirely fair and ever ready to lend a listening ear to any of our problems.'[92] Miss Patchell told an interviewer in 1915: 'the standard of the women is the standard of the nation' and believed that 'in South Australia our Ladies' College is a distinct factor in the making of our country's true womanhood'. From her experience of South Australian girls, she believed they were more capable and resourceful than girls in England, and knew much more about house-keeping, and therefore were less in

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88 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, pp.24-5, p.25.

89 *Australian Christian Commonwealth* 12 September 1902, p.5a.

90 *Australian Christian Commonweath* 19 September 1902, p.5a-d.

91 Mrs. Doris Weeding (Crosby), 'Early Days at MLC': Memories Day held at National Council of Women House, Adelaide, 16 August 1993. Typewritten transcript held in MLC/AC Old Scholars' Archives.

92 Dorothy Shepherd (Smyth), 'Memories of Yesterday', 31 March 1994. MLC/AC OS Archives.

need of instruction in domestic science.[93] An admirer of the character training given in the public schools of the United Kingdom, she was a firm believer in the value of boarding schools for 'education in manners and in method ... [and] discipline'.[94] In her 1911 annual report, Miss Patchell spoke on the development of true character, stressing 'the virtues of self-control and self-sacrifice, the grace of quietness; and the faithful performance of daily duties'.[95] Like headmaster Chapple at the Methodist boys' school, Prince Alfred College, Miss Patchell often stressed effort and strenuousness in the pursuit of one's ideals, and, like Chapple, she made use of the school magazine to impress her message upon the school.

Miss Patchell's annual reports always noted the good attendance at Christian Union meetings and Bible Circles and applauded the school's efforts in support of the missions and, during the war years, its contributions to Red Cross and other patriotic funds.[96] Her commitment to building women of character gained force during the war years: in 1917, she referred to 'the splendid deeds done by our Australian boys on the battle fronts' and indicated that such 'self-sacrifice, self-denial, and noble devotion to duty' had been built up in the homes and schools.[97] The reference to training in the home again emphasised her belief in the importance of woman as home-maker and nurturer of character. Miss Patchell also laid emphasis on living a useful life in the service of others: in 1917, after listing the efforts of students and Old Scholars for missions and patriotic funds, she said that if women craved higher education for individual development, 'the development of individuality they desired was not for mere self-assertion but for finer service.'[98] After the Armistice she told the school leavers that the women of Australia had the responsibility for the moral reconstruction of

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93 'Interviewing the Headmistress' in *Australian Christian Commonwealth* February 12 1915, pp.8-9.
94 'Interviewing the Headmistress' p.8.
95 *Australian Christian Commonwealth* 22 December 1911, p.21.
96 e.g. *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1915, p.8.
97 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1917, p.7.
98 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1917, p.9.

the nation: 'Never before has the nation needed so much the refining and strengthening influence of a pure and true womanhood.'[99] At this stage, MLC was educating 371 of South Australia's young women.[100] The College President, the Rev. W Shaw, told the audience at the Annual Demonstration that '[t]he future of the world would lie in the hands of the women' and he believed that the college was 'building up a generation of women strong in character and intellectual attainment.'[101]

Students who showed themselves models of the school's most desired qualities were rewarded by prizes or positions of responsibility. The recipients of the major honours illustrate the school's exemplary femininity, which was based on high academic, physical, spiritual and moral standards. The Good Fellowship Prize, 'the highest honour the school girls can give to one of their number'[102] was awarded annually by vote of the whole school to 'the girl who is considered to have exerted the best influence over others, and whose own conduct is beyond reproach'.[103] The winner was always a girl who showed diligence in school work; sometimes she was also dux of the school.

The dux was expected to be a model student in more than academic terms - Eileen Reed in 1912 passed five subjects in the Higher Public Examination, appearing in the General Honour List.[104] She was also captain of the First Tennis Team and was described as a girl of 'unfailing politeness and courtesy'.[105] The 1913 dux, Sesca Somerville, displayed the versatility of the exemplary modern school girl: she was captain of the First Tennis team, a member of the Rowing Club, wrote poetry, was a member of the Christian Union and conducted a junior Bible Circle. She was also noted for her 'strong, reliant, honourable

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99 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1918, p.7.
100 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1918, p.5.
101 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1918, p.5.
102 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, p.66.
103 *Wattle Blossom* December 1912, p.34.
104 *Manual of the Public Examinations Board,* 1913, p.(57).
105 *Wattle Blossom* December 1912, p.34.

character'.[106] The 1916 dux was not involved in sports, but was a member of the Christian Union, a college prefect and a prolific winner of essay competitions (including 7 prizes for the League of Empire).[107] The 1917 winner seemed an exception - Mabel Robertson had passed only two Higher Public subjects but had a full school certificate from the Royal Drawing Society and was of 'a very artistic temperament' with 'marked histrionic and elocutionary ability'. The magazine noted her 'bright, happy disposition' and 'keen sense of humour', but added that '[h]er abounding energy needs somewhat firmer control, and together with that deeper sense of responsibility which the years will give to her, she will develop into a cultured and lovable gentlewoman.'[108] In this award, the school appeared to recognise some alternative feminine attributes, while pointing out some desirable attributes which were as yet undeveloped.

Apart from student role models, females who were held up for emulation included Lady Galway and those women who had ventured out on missionary work. These and others will be encountered in more detail in the analysis of the contribution of the *Wattle Blossom* to the construction of femininity at MLC.

Adelaide High School: girls in a male culture.

With the founding of Adelaide High School in 1908, girls from the Advanced School were accommodated within the new coeducational establishment, undoubtedly a very different environment from the comparatively sedate and 'ladylike' atmosphere of the girls' school. The headmistress of the Advanced School, Miss Rees George, became headmistress of the new school, but her new role seems to have been largely advisory to Headmaster William Adey, who was grateful for her 'untiring energy and zeal, her sound judgment, and her willingness to render assistance' in his 'onerous duty of

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106 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, p.66.
107 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1916, p.26.
108 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1917, p.25.

controlling the school.'[109] Adey's first annual report expressed his approval of the conduct of the students, and perhaps allayed some anxieties about Adelaide's first state coeducational secondary school, telling his audience that it had 'been a delight to watch the courteous behaviour of the male students, who have been ever ready to give precedence to the girls, who, in their turn, have recognized their obligations to the lads.'[110]

Although only slightly outnumbered by the boys, girls formed a sub-culture within a male-dominated institution. Their interests were catered for by Miss Rees George and other female staff who had come from the Advanced School. Campbell has suggested that 'the dominance of the concern for boys and their schooling' - with other dissatisfactions - may have been a factor in Miss Rees George's eventual resignation from the staff in 1913.[111] She undoubtedly had a strong influence on the girl students, imparting to them her imperialist fervour and perpetuating something of the ambience of the Advanced School.

To some extent, the school's values were presented as generically human, but sometimes female virtues were specified, as, for instance, in Tom Price's 'Last Message to the Boys and Girls of South Australia'. This was printed at the back of a souvenir of the opening of the Assembly Hall, and referred in general terms to 'good, upright, conscientious men and women.' There followed specific messages for boys and girls: boys were called upon to 'develop a backbone .... Get clear opinions on things, and stick to them - fight for them, if need be', whereas girls were made aware of their relational role to men and their moral and domestic duties:

> Your mission in life is to be modest, to be pure, and to make the boys and men better because they have known you. Learn to be good housewives, and take a pride in your home.[112]

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109 *SAPP* 1910, No.44, p.37.
110 *SAPP* 1909, No.44, p.34.
111 Craig Campbell, 'Problems of culture, governance and social purpose,' p.49.
112 *The Price Memorial Hall,* pp.24-5.

Price believed women had a duty to encourage temperance in the home and the nation. Addressing a temperance meeting during a visit to Liverpool, he advised the women of England to 'get a vote as soon as they can' and 'once you get it, use it in the interests of temperance, as the women have done in my country.'[113] Director of Education, Alfred Williams shared this belief.[114] He had written a report to Parliament in 1911 which demonstrated his conviction of the primacy of woman's domestic, maternal role. He referred to the 'failure [of schools] to undertake an energetic policy in training girls for the duties of the home', 'forgetting or ignoring the fact that education is a means to an end; and the great end and aim of a woman's life is to be the honored mistress of her own home, and mother of healthy, vigorous children who are well disposed to all that is right and good.' He quoted 'a recent writer' who had said that women's inability to create an attractive and healthy home environment and provide adequate care and nourishment was a major cause of intemperance and crime.[115] The emphasis on the role of women in moral regeneration of the nation and the tendency to blame mothers and wives for many social ills were widespread at the time. The emphasis on temperance was a feature of a strongly non-conformist South Australian society in which Methodism was numerically the strongest (non-Anglican) denomination.[116]

The deaths of two of the school's founders at an early stage in its history were discussed in Chapter Five as contributing to the construction of a school ethos which was predominantly male. Headmaster William Adey's rhetoric often concerned the cultivation of traditional public school virtues expressed in male terms, such as 'Christian manhood' but in his addresses to school assemblies he did acknowledge the presence of girls, as

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113 Smeaton, *From Stone Cutter to Premier*, p.201. Price had supported female suffrage in the South Australian Parliament.

114 Williams was the son of a Cornish miner, and the Cornish were predominantly Methodist, so his support for temperance is not surprising.

115 *SAPP* 1912, No.44, Appendix A, pp.19-26, p.21.

116 Non-conformist congregations made up over one-third of the population. See Chapter Four, especially Table II: Religious denominations.

in August 1912, when he spoke on 'manliness, integrity, honesty, womanliness', quoting from Bacon's essay 'Of Truth' (which was set for the Higher Public examination that year).[117] It would be misleading, however, to assume that Adey's masculine rhetoric was intended to exclude the feminine. It is likely that he saw the desirable outcomes of education as encompassing a lot of common ground for males and females, that he saw 'self-reliance, truth, sincerity, initiative, and ready obedience to authority' as ungendered qualities. Nor would girls have necessarily felt themselves excluded. As Lesley Johnson suggests, girls 'did not ... necessarily immediately understand themselves, identify themselves as sexed creatures';[118] indeed, in an era when the human person was routinely identified as 'he' or 'man', females were more accustomed to identifying themselves with discourses relating to ungendered human beings.

War-time addresses were more specifically masculine, often concerning the patriotism and heroism of Old Scholar soldiers. For instance, on 7 May 1915, Adey spoke about the bravery of Australians at the Dardanelles and the death of Lieutenant Gordon Munro, one of the school's first prefects.[119] Other assemblies were held to farewell departing servicemen and welcome home the wounded.[120] But Adey also spoke on other themes, such as the war-time virtues of thrift, generosity and self-denial, with which girls could identify.

Chapters Five and Six illustrated the 'traditions and memories' of Adelaide High School as a celebration of masculinity, overshadowing the achievements of female Old Scholars. In peace time, Dorothea Proud's award of Dame Commander of the British Empire (1917) - given but a brief mention in the school magazine - might have received more acclaim.[121]

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117 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.4 No.3, Michaelmas 1912, p.9.
118 Lesley Johnson, 'The schooling of girls in the 1950s: problems with writing a history of 'women's education'', in *History of Education Review* Vol.19 No.2, 1990, pp.8-14, p.11.
119 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.2, Midwinter 1915, p.17.
120 e.g. *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.3, Michaelmas 1915, p.16.
121 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.9 No.4 Christmas 1917, p.18.

(B) SCHOOL ORGANISATION

Rules, religion and the construction of the 'school girl'.

In Theobald's words, '[t]he modern schoolgirl did not spring, fully-fledged, into existence. Like the female secondary school itself she had to be agreed upon.'[122] At all the girls' schools during this period, there is evidence of a conscious attempt to regularise the appearance, behaviour and habits of the 'school girl'. Rules encouraged regular attendance, punctuality and conformity to uniform standards of dress and conduct. Prizes were awarded for adherence to a high standard of attendance, neatness and attention to homework, and impositions were given or marks deducted for non-compliance.

As the girls' schools became more academic in orientation and numbers entering public examinations increased, the organisation of the girls' schools began to be dominated more and more by regular testing and examination preparation and the encouragement of mental habits such as industriousness, orderliness and perseverance. At all the schools, daily life was strictly timetabled, inspected and supervised. Compliance with the rules, in particular regular attendance, was rewarded. There is reference in 1910 to an attendance honour list at the Convent of Mercy, with a gold medal being awarded to one girl who managed seven years' unbroken attendance and several silver medals for one year's full attendance.[123] Punctuality and orderliness were also insisted upon, and music had a role to play in the cultivation of these virtues, as 'children lined up on the tennis court and marched into school to the strains generally of 'Magnolia Buds' ... or 'Paul Revere's Ride', played on the piano by a music student.[124] Breaches of the rules were punished: a student at the Convent later recalled that a typical imposition for talking or being late for class was to write out one hundred

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122 Theobald, *Knowing Women,* p.110.

123 *Advertiser* 17 December 1910, 15b.

124 Sr Kevin Kennedy, 'Recollections of teaching nuns and curricula c.1900-1940', MASA 626/39.

times a moral maxim such as 'A merry morning brings a sad evening'.[125]

At Tormore House, a system of marks recorded observances and breaches of expected behaviour. A school diary belonging to a student in 1910-11 demonstrates the close monitoring of behaviour: marks were given out of 10 and fortnightly averages recorded for lessons and conduct, with marks lost for unpunctuality, neglect of regulations, untidiness or misconduct. Breaches were recorded in a column headed 'Remarks'. Some typical entries were: 'talking in assembly' and 'laughing during Preparation', and, in one case, the quite unladylike misdemeanor of 'jumping over [a] form'.[126] Homework diaries were introduced to promote orderliness, time management and self-discipline: Miss Jacob believed that there was 'no habit more mischievous than that of dawdling and playing over work.'[127] Homework was set in four subjects each night, and was expected to be completed in two hours, with no work to be done after 8 o'clock.[128] Weekend homework consisted of a composition on a given topic. Students were required to record the actual time spent on each subject. The completed fortnightly record then received the signatures of both teacher and parent.
Boarders at MLC were to obey a list of rules and received a 'Boarders' House Report'[129] signed by the Headmistress which graded their Health, Music Practice, Punctuality, Neatness, Conduct and Tennis and Hockey and recorded any Impositions and Fines. As well as regulating behaviour, the rules (such as 'Girls are not allowed to go round to the Kindergarten or into front garden without permission')[130] were designed to ensure

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125 Kennedy, 'Recollections', MASA 626/39.
126 'Tormore House School: Fortnightly reports of marks gained and record of lessons set'. (Homework Diary of Mary Adams, 1910, 1911). MLSA SRG 196/10.
127 Speeches of Caroline Jacob, [1903], MLSA 196/16/5.
128 Some pages of the 'Fortnightly reports' stipulate 8.30. Miss Jacob set 8 o'clock as the finishing time. Speeches by Caroline Jacob 1891-1927' [n.d.] (1903?) MLSA SRG 196/16/5.
129 'Boarders' House Report' December 1920, belonging to Mavis Hurn, VA(L), MLC/AC OSA.
130 Dorothy Shepherd (née Smyth), 'Memories of Yesterday'.

safety. At all the girls' schools, there was an emphasis on physical protection from the outside world.

At all the schools, the students' lives were highly structured to meet not only the demands of examination work but also standards of ladylike behaviour which, in church schools, were closely linked to religious aims. For boarders at the Convent of Mercy, religion had its own rituals. Daily routine was organised around a series of bells, which called them to work or prayer. The religious calendar celebrated feast days of saints and months of special religious significance; May, for instance, was 'Mary's month', when each of the senior classes took turns to decorate Our Lady's altar with flowers.[131] An annual retreat held in preparation for the feast day of Our Lady of Mercy provided an intensive programme of prayer, lectures and private reading.

Researching the religious culture of Catholic girls' schools, Stephanie Burley has observed a close intertwining of religion and gender in an 'intense environment of cultivated religious femininity'.[132] Burley's research highlights the aesthetic and emotional significance of Catholic rituals and atmosphere and sensory aspects such as bells, hymns, sacred music, graceful architecture, statues, paintings, religious costumes, incense and flowers. Special ceremonies, such as the religious profession of novices, with 'the beautiful white silk robes ... symbolical of [the novices'] union with the Divine Spouse', the beauty of the altar, choir and procession, had impressive aesthetic appeal.[133]

An overlay of genteel, ladylike refinement is observable in the Convent of Mercy Rules in the close attention given to table manners and personal grooming. Some of the early nuns were (like Catherine McAuley herself) wealthy heiresses, and in Argentina had lived their early lives in cultured leisure on large

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131 *Golden Wattle* 1909, p.41.

132 Stephanie Burley, 'Resurrecting the Religious Experience of Catholic girls' schooling in South Australia in the 1920s'. Paper presented to the ANZHES Conference, University of Auckland 1998. p.8.

133 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.18.

estates. In the recollections of their students, these ladies were remembered as possessing a 'high tone', 'very cultured', or even 'haughty and aristocratic'.[134] Secondary schooling for girls at the time was still a superior education, affordable only by the wealthier classes, in whom such social graces were to be expected. Daughters of the newly well-to-do - and occasionally those not so wealthy - could be sent to school to learn social skills. The Mercy sisters appear to have offered the same education to some girls whose parents wanted but could not well afford it,[135] as well as to the daughters of families of other faiths.[136]

A booklet of School Rules from the Argentinian years at the Convent of Mercy illustrates how the school girl was being constructed within this particular environment. In the dormitory, dining hall, chapel, classroom and at recreation, the behaviour of boarders was closely controlled. Perhaps the detailed regulations imply a rather negative view of the behaviour of young Australian girls from the point of view of the cultivated Argentinian religious ladies. Rules for the dining hall were very detailed: girls 'should carefully avoid touching the meat with their fingers ... putting the knife into their mouth, leaning their elbows on the table, taking very large mouthfuls' and were reminded to use their knives, forks and cups quietly. Recreation was supervised and the girls had to 'keep near Sister, not go off into little parties of two and three.' They were to 'avoid rough or rude games, and never even in play lose sight of modesty.' Silence was to be observed in the dormitory, dining hall and on the stairs as well as in the chapel, with 'strict silence' from the night prayer bell until after breakfast next day. Special reference is made to hair, given the long styles of

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134 McLay, *Women on the Move*, p.97.

135 Research by Mary Emery in 1978 revealed that of 51 boarders attending the school in 1912, 45 paid fees. Mary Emery, 'Portrait of a Catholic Girls' School, Adelaide 1912', MASA 704/9, p.7.

136 There appears to have always been a small number who were not Catholic. Several Jewish girls attended the school in the early 1920s, attending the Synagogue on Saturdays. Carmel Bourke, interview and memoirs, quoted in Burley, 'Resurrecting the Religious Experience', p.7.

the period: 'Loose hair is not to be thrown about but put carefully into the box for the purpose.'[137]

The school rules were enforced by close supervision by the nuns, with the assistance of those senior girls who were members of the Sodality of the Children of Mary. The Rules stated that '[t]he more grown girls and especially the Children of Mary should be examples of respect and obedience to the rest.' Like prefects in the English public schools, the sodality members exercised a supervisory role and were regarded as the school's female exemplars The sodality comprised past and present students, who met regularly. A period of probation was necessary before a girl could be consecrated as a Child of Mary and entitled to wear the blue cloak and white veil on the monthly Children of Mary Sunday. The model of female perfection for the Child of Mary was Mary herself, and the girls were enjoined to emulate her modesty and devotion to Christ, evidenced by faithful observance of Catholic practices. Fogarty sees the sodalities in Catholic schools as small, élite organisations which developed 'latent capacities for leadership, stimulating them and directing them to the common good' and 'act[ed] as cells exercising an influence for good upon the larger organism.'[138]

The emphasis on ladylike manners, quietness and self-control was common to all the schools studied. Silence was part of school discipline: MLC boarders had to

> assemble in rest room and march quiety in pairs to dining room for meals. No talking allowed during march.[139]

One boarder later recalled that the only time she had incurred a reprimand from Miss Patchell was when she 'took the butter off the butter-dish and put it on my bread. This is something

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137 'School Rules', n.d., Unpaginated. MASA 150.

138 Ronald Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950 , Vols. 1 and 2*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1959, Vol.2, p.413.

139 Rules, 'Memories of Yesterday', MLC/AC OSA.

we were not allowed to do.'[140] This student, one of a family of nine children from a country town, soon learned that a lady used the butter-knife to place the butter on her plate, then spread it onto the bread. The vast array of crockery and cutlery from the boarders' dining room, all bearing the MLC crest, which has been preserved in the Old Scholars' Archives, makes a new boarder's confusion quite understandable.[141]

At Tormore, a deeply religious tone which emanated from Caroline Jacob herself and from the school's close affiliation with the Church of England was evident in school organisation. Girls throughout the school learned a daily scripture verse and the school chaplain visited regularly. The Tormore Mission Club, formed in 1902, had a membership of 76 in 1903, of a total 124 pupils[142] and the annual bazaar for the missions in Melanesia, New Guinea, Carpentaria and the Home Mission was a highlight of the year. There was also a Communicants' Guild at the school. It was on the suggestion of Miss Jacob that Michaelmas Day was commemorated as Old Scholars' Day.

Girls at MLC attended morning prayers each morning, led by the Headmistress. Bible study was part of the curriculum, and the chaplain attended once a week to lead prayers and give a scripture lesson to the whole school. On Sunday, the girls walked half a mile to the Unley Methodist Church and in the afternoon attended a Bible Study conducted by Miss Patchell, where each girl had to repeat the scripture verse she had learned during the week. They returned to the church for the evening service. This school also had an active Christian Union and Bible study circles, in which some senior girls were leaders. In 1909 and 1912, Adelaide was host to the Chapman-Alexander mission, an evangelist crusade headed by American Presbyterian preacher Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman. Some of the

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[140] Mrs Doris Weeding (née Crosby), 'Early Days at MLC'. (A boarder at MLC 1918.)
[141] Collection of crockery and cutlery used in the Boarders' Dining Room. MLC/AC OSA Archives.
[142] *The Tormorean* April 1903, Vol.3, no.12, p.4.

meetings attracted over 5,000 people.[143] In 1909, the mission party held a service at the school, with girls joining the singing of hymns and choruses.[144] The 1912 mission was enthusiastically supported by the college, with the *Golden Wattle* reporting that 'the Chapman-Alexander party became our great friends, and we attended five or six meetings in the Exhibition.' The missioners visited the college twice and 'all fell in love with Mrs Harkness [an old MLC girl] and her singing'.[145]

At all the girls' schools, the lifestyle of boarders, like that of leisured middle-class ladies, was quiet, peaceful and uncluttered by domestic chores. The value placed on silence, the cultivation of habits of reflection, meditation and the contemplation of aesthetic beauty may have made a broader contribution to the student's personal development. Archbishop Spence, in 1917, referred to '[t]he calm atmosphere of gentleness and peace that pervades religious establishments' and which 'seems to facilitate ... mental development, as well as ... physical progress.'[146] While his comments appear self-congratulatory, they point to a positive aspect of (particularly female) religious educational institutions which historians have tended to overlook, or have seen only negatively, in terms of an oppressive religious burden.

School symbols and uniforms

All the schools in this study adopted crests and badges, symbolising academic, moral and spiritual goals. Although none of the mottoes of the girls' schools was overtly feminine, each was in tune with the school's particular style of femininity. The motto of the Advanced School for Girls 'Non Scholae sed vitae' - Not for school but for life - was given to the school by Miss Rees

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143 The Mission was reported in detail in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, e.g.June 7 1912, p.1 and pp.6-9. See also Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, pp.268-269.

144 *Wattle Blossom* Vol.IV No.4, December 1909, p.9.

145 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1912, p.38.

146 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.5.

George on her return from a visit to England, where she had reported on English girls' secondary education for the South Australian government. It was subsequently adopted by Adelaide High School, Adey evidently considering it appropriate for a co-educational high school. In 1909, the Adelaide High School Magazine elaborated on its meaning:

> The supreme end of education is not to acquire mere knowledge but to acquire those habits of thoughtfulness, self-control, and concentration which will enable us to be strong, reliable men and women.[147]

The motto adopted at MLC was a Latin quotation from a poem by Horace: 'Verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae' - 'To learn the numbers and measures of true life', which was suggested by the school chaplain in 1902 and readily adopted by the committee.[148] The crest was embossed on school texts and prize books, as well as being incorporated into the uniform. The Tormore crest first appeared in the school magazine's August 1910 issue. It featured a cross on a shield, with the motto 'Aspice Finem' - 'Look to the Goal'.[149] From 1910, the school's exercise books bore the school crest.

The 1912 magazine at the Convent of Mercy explained that the school had adopted a French motto: 'Loyal en tout' - 'Loyal in everything', signifying loyalty to God, school and friends.[150] This loyalty was later written in broader terms, embracing loyalty to the Marian ideal of womanhood and loyalty to Australia, 'this glorious land of promise'.[151] The school crest featured the fleur-de-lis, which it was hoped would inspire personal standards of spirituality and character, as explained in the 1917 edition of the annual:

> Then hail to the triple leaved fleur-de-lis,
> With its three-fold virtues entwined,
> May purity, loyalty, mercy be found,
> In the hearts of its wearers enshrined.[152]

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147 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Midwinter 1909, p.1.
148 Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p.20.
149 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.34, August 1910, p.1.
150 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.49.
151 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.6. (Editorial)
152 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.9.

It took some time to decide upon the appearance of the new feminine type, the 'school girl', and uniforms evolved slowly. Gradually the schools adopted features such as the straw boaters, ties and blazers associated with the boys' school uniforms. In the early 1900s, MLC adopted an ankle length dark skirt and white blouse with a shoulder flash in the school colours of red and white. A straw hat was worn with a ribbon and the school badge. A photograph of prefects in 1916 shows some of the girls wearing ties.[153] *(Fig XIII)* In 1917, the prefects' photo shows that a blazer had become part of their uniform.[154] After school, boarders until the late 1930s wore a black velveteen tea frock.[155] The Convent of Mercy prospectus in 1912 advised that girls needed frocks in navy blue print for summer and dark stuff for winter.[156] A photograph of boarders in 1917 shows all wearing dark dresses with white collars.[157] At Tormore, Caroline Jacob commented in 1914 that 'the restful effect of unanimity in colour [navy blue] and the style of headdress suitable for the genus school girl is now fairly widely understood'.[158]

Early marks such as colours and badges were intended to identify the school, as well as to engender school pride. However, the significance of uniforms in the physical styling of the 'genus school girl' is more complex than the fostering of collective school spirit. The school uniform has been viewed from a Foucauldian perspective as a technique of governing the body, 'a technology of government which offers manifold strategies of power and a repertoire of disciplinary and

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153 *Wattle Blossom* December 1916, p.32.

154 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1917, p.28.

155 These items of uniform are displayed in the Old Scholars' Archives in a series of dressed dolls depicting uniforms in the history of the college.

156 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.66.

157 Photographs Vol.1, MASA.

158 *The Tormorean* Vol.XIV no.47, December 1914. Miss Jacob had stipulated three years previously that navy blue was 'the only colour to be worn'. (*The Tormorean* Vol.XI No.38 December 1911, p.1.)



Fig. XIII. Miss Patchell with MLC's first prefects, 1916.
Wattle Blossom December 1916, p.32.

symbolic practices.'[159] Uniforms, even at this early stage of their development, were becoming an instrument of discipline in girls' schools. As blazers, ties and hats were introduced, they were to be worn correctly, their exactness and precision signifying tidiness, self-discipline and compliance with school rules.

Girls' uniforms took on a practical, serious, 'male' aspect. Compelled to wear hard-wearing materials in dark colours, without any 'elaborate trimmings of any kind',[160] schoolgirls were gradually being de-feminised in appearance. The introduction of the gym tunic (discussed in the following chapter) which was to become standard school dress, may be seen as a culmination of this de-feminisation.

School uniforms symbolised both liberation and confinement. The female adoption of corporate appearance and behaviours associated previously with 'rational' male military and educational institutions repesented, in one way, an advance into 'male' territory. Uniforms also symbolised the categorisation of the school girl as a separate, non-adult, female, with a different dress code. But subsequent generations of girls would see the uniform as cruelly sexless, trapping the female body into an image that was neither male nor female:

> We were caught between a male and female image long after puberty, and denied an identity which asserted the dangerous consciousness of sexuality....Old girls would return on parade, keen to demonstrate their transformation from androgeny to womanhood.[161]

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159 Daphne Meadmore & Colin Symes, 'Governing the self: a genealogy of school uniforms', *Orthodoxies and Diversity*, ANZHES Conference, Sydney, 1995, pp.241-256.

160 Caroline Jacob's Annual Report, n.d. (1903?) discourages the wearing of lace and jewellery and elaborate trimmings. MLSA SRG 196/16/5.

161 Okely, 'Privileged, Schooled and Finished',: boarding education for girls', in Shirley Ardener (ed.), *Defining Females: the nature of women in society*, London: Croom Helm, 1978, pp.109-139, p.131.

School magazines

School magazines, introduced in Adelaide girls' schools from the early 1900s, were important instruments for the transmission of ideals of femininity. Comparisons of the magazines reveal some of the denominational variations of femininity, particularly in the national identities girls were encouraged to assume. *The Tormorean* and the Convent of Mercy's *Golden Wattle* make an interesting contrast.

Tormore's first magazine, painstakingly handwritten and duplicated, appeared in July 1900. Later issues were typed and bore an illustration of daffodils on the cover. This illustration was replaced in 1910 with the school badge - a corporate emblem, less traditionally 'feminine'. At Tormore, the Advanced School and later Adelaide High School, an imperial identity was enthusiastically encouraged, due in large part to the presence of Miss Madeline Rees George, who was a friend of Miss Jacob. Patriotic celebrations were a prominent feature of the school calendar, and were colourfully reported in the magazines. On October 21 1905, the centenary of Nelson's victory at the Battle of Trafalgar, Tormore joined the Advanced School in a celebration where patriotic solos and choruses such as 'Hearts of Oak' were sung.[162] Tormore celebrated Empire Day from 1906 with a patriotic concert. A full afternoon's programme included addresses on 'The Wealth of the British Empire', 'The Growth of the Empire' and the life of Cecil Rhodes, a reading of 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', the singing of 'Ye Mariners of England' and 'The Soldiers of the King' (with the whole school joining in the chorus) and an address from Miss Jacob on the late Queen Victoria, the 'ideal of perfect womanhood.'[163] The magazine account of this concert concluded:

> This patriotic concert certainly stirred up our enthusiasm, and kindled afresh our love for the old Mother Country and all her strong children;

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[162] *The Tormorean* July 1905, pp.6-7.
[163] *The Tormorean* November 1906, p.4.

> Australia may be one of the youngest of them, but she is one of the loyalest, if one may judge from her school-children.

Then followed an item of several pages entitled 'A Sketch of the Growth of the British Empire'.[164] Each year on Empire Day (which was also the date of the late Queen's birthday) the members of the Guild of the Garland decorated Queen Victoria's statue in Victoria Square.[165] Coronation Day and St. George's Day were also celebrated. Upon the death of King Edward VII in 1910, the flag was flown at half-mast, hymns were sung and Miss Jacob addressed the girls on the late King's attention to duty, then the flag was hoisted to honour the new King. *The Tormorean* featured an account of the royal funeral by an Old Scholar in London.[166] Later in the term the whole school learned by heart Kipling's 'The Dead King'.[167] On the day prior to the coronation of King George V, a school assembly was held featuring patriotic hymns, addresses and songs, with *The Tormorean* reporting on the singing of 'Rule Brittania':

> In spite of the general prevalence of colds, and the usual weakness of our singing in assembly, we managed to make a very good volume of sound in declaiming that 'Britons never shall be slaves.'[168]

The numerous celebrations in the imperial patriotic calendar were given prominence, as were letters from England such as 'A Country Ramble", 'A Peep at Winchester' and 'Travels of an Old Scholar, all appearing in the same issue in 1908.[169] Upon the death of Captain Robert Scott and his party on their return journey from the South Pole in 1913, Owen Seamen's tribute to the latest exemplars of British heroism

> Too proud for tears, their birthright from of old,
> Heirs of the island race'

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164 *The Tormorean* November 1906, pp.4-7.
165 *The Tormorean* August 1909, p.4, Vol.XVI No.54, December 1917, p.2.
166 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV. No.34, pp.13-16. Old Scholar Hilda Bodley was attending Newnham College, Cambridge.
167 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.34, August 1910, p.1.
168 *The Tormorean* Vol. XII No,37, August 1911, p.1.
169 *The Tormorean* August 1908, pp.4, 5, 10-15.

appeared in *The Tormorean*.[170]

The magazine makes no mention of any concept of the 'Australian' girl; however, Tormore did encourage girls towards an active citizenship which was appropriate to modern Australian conditions. *The Tormorean* published in 1914 an address which Miss Jacob gave to the Old Scholars Association on women's duties 'as citizens, students, workers, wives, mothers and as women', urging them to take an intelligent interest in politics and public life.[171]

By contrast, the magazine of the Convent of Mercy contains evidence that, at this school with far fewer imperial connections, an Australian style of femininity was being acknowledged and encouraged. Australian Catholics had adopted the patronage of Our Lady Help of Christians, whose image was typically pictured in conjunction with the Southern Cross. Thus for girls the official religious feminine ideal was linked with loyalty to Australia. This Adelaide school, like MLC, named its magazine after the Australian floral emblem. The cover of the *Golden Wattle* was appropriately decorated with wattle sprigs. *(Fig. XIV)*

An article in 1909 acknowledged the emergence of the 'Australian' girl: 'The girl of 'today' as compared with the girl of 'yesterday' is truly quite a different type ... not better ... only a little more Australian.' The commendable qualities of this new type included her 'bright nature': she is 'brimming over with life, happy and gay always', her 'originality, cleverness, tact, love of sport.' The article continued:

> True she is often dubbed a tomboy, owing possibly to the daring feats she attempts, when her naturally exuberant spirits get a free vent; and some of her escapades would turn yesterday's girl into pillars of marble; but I fearlessly say that her true grit and sympathetic character will ... compare favourably with those ... of the girls of any nation in the world.

She was noted for her usefulness and responsibility, 'for almost every day she is met with in the many different walks of life

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170 *The Tormorean* Vol.XIII No.42, May 1913, p.7.
171 *The Tormorean* Vol.XIV No.47, December 1914, pp.8-14.

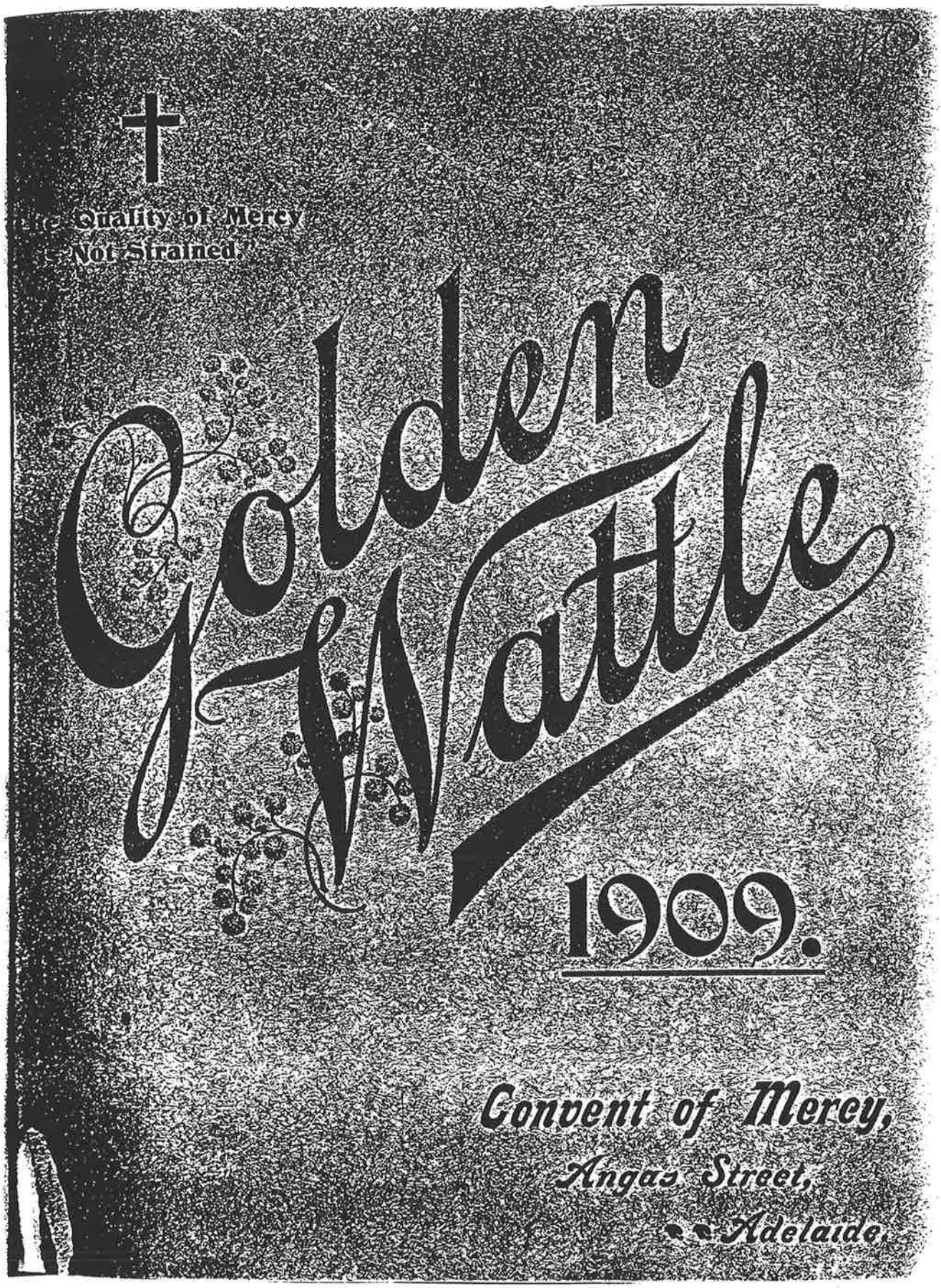


Fig. XIV. Australian symbolism on the cover of *The Golden Wattle*, Convent of Mercy. 1909.

assisting, if not wholly bearing, the responsibilities and often the upkeep of the home.'[172] Boarders at the girls' schools who came from large country properties and were experienced horse riders would have related easily to this active outdoor image and many girls would possibly have been familiar with the spirited heroines on horseback in the novels of Mary Grant Bruce.

The Foreword of the second *Golden Wattle* (1912) explained that 'the spirit of Australian nationality is growing stronger and taking greater grip each year.' The 'powerful and penetrating' scent of the wattle was compared with the potential influence of girls educated to 'send forth the pleasing odor of virtuous lives,[173] thus linking religion with national identity. This Australian nationalism was not incompatible with imperialism: directly after this Foreword was a full-page photograph of the new Governor, Sir Day Hort Bosanquet, and an account of his speech at prize-giving.[174]

The Irish-Catholic sentiment which tended to impede imperial loyalty at CBC is by no means as evident in the magazine of the Convent of Mercy. All the Catholic schools observed St Patrick's Day, some decorating horse-drawn carts in Irish themes for the morning's procession through Adelaide streets and taking part in sports in the afternoon. Students from the convent participated in the annual concert at night.[175] The boarders appear to have celebrated the occasion each year with a picnic and tennis in the hills.[176] The 1912 annual - devoid of any other Irish content - mentions in the context of St Patrick's Day that '[o]ne likes to see green in evidence on that day' because green is 'an emblem of faith'.[177] At the picnic in 1917, a 'heated'

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172 *Golden Wattle* 1909, p.26.
173 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.5.
174 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.7, p.9.
175 Kennedy, 'Recollections', p.3. A photograph from 1926 in the Mercy archives depicts a decorated cart adorned with Convent of Mercy school girls in ancient Irish costumes. Photographs Vol.1.
176 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.51, June 1917, p.50.
177 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.51.

tennis match was played between 'Ireland' and 'Australia'.[178] The 1917 annual did publish an Irish song, 'Erin Go Bragh!' - alongside a National Song called 'Land we Love, Australia'.[179] The inclusion of the Irish song seems to have been the *Golden Wattle*'s only concession to the re-awakened Irishness evident in the Adelaide Catholic community at this time and which was reflected at CBC.

MLC's magazine, produced by the Old Scholars and entitled the *Wattle Blossom,* first appeared in 1906. It was illustrated with the golden sprigs of the Australian floral emblem and the school crest. The title was presumably inspired by Adam Lindsay Gordon's 'A Dedication', since two lines of that poem are quoted on the masthead:

> In the Spring, when the Wattle gold trembles
> 'Twixt shadow and shine.

MLC does not appear to have celebrated Empire Day with the same fanfare as at Tormore or the Advanced School. In a rare reference to the Day, the Boarders' Notes in the 1912 *Wattle Blossom* reported a picnic on May 24, when '[t]wo spic and span drags, with well-groomed horses and 46 lively girls and several teachers, left the college at about 10 o'clock and drove through part of the city in order that we might see the decorated statues of the Queen, explorers, etc., in which decorations we had been interested.' The day was spent at the National Park in playing tennis, climbing and walking.[180]

The *Wattle Blossom* celebrated citizenship of both Britain and Australia. The wattle emblem, displayed on the cover, was sometimes endowed with an almost religious significance. A reflection called 'Wattle Blossom' by an anonymous poet in 1913 began:

> Wattle Blossom, Wattle Blossom,
> Like the kangaroo and possum

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178 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.50.
179 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.13.
180 *Wattle Blossom* December 1912, p.38.

Emblem of Australia's glory
Of her native charm and story.

The poem went on to draw lessons for life for the 'sons and daughters of Australia' from the way the wattle grows, concluding:

Thus in bending, lending, giving,
Find the true delight of living;
This the sermon, all-complete,
In a spray of wattle sweet.[181]

An occasional article acknowledged the development of Australian literature: Adam Lindsay Gordon was sometimes quoted and in 1908 Henry Kendall was compared with Keats and Shelley in an essay which described him as a 'poet of Nature'.[182] The Australian landscape was celebrated in such items as 'The Charm of Australian Wastes', while there were regular items from Britain such as 'A Visit to England' and 'A MLC Girl in the Homeland'.[183] The cover of the Christmas 1914 issue featured crossed Union Jack and Commonwealth flags - referred to elsewhere in the magazine as 'our own flags'[184] - beneath the school crest. The college would appear to have promoted a dual Imperial-Australian identity.

Under the guidance of Headmistress Miss Madeline Rees George, girls at Adelaide High School were imbued with the imperial patriotism that characterised both the Advanced School for Girls and Tormore, but a stronger sense of Australian identity is observable at the High School. The school magazine is a fertile field for the exploration of patriotism at this school. The patriotic calendar consisted of imperial and national commemorations which appear to have been observed with equal enthusiasm, red roses and golden wattle being in equal abundance.

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181 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, p.77.
182 *Wattle Blossom* Vol.III No.3, September 1908, pp.14-16.
183 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, pp.42-44; 47-49.
184 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1914, p.55.

The co-educational setting of Adelaide High School reveals how the concept of patriotism was expressed in gendered ways. The girls played a supporting role. They decorated the hall for special assemblies and, as had been the practice at the Advanced School, those who belonged to the Guild of the Garland decorated their designated statue in the city on Empire Day. Boys occasionally helped if climbing was involved. On Wattle Day in 1912, after placing a large wreath of wattle on the statues, the girls went with teacher Miss Heyne to decorate the wards of Adelaide Hospital - hospital visiting being another traditionally female activity.[185] Girls were also involved in celebratory imperial activities with a literary emphasis, such as the Tennyson afternoon which was held in 1909 for 'an hour of recitation and readings from the works of our English master', when such familiar poems as 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', 'In Memoriam' and 'Mort d'Arthur' were read.[186] The terminology of patriotism was invariably male; Miss Heyne's Higher Public class (all girls) reported in their Form notes that on St. George's Day 1915 'once more we shone forth as 'true sons of Britain'.[187]

Empire Day, celebrated on 24 May, had originated in Canada, and was popularised by the Earl of Meath, an imperialist who was committed to improving the physical and moral standards of British youth and

> the inculcation on the minds of all British subjects of the honourable obligation which rests upon them of preparing themselves, each in his or her own sphere, for the due fulfilment of the duties and responsibilities attached to the highest privilege of being subjects of the mightiest Empire the world has ever known.[188]

Empire Day began in Australia in 1905. While little evidence was found of the day being celebrated in South Australian boys' schools, in some girls' schools - chiefly those where Miss

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185 *Adelaide High School* Vol.4 No.3 Michaelmas 1912, p.11.
186 *Adelaide High School* Michaelmas 1909, p.15.
187 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.2, Midwinter 1915, p. 25.
188 The Earl and Countess of Meath, *Thoughts on Imperial and Social Subjects*, London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co. Ltd., 1906, p.91.

Madeline Rees George had influence - it was wholeheartedly encouraged. At St. Peter's Collegiate Girls' School, which was conducted by an Anglican order, the Sisters of the Church, royal occasions were respectfully observed, but Empire Day was regarded with 'somewhat limited enthusiasm'.[189] The *Adelaide High School Magazine* reflects Miss Rees George's imperialist efforts. Students were encouraged to take part in imperial essay competitions, such as that conducted in honour of Trafalgar Day in 1909 by the British and Foreign Sailors' Society. Two high school girls each won a plaque of pure copper from the Victory for their essays on Captain Cook.[190] They received their plaques from the Governor at the Annual Demonstration.[191] Students also participated in the Lord Meath Empire Day Challenge Cup, offered annually by the League of the Empire. The subject for 1909 was the 'Improvement of communication between the different parts of the British Empire: its political and social effect'.[192] A Empire Day souvenir published by the League in 1912 claimed that South Australia's membership was the largest outside the mother country, an indication of Miss Rees George's activity in this and other schools.[193]

It was seen in the study of the boys' schools that a dual Australian-Imperial loyalty was evident in the celebration of Wattle Day and in the magazine at Adelaide High School. Empire Day, too, was open to a dual interpretation. The Minister of Education's instructions to schools in the *Education Gazette* regarding the observance of the day illustrate changes in emphasis between 1909 and 1915. In 1909, teachers in Education Department schools were reminded that:

> the object of this celebration is to bring prominently before the pupils such a view of the British Empire as will help to develop a feeling of pride in the achievements of the British

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189 J. M.Phillips, *Not Saints, but Girls: the first hundred years of St. Peter's Collegiate Girls' School*, Adelaide; The School, 1994, p.134.
190 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Christmas 1909, p.23.
191 *SAPP* 1910 No.44, p.37.
192 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Christmas 1909, p.18.
193 *League of the Empire Souvenir,* 1912: Imperial Facts and Poems for sons and daughters of the Empire. Adelaide: Government Printer, 1912, p.19.

> people, and increase the groundwork of knowledge on which an intelligent patriotism may be based.

Schools were to close at 12.30 for a half-holiday. As a 'proper method of celebrating the day', it was suggested that the morning's activities include:

> Hoisting and saluting the Union Jack, the recitation of national poetry, and the singing of patriotic songs, interspersed with brief addresses on suitable topics .... The extent of the Empire, its influence on the spread of civilization, and the characteristics of the British races that have led them to colonize new lands, are subjects that may be presented to the elder pupils...[194]

A list of eleven suggested imperial topics followed which included the King, the Empire, its races, commerce, navy, communication, flag, heroic deeds and great men 'especially those connected with the gradual extension of the Empire'. The only topic relating to Australia specifically was 'How Australia is connected with the Empire.'

From 1910, departmental instructions for the celebration of the day encouraged Australian patriotism first. The new approach was a movement away from Dilke's idea of 'Greater Britain' to Jebb's concept of colonial nationalism. The new instructions for 1910 occupied a page and a quarter in *The Education Gazette* (compared with one quarter of a page in 1909).[195] Heroic stories of Australian discovery and settlement and development were to be told in order to

> arouse in the hearts of the children a love for their native land, without which it is hopeless to expect any true "Empire" feeling. What we must strive to do first is to make good Australians of our children. If we succeed in this, we shall be training good and loyal sons of the Empire.

However, despite the 'Australians first' approach, it is to be noted that the greater aim was still imperial loyalty and the cultivation in young people of those moral qualities demonstrated by the great men of Empire: 'If our children are

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194 *Education Gazette* 18 March 1909, p.79.
195 *Education Gazette* 20 April 1910, pp.114-115.

to be Empire Keepers, they must possess in a high degree the qualities which enabled those who have gone before to be Empire Builders.' The *Gazette* quoted Tennyson:

> One with Britain, heart and soul,
> One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!
> Britons, hold your own!

Departmental instructions between 1911 and 1914 show a dual Australia-Empire approach. The suggested morning programme for upper classes included special lessons in poetry and recitation using Kipling's 'The English Flag' (an Empire Day favourite) but also such Australian poems as 'Ave Australia', 'Our Gum Trees', 'When Wattles Bloom' and 'Men of Australia' - all tributes to the peculiar natural beauty of the Australian landscape. These poems were reprinted in the *Gazette* for teachers' use.

Suggestions for geography and history lessons were based on both imperial and Australian topics, and it was recommended that

> 'the children should be induced to learn thorougly the words of the songs - (1)'Australia', (2) 'My Own Native Land', (3) 'Rule Britannia', (4) 'God Save the King'.

A further change is noticeable from the first Empire Day in war-time: in 1915 Miss Rees George contributed two pages to the *Gazette* eloquently promoting Empire and the 'wider citizenship' beyond the Australian continent - a reversion to the Dilke 'Greater Britain' concept. As if she wished to remind readers of the true focus of Empire Day, Miss George outlined the origin of the celebration, which combined a remembrance of the late Queen's birthday with a celebration of the greatness of the shared British heritage, language, literature and character. This year the day would be celebrated 'with the gravest solemnity'.[196] In 1917, the *Gazette*'s message was of the need for all to play their part in the great imperial war effort 'in the firm and unwavering faith that divine justice is on our side'.[197]

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196 *Education Gazette* 15 April 1915, pp.81-3.
197 *Education Gazette* 17 April 1917, pp.102-3.

Images of women's role:

The girls' schools presented a variety of images of women in line with their different denominational ideals and expectations for educated womanhood. Models of high academic and professional achievement demonstrated new opportunities for self-development and service to society which were available as a consequence of education. There were many images of the educated woman as morally strong, physically useful and equipped for serious responsibilities. Sometimes the ideal was seen within an Australian context. Some exemplary images were of single career women, some were male, but woman's traditional role as mother and moral guardian was never questioned. In the coeducational setting of Adelaide High School, where the girls' section was structured as separate to the boys', girls may have been more conscious of a subordinate role.

The Convent of Mercy's *Golden Wattle* featured an article in 1909 encouraging girls to aim high in whatever they undertook.

> You say that Ruskin expects a girl to have very high ideals; yes and why not? Did she who had not high ideals ever accomplish anything of note?'[198]

The magazine featured other references to Ruskin including, in 1912, his recommendation of a serious education for girls: 'Let a girl's education be as serious as a boy's. You bring up your girls as if they were meant to be sideboard ornaments and then complain of their frivolity.' Directly below was a photograph of 'A Group of Senior Girls 1911', all with serious demeanour and books open on their laps.[199]

An article on Women and Books in 1917 further promoted the serious, useful image of educated Australian womanhood, with its new responsibilities. It began by stating that 'the trend of

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198 *Golden Wattle* 1909, p.40.

199 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.57. The quotation is from J. Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, London: George Allen, 1894 (Fourteenth edition), p.155.

our reading must have some effect on the moulding of character; though, according to Pope's estimate of us: 'Most women have no character at all.' It went on to point out the importance of what Cardinal Newman termed the 'cultivated intellect', in an era where, '[f]or women, new conditions have brought new responsibilities and we all owe a duty to human society, to the State in which we live, and the sphere in which we move.'[200] This is a challenge to traditional feminine passivity (and those males who articulated it) and a moral argument for women to be educated for more public roles in modern times.

Among the Old Scholar models of women who fulfilled this new social duty in professional occupations was Mary Cecil Kitson, who became the state's first lady lawyer, and those in musical and artistic careers, nursing or the religious life. The award of the Elder Scholarship (to the Conservatorium) to Kathleen O'Dea in 1912 was acclaimed, and the career of Old Scholar Eileen Rooney, renamed Redmond for the stage) was closely followed.
Photographs featured students successful in academic studies, music and sport. Lady Galway's daughter, Marie Charlotte d'Erlanger, was an appropriate model of feminine standards for the school: a full-page photograph in the 1917 annual shows a gracious, self-assured young lady who had recently passed the Senior Public Examination with honours in German, French and history. She contributed an article on Versailles to the same number and was President of the school's Tennis Club. The school valued the association with the vice-regal family and, in common with the other girls' schools in this study, appears to have promoted the dynamic Lady Galway, herself a Catholic who had been educated in European convents, as a model for girls.[201] Elsewhere in the annual, Lady Galway's war work with Red Cross is referred to, a visit to the school is recounted and her 'keen interest in educational work' acknowledged.[202]

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200 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.55.

201 Howell, 'More varieties of Vice-Regal life', p.34.

202 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, pp.29, 21. Lady Galway was editor of *The Belgium Book* referred to earlier. She also gave public talks on history and poetry and lectured on modern languages at the University. Howell, 'Sir Henry Lionel Galway', p. 612.

A student's essay entitled 'Aims and Ideals' in the 1917 issue called upon girls to take on the 'solemn purpose of making the most and the best of the powers that God has given her, and to turn to the best possible account every advantage within her reach.' A litany of heroes - all male - was cited, including Napoleon, Hannibal and Captain Cook 'who was born in a mud hut and began life as a cabin-boy', proving that 'poverty is no bar to success.' The message is a call to heroism:

> Be not like dumb driven cattle -
> Be a hero in the strife.

But the enterprising must also be unselfish, caring for others before self. A 'high order of man' is distinguished by 'self-forgetfulness, self-sacrifice, disregard of personal pleasure, personal indulgence, personal advantage.'[203] In this article, as in some aspects of the curriculum, the qualities of traditional heroic male models, representations of a 'high order of man', are applied generically, and thereby claimed for the female experience.

Many of the role models offered in the magazine, though not Australian, lent support to the active, enterprising model of femininity which the modern Australian girl was being encouraged to emulate. Some given prominence were: Mother Catherine McAuley, Mercy nuns in the Crimean War (where they were praised as 'superhuman' by Florence Nightingale), the American Civil War and the Boer War; Joan of Arc, 'one of the noblest women the world has ever seen', Grace Darling, and heroines of fiction and Shakespearean plays such as Rosalind: ('no docile, timid maiden she') and Portia (who was calm, strong and courageous, with a 'brilliant wit').[204]

Despite the belief in new opportunities for women, public deference to male (and ecclesiastical) roles is evident at the annual speech day, when the school's annual report was read by

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203 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.33.
204 *Golden Wattle* 1909, pp.10-11; 14; 30-32.

the chaplain. In 1917, when Mary Cecil Kitson was celebrated as Adelaide's first lady lawyer, the students' congratulatory address was read by a girl, a prize was presented to her by the Archbishop, who offered the congratulations of the school and of the Catholic body and the chaplain, Father Gatzemeyer, replied on Miss Kitson's behalf.[205] The reason her reply was given by a priest would seem obscure, since the girl student was allowed to read her speech.

The Tormore Old Scholars Association, formed in 1900, was a vehicle for Caroline Jacob to express her educational ideas and encourage a habit of life-long study as a womanly ideal. The association operated as a study circle, with members presenting papers on literary, artistic and musical topics. A meeting in 1907 included 'an earnest discussion' on 'Should women enter parliament?' which, *The Tormorean* reported, resulted in 'the cause of women's advancement [being] completely shattered by 15 votes to 3.'[206] It is unfortunate that no transcript of the discussion is available; the reasons for the majority opposition - whether relating to the primacy of women's domestic duties or the 'masculine' nature of parliament itself - can only be surmised. Old Scholars were expected to live up to Tormore standards throughout their lives. A meeting in 1909 passed a motion that the association should 'again become a reading society' and each member was required to read for half an hour per day, keeping a record which would be inspected by the committee annually.[207] In accordance with Miss Jacob's wish, Michaelmas Day was celebrated as Old Scholars' Day by 'Tormoreans all the world over'.[208]

Among the role models presented in the Tormore magazine are women who successfully pursued university studies, teachers, nurses and missionaries. Articles by old scholars promoted the

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205 *Advertiser* 16 December 1916, 18.
206 *The Tormorean* December 1907, p.5.
207 *The Tormorean* December 1909, pp.6-8.
208 Caroline Jacob, Old Scholars' Association Presidential Address, 1913, MLSA SRG 196/16/4.

advantages of University life.[209] Present scholars were obviously being encouraged to admire and perhaps emulate such women as the trainee nurse who contributed 'Some Impressions of a new Probationer' in 1909, staff member Miss Benham who studied teaching methods at Oxford in 1908 and Miss Hilda Bodley, who successfully completed a degree at Newnham College, Cambridge in 1914. One 'distinguished Tormorean' was Dorothy Angove (née Clare) who studied at Tormore for three years and subsequently joined the teaching staff and completed a B.A. degree in 1912.[210] However a girl's essay in 1915 entitled 'My Hero' listed King Arthur, the Duke of Wellington, King Edward the First, Thomas Carlyle, St. Paul and Jesus, a reminder that academic studies were providing girls in all the schools with masculine role models.[211]

A 1911 prize-winning essay on 'Vocations Open to Modern Women' referred to South Australian Miss Catherine Spence and Marie Curie as examples of what women have shown themselves capable of in politics and science respectively. However, the conclusion that 'wife and motherhood are still the highest vocation to which she may be called' suggest that trailblazing careers were appropriate for the very few.[212] *The Tormorean,* like the magazines of all the girls' schools, regularly noted marriages of Old Scholars. Special pride is evidenced in the wedding of Paquita Delprat (daughter of the General Manager of the B.H.P Company) to University lecturer and Antarctic explorer, Douglas Mawson in 1914.[213]

The first issue of MLC's *Wattle Blossom* contained a 'storyette' called 'A Puritan Maid', in which the young heroine encounters a bush youth who 'had fallen in with reckless, dissolute companions, who led him into every kind of dissipation'. Under

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209 For example, 'Life at the University', by Valesca Reimann in *The Tormorean* Vol.XIII No.43 August 1913.
210 *The Tormorean* August 1909, pp.2-4; December 1908 p.8; Vol. XIV No.46 August 1914, p.1; Vol.III No.43, August 1913, p.7. Dorothy Angove later founded Girton School for Girls.
211 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.48, May 1915, pp.5-7.
212 *The Tormorean* Vol.XIII No.39, May 1912, pp.18-22.
213 *The Tormorean* Vol.XIV No.45, May 1914, p.4.

her influence, 'in the light of this pure girl's eyes he saw himself as he really was' and he resolved: 'God helping me, I will make a man of myself.'[214] The story associates the Australian masculine bush image with moral depravity which needs the influence of the 'female' virtues of purity and temperance. Although temperance was not a uniquely Methodist virtue, it had featured strongly in that religion in South Australia since about the 1880s. It has already been observed as an influence at Adelaide High School.

The conservative view of woman as moral guardian of society remained strong in Methodism, but in other respects the ladies' college was adopting a changed image of the ideal girl. In 1912, an essay on 'The Girl of Today' showed an awareness of a changing world, where girls had to be trained to take a more intelligent and participatory role. The modern girl was contrasted with the unobtrusive, self-effacing early Victorian maiden and the 'weak-willed, despicable beings' in many of Dickens' novels, whose lives were 'a mere routine of trivialities' and whose fainting and hysteria were almost a habit. The modern girl, thanks to bodily exercise, had developed 'nerve and the power of self-control'. A 'larger outlook upon life' was becoming a necessary part of modern femininity:

> A girl cannot be truly womanly if she is shut off from the great world around her. How is she to be a 'ministering angel' and how is she to feel for the suffering of others if she cannot actually see and know what that suffering is and where it lies? How can she be the true and helpful companion if she is, intellectually, an infant?[215]

Strength of character, a sense of purpose and service to others, especially in the church or missions, were attributes greatly admired at MLC and frequently modelled by Old Scholars and others in the *Wattle Blossom*. In 1911 The MLC Guild (the college's Old Scholars Association) instituted an annual essay prize in memory of Margaret Shorney, an Old Scholar who seems to have embodied the MLC feminine ideal. After six years at the college (1903-08), she became dux in 1908 and

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214 *Wattle Blossom* Vol.1 No.1, August 1906, pp.8-12, 10, 12.
215 *Wattle Blossom* December 1912, pp.28-30.

embarked upon a classical course at the University, changing to Medicine after first year. She was active in the Christian Union and was a student volunteer for the missions. After her death in 1911, an obituary in the *Wattle Blossom* recalled her 'strong and noble character', her 'great talents and noble womanly nature.'[216] A Literature prize and a scholarship were founded in her name.

An essay on author Maria Corelli by Vera Sarre in 1913 praised her for being 'bold' in the cause of the moral improvement of society:

> [w]hat she believes, she says with a brilliant fearlessness that sweeps aside petty arguments. She would purify society, she would exalt all that is noble and good.[217]

MLC girls were given abundant examples of people who showed persistence and purposefulness in their lives. They read about the experiences of a former MLC teacher working as a missionary in India, the achievements of Old Scholar graduates such as Ruth Gault, the college's first science graduate, and the 'typical experiences of a district nurse'.[218] Models were not necessarily female: in 1913, Miss Patchell wrote an article titled 'Carpe Diem', which referred to the hardships faced by men such as David Livingstone, Abraham Lincoln and R. L. Stevenson in the pursuit of their ideals and concluded: 'There is nothing gained without effort, and no great thing without whole-souled effort.'[219]

As at Tormore, the Old Scholars association at MLC promoted the ideals of the college as well as sustaining the friendships formed during school days. The MLC Guild was formed in 1905 with Headmistress, Miss Edeson, as President. At first it met twice a month for members to read essays on literary topics or listen to addresses on literature or music by visiting speakers. Boarders were often invited. From early years, the Guild held fund-

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216 *Wattle Blossom* Vol.V No.5, December 1911, p.3.
217 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, pp.31-34,32.
218 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1914, pp.34-5; p.5; Christmas 1913, pp.39-42.
219 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, pp.4-5.

raising events to support their Scholarship Fund. In 1907 an MLC Guild badge was designed. An Annual Service and tennis and hockey clubs provided occasions for regular gatherings. In 1914, it was decided that future Guild meetings would be of a social nature. During the war, like all Old Scholars' associations, the MLC Guild was busily absorbed in patriotic work.

Aspects of organisation at Adelaide High School signified the recognition that there were some activities appropriate for girls only: despite Adey's enthusiasm for creating a united school, there was a distinct gender divide, with the girls clearly subordinated. In 1909 the magazine published separate group photographs of the Girls and the Boys of the school.[220] Many classes were segregated - e.g. there were separate girls' and boys' Higher Public forms. Photographs from science and typing lessons in 1909 show that, even where classes were coeducational, seating was segregated.[221] Such activities as the cake fair (a charity and school fund-raiser continued from the Advanced School), the aforementioned Guild of the Garland and various other activities superintended by Miss Rees George were for girls only. Visits to the Children's Hospital, the sewing on of new hat bands, catering for sporting events, practised girls in the caring, domestic role. The League of the Empire held the memory of Queen Victoria before the girls, not only as a revered symbol of monarchy, but as the Imperial feminine ideal - 'the model of the perfect Woman, Wife, Mother, and Queen'.[222] *(Fig. XV)*

The Shakespearean Dramatic Society, another Advanced School activity, was for girls only until 1915, when 12 boys joined 26 girl members.[223] The delay in admitting boys underlines the gendering of the literary and dramatic fields of learning and the extent to which the girls' school continued in isolation, along patterns set in the Advanced School.

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220 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.1 No.4, Christmas 1909, pp.14-15.
221 *Adelaide High School 75th Anniversary*, pp.38, 40.
222 League of the Empire Souvenir 1912, p.3.
223 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.1, April 1915, p.18.



Fig. XV. Queen Victoria, 'the model of the prefect Woman, Wife, Mother, and Queen'.
League of the Empire Souvenir, 1912. Front cover.

The school's élite (e.g. magazine editors and head prefects) were mostly male. But girls did have some leadership opportunities and rewards which recognised their contribution to the school and their academic achievement. Girl prefects were introduced in 1914, equal in numbers to the boys, and, like the boys, were allowed to conduct their own meetings.[224] When the Old Scholars introduced a prize each for a Senior and a Higher Public student in 1918, one boy and one girl were chosen. The winner had been girls' head prefect, dux of the Higher Public class, captain of the tennis team and an enthusiastic basketballer, and secretary of the Sock Club - the girls' war-time patriotic equivalent to the cadets.[225]

In a school comprised of three separate buildings and, until 1911, no assembly hall, the school magazine, begun in 1909, was intended to be a means of 'cementing the parts and promoting a bond of union'.[226] However, boys' and girls' sections were separate and boys' interests and successes seemed to predominate. Female role models are much more difficult to find in the High School magazine than in those of the girls' schools, although the Old Scholars' section in the early years did consist mainly of Advanced School graduates' successes, travels or marriages. In 1910, the deaths of two prominent and enterprising women were recorded in obituaries. The Midwinter issue paid tribute to Scottish South Australian Catherine Helen Spence, noting her social, political and philanthropic interests and her particular interest in education.[227] Florence Nightingale's obituary in the following issue concluded with a quotation from Longfellow's tribute to Santa Filomena:

> A noble type of good,
> Heroic womanhood.[228]

Nightingale was presented to the girls, as to society at large, in the traditionally feminine image of the self-sacrificing nurse.

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224 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.6 No.1, Easter 1914, pp.10,12.
225 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.4, December 1918, p.14.
226 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Easter 1909, p.1.
227 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.2, Midwinter 1910, p.10.
228 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.3, Michaelmas 1910, p.4.

What Dyhouse terms her 'inconveniently unfeminine intellectual restlessness and ambitions' were usually unacknowledged, in favour of an 'image of a gentle madonna of mercy, intent on succouring others'[229]- an ideal fitting the needs of society and a secure gender order. Like many other heroes, Nightingale was fashioned into an idealised figure, a template of perfection, which served as an all-but unattainable model.

War-time, women and national identity

It was perhaps inevitable that imperial loyalty increased with the onset of war in 1914. School magazines reflect the patriotic enthusiasm which accompanied the beginning of war, and later the widespread weariness as the distant war seemed to drag on interminably.

The Christmas break-up at MLC in 1914 was celebrated with a patriotic flavour, with the hall decorated with 'our own flags - the Union Jack and the Commonwealth flag' and those of the Allies 'conspicuous everywhere'. The consuls for France, Russia, Belgium and Japan were present and guest of honour was Lady Galway, who was given a guard of honour down the centre of the hall by girls bearing flags and dressed in white. Entertainment included the elocution class reciting 'Britons, hold your own', the singing of 'Land of Hope and Glory' and a 'flag march', acompanied by the singing of the 'Marseillaise' and 'Song of Australia'.[230] (The last song, with music composed by a German South Australian, continued to be sung during the war.) In May of the following year, the college staged two performances of a Masque called 'The Empire's Call', which was written by a member of staff, Mrs. Howe, and gave 'vivid pictures of the extent and resources of the British Empire',[231] which was personified in the image of Britannia. Money raised was donated to Red Cross. Photographs in the magazine

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229 Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p.74.
230 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1914, p.55.
231 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1915, p.8.

depicting a Nurses' Chorus, representatives of all the Allied countries and Standard Bearers give an indication of a large-scale production.[232]

Adelaide's Methodists listened to sermons praising the righteousness of Britain and deploring the wickedness of Germany, and assuring them that God was on the Empire's side in the war.[233] Methodist girls were encouraged in imperial loyalty in the regular 'Talks With Our Girls' column by "Thelma' in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*. One column in 1915 urged girls to remember they were 'Britain's daughters in the south' and to 'thank God for our heritage as members of the great British Empire'.[234] From 1914, war subjects dominated the winning entries for the esteemed Margaret Shorney literature prize, offered by the MLC Guild: 'The War Spirit in English Poetry'(1914), 'The British Imperial Navy'(1918) and the winning entry in 1917, published in the *Wattle Blossom,* which put forward a vigorous argument for conscription.[235] Like their brothers at the boys' colleges, MLC girls volunteered to forego their prizes to assist the war effort, and received instead a certificate from the College Committee, signed by Miss Patchell, which acknowledged their sense of national responsibility.[236]

A renewed consciousness of imperial ties is observable from some school magazines. In the early stages of the war, students at Adelaide High School (which had corresponded regularly with students from English schools) received a letter from the senior prefect at Manchester Central High School for Girls expressing thanks for their letter of support and adding:

> [I]t is important that the subjects of the Empire should feel themselves bound together by strong ties of affection.

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232 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1915, p.18.
233 Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, p.276. One minister, Albert Morris, was 'a lone voice' preaching on the neutrality of God in the war and opposing conscription. pp.279-80.
234 *Australian Christian Commonwealth* January 8 1915, p.5.
235 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1917, pp.42-3.
236 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1917, p.13.

We must stand loyally by one another.[237]

All the schools showed fervent commitment to the cause, and participated eagerly in patriotic activities and fundraising. Girls were encouraged to use their hands in the time-honoured female (maternal) tasks of knitting and sewing, and compiling gift parcels for the front. Caroline Jacob told the Tormore Old Scholars in 1915, 'We have been knitting, and we can go on knitting faster and better than before'.[238] The schools devoted a considerable amount of time to the war cause, vicariously clothing, nursing and feeding the soldiers. *The Tormorean* reported in 1915 that two hours every Friday were devoted to Red Cross work, sewing pyjamas, pillow-cases, handkerchiefs and operation swabs.[239] A Trench Comforts Concert was staged as a fundraiser.[240] Girls at Adelaide High School formed a Sock Club, which in the space of a few months sent over 150 parcels of socks, mitts, caps, sweets and cigarettes to the Front.[241] The 1917 *Golden Wattle* gives an indication of the efforts of the Convent of Mercy girls. An article entitled 'Our Bit' referred to parcels containing handkerchiefs, towels, soap and cigarettes, sent through the Catholic Women's League to Egypt for the wounded soldiers and listed contributions to various patriotic funds such as the Belgian Fund.[242] There were articles about Sisters of Mercy nursing on the battlefield and letters from Old Scholars who 'have shown their Australian grit by offering their services to nurse the wounded soldiers on the distant battlefields.'[243] At MLC, girls and Old Scholars divided their efforts between the customary support for the missions and activities for patriotic funds. Their activities included sewing pyjamas and pillow-slips and packing boxes of Christmas cheer for the soldiers.[244]

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237 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.7 No.1, Easter 1915 p.7.
238 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.50 December 1915, p.12.
239 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.50, December 1915, p.3.
240 *The Tormorean* Vol. XVI No.56, December 1918, p.1.
241 *Adelaide High School Magazine*, Vol.10 No.4 December 1918, p.34.
242 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.21.
243 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.17.
244 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1915 pp,54-5, Christmas 1917, p.9.

From 1916, the customary photograph of Miss Patchell in the front of MLC's *Wattle Blossom* was replaced by that of Lady Galway, wife of the South Australian Governor, founder of the South Australian Branch of the Red Cross and the Belgian Relief Fund and editor of the *Belgium Book*, a lady who appears so often in records of public occasions at the girls' schools and in their magazines that she must be recognised as one of the most prominent models for South Australian schoolgirls during the period when her husband was Governor of the state. *(Fig. XVI)* Not only did she exemplify traditional ladylike qualities and feminine involvement in charitable work, she was a public example of patriotic imperial womanhood, being married to the ultra-military Sir Henry Galway and mother of a soldier who was injured while serving on the Western front. Most appropriately for the girls' schools, she combined all these attributes with a cultured mind, giving public addresses on history and poetry and lecturing in modern languages at the University.[245] Lady Galway worked tirelessly for patriotic fundraising and showed herself to possess excellent organisational and oratorical skills. On her departure, the *Register* observed:

> [I]t is not too much to say that she has raised the whole status of women in public life.[246]

All the magazines of the girls' schools published letters from, or articles about, Old Scholar nurses working in the battlefields or on hospital ships. These women appeared to be playing a traditionally feminine caring role, but in the harsh reality of their work, they exemplified 'masculine' strength, courage and self-sufficiency. They ventured as close as women were allowed to the front lines of battle, saw the worst injuries of war, worked in trying conditions and often faced grave danger. Tormore Old Scholar Sister Olive Haynes, wrote to Miss Jacob from Egypt, where she was working long hours in hot and sandy conditions with inadequate food, nursing up to fourteen patients

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245 Howell, 'Sir Henry Lionel Galway', p. 612.

246 Howell, 'More Varieties of Vice-Regal Life', p.40. Howell considers Lady Galway to have made a much more worthwhile contribution to South Australia than her husband.



LADY GALWAY

Fig. XVI. Lady Galway: a war-time model of feminine capability and imperial patriotism.
M. C. Galway (ed.), *Lady Galway Belgium Book*, Adelaide: Hussey and Gillingham Ltd., 1916. Frontispiece.

in one tent, and 'longing to be right at the front'.[247] The schools proudly published correspondence from their nursing Old Scholars in their magazines and sent letters of support; Sister Haynes relished receiving 'a lovely cake from Tormore House O.S.'[248] The nurses' letters testify to a growing pride in an Australian 'type'. Sister Gordon, an MLC Old Scholar, was touched by the bravery of the wounded Australians she was nursing in France and her letters to her old school expressed pride in the Australian character which was proving itself in the war:

> I have always cracked Australia up even before I knew a thing of other countries, but, my heavens, I'll crack it up even more in future ... The fact that Australians have shed their blood out here is going to make even a nobler race of them.[249]

Research by Marilyn Lake and others[250] has revealed a reversion to more conservative forms of femininity during and after the Great War. In assessing the effect of the first world war on gender identities, Carmel Shute writes:

> The mythology engendered by the Great War afffirmed the dichotomy of the sexes and re-established and enshrined the inviolability of the traditional sexual stereotypes of man, 'the warrior and creator of history', and woman, the mother, the passive flesh at the mercy of fate (or rather, man). The nature of womanhood was stripped of any remaining pretence of emancipation and reduced to its quintessential biological function, that of maternity.[251]

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247 *The Tormorean* May 1915, pp.2-3. The letters of Olive Haynes were later compiled and edited by her daughter: Margaret Young (ed.), *We Are Here, Too: the Diaries and Letters of Sister Olive L. C. Haynes November 1914 to February 1918*, Adelaide: Australian Down Syndrome Association Incorporated, 1991. The role of the war nurse is problematised in terms of gender discourse in Katie Holmes, 'Day Mothers and Night Sisters: World War I nurses and sexuality' in J. Damousi and M. Lake, *Gender and War: Australians at war in the twentieth century*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp.43-59.

248 Young, *We Are Here, Too,* p.255.

249 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1917, p.22.

250 Marilyn Lake, *A Divided Society: Tasmania during World War I*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1975. Michael McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1980.

251 Carmel Shute, 'Heroines and heroes: sexual mythology in Australia 1914-18', in Damousi and Lake (eds.), *Gender and War,* pp.23-42, p.23.

There is evidence of this reversion to stereotypes in the girls' schools studied. All participated eagerly in war-time fundraising and activities in support of the soldiers. However, as in the wider society, their attempts to identify with the soldiers by participating in the war effort underlined their difference and actually confirmed their domestic, supporting role. There was a sense that men were the real participants of war and, indeed, of history: even adolescent girls could feel their lack of historical agency. At MLC, the *Wattle Blossom* referred to the women in the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) movement in South Australia, who met the troop ships or trains, served refreshments to returning soldiers and worked in the Lady Galway Club House at Henley Beach, where they served meals to over eighty men.[252] In the war-time issue of the Mercy Convent's *Golden Wattle*, an essay by Mary Cecil Kitson surveyed 'Woman's Work in War Time', referring to women in munition factories in England, French women engaged in agriculture and the (mostly clerical and charitable) work done by Australian women, particularly in Red Cross and the League of Loyal Women, an organisation formed 'to promote fellowship and imperial duty' and link the various patriotic services. All, she said, were answering British Prime Minister Mr Asquith's plea to give 'with whatever we have, with whatever we can give, and with whatever we can sacrifice, to the dominating and inexorable call.'[253] But there are hints of a feeling of the inferiority and ineffectualness of the role the majority of Australian women were able to play in the war effort. Mary Kitson refers to 'women ... striving ... to be worthy of the greatness of the hour',[254] and there is something quite poignant in the school's claims to Old Scholar soldiers, boys who had recently 'visited to say goodbye', because they had attended the Convent in the junior grades. The school felt 'a glow of pride' in 'the little chap of by-gone days transformed into a fine, broad-shouldered, khaki-clad soldier, full of determination to do his

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252 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1918, pp.16-18.
253 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, pp.28-9.
254 *Golden Wattle* June 1917 p.8.

bit and to do it well'[255] - and whose name would feature on the Honour Roll of a boys' college. A certain powerlessness and, perhaps, envy was expressed by an Adelaide High School girl who wrote in 1915: "Even if, as girls, we are unable to actually fight for our country, we can at least encourage those who are able to do so.'[256]

Nevertheless, the war-time school magazines encouraged girls to believe that they had a responsible role to play, both physically and emotionally, by making practical efforts to contribute to the cause and by courageously accepting the pain of losing sons or brothers.[257] MLC's *Wattle Blossom* contained lists of the names of present girls and Old Scholars whose brothers or husbands had fallen in the war.[258] A prize essay published in *The Tormorean* in 1916 entitled 'A Woman's Part in the War' referred to the patriotic duty of women to 'stifle their pain and banish their fears'.[259] Lady Galway's *Belgium Book*, with which many students would have been familiar, contained a story, quoted earlier, about a courageous young girl who, out of patriotic duty, renounces her love for a young man who refuses to enlist:

> He did not want to go, he had said so himself. Her eyes grew cold and then she said,
> 'I could never marry any man who had not been to the war."
> The words dropped between them like a two-edged sword piercing both, for in the moment of her cruelty Joan realised that this man mattered more to her than any other she had ever met.... He ought to fight, she told herself stubbornly, his country should come before everything; ... he wasn't the sort of man she could love; she didn't, she wouldn't love him.'[260]

Young girls were thus being given a message about approved masculinity: the only type of man worthy of admiration was one who would serve his country in war. MLC was probably not the only Adelaide school whose girls, given a half-holiday to see

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255 *Golden Wattle* June 1917 p.17.
256 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol. 7, No.2, June 1917, p.25.
257 e.g. *Golden Wattle* June 1917, Editorial, p.6.
258 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1916, p.43.
259 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.51 July 1916, pp.6-8.
260 D. Egerton Jones, 'Burnt-Offerings', Galway, *The Belgium Book,* pp. 17-25, 24.

the First Expeditionary Force route march in 1914, 'gazed with admiring eyes on the long lines of khaki-clad soldiers'.[261]

At Tormore, Caroline Jacob reminded the school that women had a real role to play during the war, for 'in carrying out the daily life of the nation we are fellow workers with those who die for it' and *The Tormorean* featured 'A Talk on Thrift'.[262] As temporary assistant teaching positions became available in South Australian primary schools due to the lack of men teachers, openings occurred for women to provide, in Miss Jacob's words, 'a national service'.[263] She also spoke with heightened fervour on what she had always considered women's highest work - her maternal role - and which, in the war context, she saw as the raising up of loyal imperial citizens (by implication, soldiers):

> '[T]he highest, noblest work for the nation ... [is] the training of their sons and daughters, the heirs of all the high and grand traditions of the British race. It is theirs to rear loyal subjects of the Empire [who will] joyfully obey ... the clarion call of Duty, duty to their country, to their King, to humanity, to God.[264]

Miss Jacob laid stress on the moral role of mothering - a much broader concept of the maternal role than the 'quintessential biological function' referred to by Shute, but still a reversion to a traditional concept of femininity.

School girls may have benefitted on an individual level, however, from this conceptual regression. While, in common with all those women who contributed towards the provision of comforts for soldiers, they were practising traditional female skills of knitting and sewing (and thus reconfirming their supportive role), those girls who undertook organisational responsibilities as well were equipping themselves incidentally with valuable skills for employment, or for working efficiently in religious or charitable work in the future.

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261 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1914, p.39.
262 *The Tormorean* Vol.XVI No. 53, May 1917, p.2, pp.10-12.
263 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.50 December 1915, p.14.
264 *ibid.*, pp.13-14.

CHAPTER 8:

The Girls' Schools 1880-1919 -PART II:

Femininities and national identities expressed in the school curriculum, 'extra-curricular' activities and physical education.

(A) THE CURRICULUM, recreational reading and debating.

Compared with those for the boys' schools, curriculum records for the girls' schools are scarce. But those which do survive permit some examination of subjects available to girls and their relative status within the different schools. Although both sexes had access to a common curriculum in senior forms (set by the Public Examinations Board), some subject areas continued to be perceived as 'male' and other areas of accomplishment as persistently 'feminine'. This section considers a range of subject areas and 'extras', as well as recommended recreational reading and debating. To avoid repetition, commonalities with the boys' schools, such as the contents of public examinations in history and English, are not analysed. Rather, emphasis is placed on areas of contrast with the boys' schools, such as the appropriateness of English literature, botany and physiology for girls, the role of music and needlework in girls' education and the distinctively 'feminine' rationale for the teaching of elocution.

The 'higher subjects'.

At the Advanced School for girls, publicly examinable subjects formed the basis of a strongly academic curriculum aimed at qualifying girls for University entrance. The highest status was attached to those academic areas which had been traditionally male: from its beginning, this school gave Adelaide girls the opportunity to learn Latin, Euclid, algebra and (from 1900) Greek - subjects not previously offered in most private girls' schools - as well as French, German, history, literature,

arithmetic, botany, physiology and geology. The school never embraced Commercial education, despite brief experiments with shorthand and typewriting,[1] nor did it teach domestic subjects. It 'began as an academic institution and remained so.'[2] In her annual report for 1900, Miss Rees George was pleased to report that two girls had passed in Greek and four in Latin in the Senior examination and twenty-five passed in mathematics at Junior and Senior levels, showing that 'distinct progress is being made in Euclid and algebra'.[3] The award for dux in 1900 was given to a girl who, Miss Rees George explained, 'although she does not obtain a position in the first class of the senior, as some others do, has yet worked so well, heading the school list in French, German, mathematics, and Latin, and taken so many of the higher subjects - Greek, Latin, and mathematics - that it was felt the prize should undoubtedly go to her.'[4]

At Tormore House, Caroline Jacob introduced Latin, mathematics and science for all students. Greek was also taught for a time: the *Tormorean* noted in 1910 that three girls were learning Latin and Greek - the 'most ever'.[5] MLC, the Convent of Mercy and Adelaide High School all taught Latin and mathematics but none of these taught Greek. Those parents who desired what Miss Rees George termed the 'higher subjects' for their daughters were a small minority.

History and Civics

History was taught at the girls' schools in the pattern already familiar from the boys' schools in this study, with students learning key events in the reigns of English monarchs. For instance, the Terminal Examination Results Book (1881-1894) of the Advanced School records that girls in the Fourth Class in the first term of 1881 studied the 'Tudor period -James I to

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1 Jones, 'Pinnacle of the State School System', pp.11-12.
2 Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, p.54.
3 *Register* 21 December 1900, 2g.
4 *Register* 21 December 1900, 2g.
5 *The Tormorean* Vol.XI No.36, May 1911, p.12.

Charles I'.[6] No sources were found relating to content of the history curriculum at the Convent of Mercy, but, given the school's increasingly academic focus, this was likely to have been very similar to the other girls' schools. Given the Convent's different ethnic background, there is no reason to suppose that Irish history was emphasised here as it was at CBC.

Most of the curriculum information available for Tormore is from 1910-11, the period for which a student's diary, preserved in the Mortlock Library, records in detail the work studied in the Upper Fourth and Lower Fifth classes.[7] Subjects listed for 1910 are: history, literature, composition, writing, spelling, poetry, grammar, geometry, algebra, arithmetic, geography, botany, physiology, Latin, French and German. There is no evidence of any Australian history being taught. The history text for the Primary examination was T. F. Tout's *History of Great Britain from the earliest times to the present day.* Examples of history homework in 1910 illustrate the prominence given to events of political or military interest, and the importance of memorisation. The class was preparing for the Primary Examination.

16 June 1910	Copy and learn notes and prepare the given paragraph [topic not stated]
23 June	Prepare reign of George IV pages 9-15;
4 July	Reign of Victoria
9 August	Revise all treaties to end of Charles I
11 August	Prepare 100 Years War, Wars of the Roses and the Seven Years' War.

The examiner of the Primary examination paper for that year complained that '[s]ome of the candidates adhered slavishly to the words of the text-book'[8] - probably an inevitable outcome of history teaching practices of the time.

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6 Terminal Examination Results, December 1881- December 1894, MLSA 665/1.

7 'Tormore House School: Fortnightly reports of marks gained and record of lessons set'. (Homework Diary of Mary Adams, 1910, 1911). MLSA SRG 196/10.

8 *Manual of the Public Examinations Board, 1911,* p.121.

A well-used copy of William Gillies' *Simple Studies in English History for Young Australians* belonging to an MLC student in the early 1900s has as a frontispiece the familiar world map with all British Empire countries coloured in red.[9] This textbook recounts the story of British history from Saxon times as a chronicle of reforms, with the growth of parliamentary democracy, the gradual abolition of all restrictions on personal liberty and the spread of a benevolent empire which brought the benefits of civilization to much of the rest of the world. The last section of the book is a study (within a British context) of the Australian parliamentary and legal systems.

It is not possible to gauge how much importance history teachers (or teachers of other subjects) in the girls' schools gave to imparting a knowledge of Australian government and law. However, there appears to have been some recognition of the appropriateness of such knowledge for future female voters. One text used at the Advanced School, and, in fact, occasionally taught there by its author,[10] was Catherine Helen Spence's *The Laws We Live Under*, which had been commissioned by the Education Department. A compact, broad-ranging coverage of South Australian government, laws and institutions and the duties and rights of citizens, the book was intended 'to interest all the young people in South Australia in the things which promote order, and goodness, and happiness'.[11] Writing prior to the introduction of female suffrage, Miss Spence explained in the first chapter that the book was intended for boys and girls, for although girls might never have to vote at elections, they needed to have an interest in good government, because women have 'too much influence in the world, to be safely left in ignorance of the great natural laws of Providence or the laws of the land'. It had been 'by the advance of civilization and the operation of just laws that women have been raised from being

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9 William Gillies, *Simple Studies in English History for Young Australians*, Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs, n.d. Copy inscribed 'Bernie Rofe, Port Adelaide, August 1906'.

10 Susan Magarey, *Unbridling the Tongues of Women: a biography of Catherine Helen Spence*, Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1985, p.118.

11 Catherine Helen Spence, *The Laws We Live Under*, Adelaide: Government Printing Office, 1880, p.117.

the drudges or the toys of men to be their companions and, in many respects, their equals.'[12] Thus girls at the Advanced School (and in the upper grades in primary schools where her book was also studied) were introduced to the concept of themselves as citizens, a concept normally spoken of in male terms. Some may have even been inspired to speak out publicly on important issues, as Miss Spence herself had done.

In several ways, Miss Spence (1825-1910) had boldly overstepped the norms for women, writing political items for newspapers, preaching sermons and leading public campaigns for social justice causes and, later, for the reform of electoral laws and the introduction of proportional representation. She had supported the foundation of the Advanced School. A Scottish Unitarian with a rational belief in the equality of men and women, she believed that women were quite capable of speaking as well as men, but that 'law and custom have put a bridle on the tongue of women'.[13] Having such an example of articulate, outspoken femininity write a book on citizenship and, on occasions, lecture to girls at the Advanced School, demonstrates the liberal outlook of the Inspector-General of Education, John Hartley, who had requested the book.[14] No evidence was found of *The Laws we Live Under* being used at any of the other schools in this study.

The use of C. R. Long's *Stories of Australian Exploration* at Adelaide High School has already been commented upon. A review of the same author's *The Aim and Method in History and Civics* in the *Education Gazette* in 1909 provides a clear statement of the rationale for history teaching in government schools at the time:

> History is really the character-forming subject of the school, and, in a secular system of education, helps to supply the place that religious instruction filled in the schools of the past. It builds up patriotism, and helps to create the civic spirit so necessary in a land of universal suffrage.[15]

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12 *ibid.*, p.8.
13 Magarey, *Unbridling the Tongues*, p.142.
14 *ibid.*, p.114.
15 *Education Gazette* 12 November 1909, p.250.

First-year Primary School teacher-trainees at the University Training College studied the Function of History under two headings: (a) Moral and Intellectual Training and (b) Patriotism.[16] From primary school, therefore, students in the public schools were taught history with a heavy moral emphasis. Civics was taught as a subject in the government primary schools, and formed part of the Course of Instruction offered in District High Schools.[17] The proposed syllabus included the workings of the Australian legislative and judicial systems, with Walter Murdoch's *The Citizen Reader* a recommended text. Another Murdoch book, *The Australian Citizen: an elementary account of civic rights and duties* (1912) was also recommended in the *Gazette* to teachers of civics.[18] Murdoch, Professor of English Literature in the University of Western Australia, wrote, as the title suggests, to teach Australian children about government and citizenship of their own country. Included in *The Australian Citizen* were chapters on state and commonwealth government, industrial legislation, communication, liberty, equality and 'Our Duty to Society'. The numerous photographs included letter sorting in an Australian Post Office, an Australian policeman and scenes inside schoolrooms and the federal parliament.[19] Nevertheless, in 1914 the Inspector for the North West District complained that the curriculum of the High Schools was neglecting training in citizenship, for 'just at that period when most effective work could be done, when the child is on the threshold of manhood and womanhood, the subject of citizenship is wholly ignored, and character-moulding, in this particular at any rate, is lost sight of.'[20]

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16 Teachers' Training College syllabus, *Education Gazette* 21 January 1913, p.54.

17 The Course was published annually in the *Gazette,* e.g. 26 January 1910, p.31 and 30 April 1913, pp.180-181.

18 *Education Gazette* 20 August 1913, p.350.

19 Walter Murdoch, *The Australian Citizen: an elementary account of civic rights and duties*, Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1912.

20 Inspector Gold's Report, *SAPP* 1915, No.44, Appendix C, p.31.

English literature

English literary works were studied in the context of several subjects, called literature, poetry and reading. Homework records from Tormore indicate that the same text was often studied for both literature and poetry. Lines were set for memorisation or analysis. The set poem for 1910, Byron's 'Prisoner of Chillon', was interrupted at the end of July when Kipling's 'The Dead King' was required to be memorised by the whole school as a tribute to the late King Edward VII.[21] Other literature studied in 1910 included Grey's 'Elegy', 'The Buried Chief' and Shakespeare's 'The Tempest'. In the following year, the major text was Sir Walter Scott's 'The Talisman'.[22] Not surprisingly, given the imperial orientation of the school and the general lack of recognition at that time of Australian poetry and prose as 'literature' in the educational sense, none of the homework tasks mentions any Australian authors.

Every Friday night, Tormore girls were set a composition topic. 'Voyages of Discovery in Elizabeth's Reign' and 'Description of the Knight and the Saracen and their horses' were based on work studied in history or literature, while others related to patriotic celebrations such as Empire Day or commemorated recent events such as the death of Edward VII. There were also general subjects such as 'Gardening as a source of amusement'. 'The Yarrabah Mission' is the only Australian topic mentioned during the two years - this followed a talk given to the school about the Aboriginal mission near Cairns.[23]

Similarly, at the Advanced School, reading lessons often complemented history or literature lessons, so that, simultaneously with their study of the Tudors, the Fourth class was reading from a book called *The Fall of the Stuarts*. In literature lessons, girls read from Shakespeare, Scott, Macaulay, Dickens and Byron: in second term of 1881, the Fifth class

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21 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.34, August 1910, p.1.

22 Homework Diary of Mary Adams, 1910.

23 *ibid., The Tormorean* Vol.XI No.35, December 1910, p.5.

studied Julius Caesar for literature and poetry, read Brutus' speech for reading and wrote a composition of the Character of Brutus. Second, Third and Fourth classes in the same term studied Scott's 'Lady of the Lake'.[24]

One of the books read by the Second class in 1889 was Charlotte Yonge's *Book of Golden Deeds,* first published in London in 1864. This was a collection of heroic stories of men and women from many countries, from ancient times onwards, who showed selfless devotion to others, often at risk to their own lives. Miss Yonge defined a 'golden deed' as one showing 'the spirit that gives itself for others - the temper that for the sake of religion, of country, of duty, of kindred, nay, of pity even to a stranger, will dare all things, risk all things, endure all things.'[25] Many women in the book, like Margaret Roper, daughter of Sir Thomas More, were celebrated for their faithfulness and devotion to members of their families. It was a classic inspirational text for young children, and was still being recommended in the South Australian Education Department's *Education Gazette* in 1913.[26]

In its last few pages, the book contains one story from Australia, 'that great and somewhat repulsive southern island', recounting the selflessness of Jane Duff, who cared for her two brothers when all three were lost for over a week in the bush. The Australian landscape is portrayed as harsh and ugly, having 'only dull gum-trees, with oddly-shaped cones and blue upright leaves', 'she-oak trees, with hard joints, like over-grown English horse-tails', 'monstrous nettle-trees' and a drought so terrible that 'stout men, sturdy explorers, have been known to lie down, famished, to die in this inhospitable forest.'[27] Students may have read very little, at school at least, to counteract such a negative image of their own country, although some

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24 Terminal Examination Results.
25 C. M. Yonge, *A Book of Golden Deeds*, London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1864, p.13.
26 *Education Gazette* 17 June 1913, p.298.
27 Yonge, *Golden Deeds*, pp.434-435.

appreciation of Australian nationalist poetry was seen in the school's magazine.[28]

A well-used text for English at MLC in 1908 was a poetry book published in London: *Macmillan's Departmental Poetry Books, Senior II,*[29] which, bound in red and bearing the MLC crest, contained such perennial favourites as Tennyson's 'Ode on the Death of Wellington' and 'Morte d'Arthur', Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner', Goldsmith's 'The Deserted Village' and Gray's 'Elegy', as well as works by Milton, Wordsworth, Scott and Macaulay. Handwritten notes inserted into the copy examined for this research shows that students were taught detailed background information on historical poems such as Tennyson's 'Ode on the Death of Wellington'. For Scott's 'Flodden', the student had drawn a highly detailed map of the progress of the Battle.

Tennyson was one of the pre-eminent poets at this, as at all the other secondary schools. The winner of the first annual Margaret Shorney Literature prize (1911), for which senior MLC girls could submit essays on a range of literary topics, wrote on Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* and received as her prize a lavishly illustrated copy of Tennyson's *The Idylls of the King* .[30]

Records for the Convent of Mercy are again scarce, but frequent literary allusions in the *Golden Wattle* to Shakespeare, Dickens, Tennyson, as well as to some Australian poets, notably Adam Lindsay Gordon, indicate that these girls received literary nourishment similar to their counterparts at MLC.[31]

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[28] See Chapter 7, pp.283-4.

[29] *Macmillan's Departmental Poetry Books: Senior II,* London: Macmillan and Co., 1907. Copy belonging to Kathleen Marshall, 1908, MLC/AC OSA.

[30] Daphne Gum, *A Rich Tapestry of Lives: celebrating the 90th Birthday of the Methodist Ladies College/Annesley College Old Scholars Association,* Adelaide: Peacock Publications, 1995, p.142. The book prize is held in the Old Scholars' Archives.

[31] Heroines from English literature are mentioned in 'Books', *Golden Wattle* 1909, p.27 ; 'How we Beat the Favourites', pp.33-4 shows familiarity with Gordon's poetry.

Despite some dissatisfactions with the curriculum for girls at Adelaide High School, Adey appeared particularly pleased with the central place occupied by English literature:

> We have adopted many means in the school for creating a love for our glorious English literature, believing that if we can give to our students an appreciation of the best thoughts of the best writers we shall have given them the key that will unlock kings' treasures. Our libraries, Shakespeare Society, debates, and home readings have all supplemented the class teaching in this, the greatest subject.[32]

Adey's words, which demonstrate a close reading of Ruskin's thoughts in *Sesame and Lilies*,[33] show that the High School held English literature in the same regard as did the independent schools. Notwithstanding the school's efforts to foster an Australian identity and the appreciation of an emerging Australian literature evident from the school's magazine, the pre-eminent place of English literature in the curriculum remained unchallenged. It is not surprising, then, despite Director of Education Alfred Williams' aim to make 'good Australians', that the school recited Newbolt's 'Vitae Lampada' and Tennyson's 'Crossing the Bar', rather than something with an Australian flavour, in his honour at the annual demonstration in 1913.[34] Australian verse was unlikely to have been considered suitable elocutionary material at the time and the character-building qualities of English literature were so well-established as to be almost synonymous with education.

Tennyson's evocative words about passing into the next life in 'Crossing the Bar' were set for recitation in 1913 for the Senior Public examination (along with other selections from the *Victorian Anthology for Schools*, edited by M. P. Hansen). As far as English literature was concerned, students in all the South Australian schools received the same literary moral training and were taught to emulate the same role models. Given his prominence in the syllabus of most schools, Tennyson may have been South Australia's most influential educator.

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32 Annual report for 1911, *SAPP* 1912, No.44, p.46.

33 Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, see 'Lecture 1: Sesame: Of Kings' Treasuries', pp.1-109.

34 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.5 No.1, Easter 1913, p.10.

The Adelaide High School English curriculum was probably not devoid of Australian content. The *Education Gazette* regularly reviewed books (usually recent publications) which it recommended for use by teachers in the government schools, and books on Australian topics were occasionally mentioned. Among those recommended in 1913 was *An Austral Garden of Prose*, which contained selections from Australian writers such as Henry Lawson, Walter Murdoch and Marcus Clarke.[35] Teachers were at least being encouraged to familiarise themselves with Australian works.

Geography

A. J. Herbertson's *The Junior Geography,* used at Tormore in 1910, is typical of geography texts of the time. Written by an Oxford Professor of Geography, this was a broad survey of physical features of the major countries of the world. Typical homework tasks set from this book were: 'Find and learn principal openings and capes round the coast of America; principal rivers and lakes in North America' (a 40 minute task for the owner of the Tormore homework diary) and 'Learn the coalfields of England and the towns situated near them'. At Tormore, as at the Advanced School (where the Fourth class in first term of 1881 covered 'Asia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania'[36]) and others, the number of countries covered in the course of a year meant there was no time to learn about a country in any depth. Not surprisingly, the questions set for the Primary geography examination at the end of 1910 rewarded the rote learning of physical features:[37]

> 1. Draw an outline map of England and Wales showing the chief rivers and the principal towns situated on the same.
>
> 2. Compare briefly the climate, soil, and land products of England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively.

The paper included one question relating to the Murray River and two others referred to Australian examples. The

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35 *Education Gazette* 17 June 1913, p.297.

36 Terminal Examination Results, 1881.

37 *Manual of the Public Examinations Board, 1911*, p.(3).

specifically Australian question called for a typical recapitulation of facts:

> 4. Give a full-page description of the Murray River and its tributaries, stating the important towns on their banks. A sketch is expected.

Geography as learnt from Herbertson may have contributed little to a young Australian's appreciation of the uniqueness of her own country.

Sciences

An appreciation of the Australian landscape was more likely to result from botany lessons, where local flora was investigated. Tormore shared with the Advanced School a science teacher, Miss Ellen Benham, a former student of the Advanced School who graduated in Science from the University of Adelaide in 1892 and later became the university's first female academic. Miss Benham taught botany and physiology from 1900-1911, and her name is mentioned in the Tormore magazine in connection with numerous botanical and geological excursions to sites around Adelaide.[38] *The Tormorean* in December 1913 announced that Miss Jacob was offering a prize for the best collection of wild flowers, another indication that Tormore girls were encouraged to appreciate the State's distinctive flora.[39] On one of their annual picnics, members of the school's Field Naturalists' Club discovered twenty-one varieties of orchids.[40] Perhaps, too, the painstakingly thorough cataloguing of Australian flora in Professor Tate's handbook of the flora of South Australia[41] (published by the SA Education Department and set for public examinations) helped to enhance the girls'

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[38] R. Chivers, *The Benham Family in Australia*, Adelaide: M. I. Chivers, 1970; Helen Jones, 'Ellen Ida Benham 1871-1917' in B. Nairn and G. Serle (Gen. eds.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Vol.7, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979, p.261; *The Tormorean* July 1905, p.8. [From this issue until August 1910, the magazines are not numbered.]

[39] *The Tormorean* Vol.XIII No. 44, December 1913, p.2.

[40] 'Tormore House School', Speeches by Caroline Jacob, MLSA 196/16/7.

[41] R. Tate, *A Handbook of the Flora of extra-tropical South Australia, containing the flowering plants and ferns*, Adelaide: Education Department, 1890.

understanding and appreciation of, and sense of identification with, the distinctive Australian natural environment.

Tormore Girls studied botany, physiology, geology and biology - acceptably 'female' subjects for the times. At the Advanced School botany and physiology were temporarily replaced by chemistry in 1901,[42] but generally the more abstract sciences were deemed to suit the male intelligence. A former Tormore student recalled: [L]adies didn't do chemistry or physics, in those days, though it was alright to do physiology.'[43]

At Adelaide High School, not all of the curriculum was generally available to girls. One girl who wanted to qualify for entry to a medical course found herself in a boys' class:

> In Adelaide High, the girls didn't study physics, chemistry or biology....There were no mixed classes, except for an occasional one like me who wanted to do subjects that boys were doing.[44]

The girls' schools, designed for middle-class clients, did not need to consider the provision of domestic education; in the words of a former Tormorean:

> Domestic science was right out. Nobody even thought of it. You never thought that you would have to learn to cook. Ladies always had maids to do the hard work.[45]

But at Adelaide High School Adey was influenced by the resurgent interest in domestic education for girls, and was not satisfied that the school's curriculum was adequate to fulfil what he saw as the school's social function. He told parents in 1911: 'I cannot but feel that much has yet to be done, especially for the girls in developing them along lines which will the better

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[42] *Register* 19 December 1901, 4b-d.

[43] Interview with Phyllis Cilento (née McGlew) in Mackinnon, *The New Women*, p.83. Chemistry and physics also required expensive specialist facilities which were uneconomical for small numbers of girls: see Reid, *Age of Transition*, p. 115.

[44] Mackinnon, *New Women*, pp.54-55.

[45] *ibid.*, p.83.

fit them for the duties of womanhood.'[46] His dissatisfaction with the curriculum was again evident in 1912, when he said:

> We are still looking forward to the time when the course for the boys and girls will be so modified as to include some training in manual and domestic art.[47]

The design of an appropriate curriculum for girls was one of the major concerns of the President's address at the Annual conference of the Public Teachers' Union in Adelaide in 1910, when President Mr. W. Bennett recommended that '[w]e should see that our girls have a knowledge of human anatomy, elementary physiology, the laws of health, domestic economy, and the care, feeding, nursing, and moral training of children.'[48] In this (widely-shared) view, the sciences appropriate for girls were those most in keeping with their female nurturing role.

Religion

Religion in some form was a school subject at all the girls' schools, usually with weekly instructions from the school chaplain as well as timetabled lessons and lectures. Tormore girls had a Scripture lesson every Friday morning with their Anglican chaplain[49] and Miss Jacob, herself a Bible scholar, awarded a Scripture prize annually.[50] Weekly collections and an annual fete for the missions gave practical expression to the religious ideals taught in classroom lessons.

Religion was of vital importance in the formation of the Methodist girl, and accordingly was timetabled as a prominent part of school life. The 1912 prospectus stated that prayers were led each morning and afternoon by the Headmistress, and the chaplain attended once a week for prayers and a scripture lesson to the whole school. Bible study was part of the

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46 Annual report for 1911, *SAPP* 1912, No.44, p.46.
47 Annual report for 1912, *SAPP* 1913, No.44, p.38.
48 *Education Gazette* 14 July 1910, p.180. [Government schools in South Australia are known as public schools.]
49 Homework Diary. (Timetable on back page.)
50 See, for instance, *Advertiser* December 17 1908, p.9.

curriculum.[51] On Sundays, boarders were escorted morning and evening to services in the Unley Methodist Church and after lunch attended Bible Study with Miss Patchell, where each girl recited the week's verse of scripture.[52] The school had a large Christian Union and several bible study groups, some led by senior girls. The Chapman-Alexander mission party from America held services at the school in 1909 and again in 1912, where the visiting evangelists preached and led the girls in choruses. Boarders attended several of the public night meetings in the Exhibition Building in 1912.[53]

In the school, as well as at home, Methodist girls were inculcated in the missionary ideals of service and evangelisation. The MLC curriculum, while serving in many ways to confirm women's traditional supporting role, did give girls the expectation that theirs was to be an active community role, working with commitment and efficiency for church and society as well as home and family. Organisation and leadership of Bible study circles provided them with experiences valuable for leading active professional and citizenship roles.

It was observed in the preceding chapter that religion at the Convent of Mercy was not conflated with ethnic identity in the way that Catholic and Irish were synonymous at early CBC. Instead, the peculiar brand of Argentinian high culture that the Mercy sisters brought with them nourished the style of femininity promoted in the school. The insular, self-absorbed nature of Catholicism of the era created social restrictions for Catholic girls, yet at the Convent they were encouraged to have high aims in a secular world, to attend university and work outside the home. While the celibate religious life was the ultimate spiritual ideal, professional successes of Old Scholars have been seen to be warmly celebrated, as were marriages, in the school magazine.

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51 *Wattle Blossom* December 1912, p.14. (The magazine is not numbered from this issue.)

52 Shepherd, 'Memories of Yesterday'.

53 *Wattle Blossom* Vol.IV No.4, December 1909, p.9; December 1912, p.38.

To what extent the Marian model of femininity inspired (or restricted) girls is debatable. Catholic theology in this era gave prominence to Mary, the Virgin Mother of Jesus Christ, as mediator between people and God, and as the ideal woman. Representations of Mary had gathered historical accretions from medieval chivalry, with its protective and adulatory attitudes towards women, and from Victorian ideology, when, in O'Farrell's words 'late nineteenth-century Catholicism managed to overlay [the feminine ideal exemplified by the Virgin Mary] with characteristics close to the heart of Victorian respectability'[54] so that it had become identified with the passive, ultra-domestic Victorian middle class ideal of femininity. Just as Queen Victoria was the ideal of perfect womanhood for girls at Tormore and Adelaide High School, Mary was the official model for Catholic girls. However, it was seen in the previous chapter that girls were offered many other role models from whom they may have derived inspiration for their own lives: successful Old Scholars, Shakespearean women, as well as a collection of saints, male and female. Early in the century, the school was re-named after a male saint, Aloysius. Among the female saints, many, such as Joan of Arc, were models of courage, initiative and even feats of physical daring far removed from the passive Marian model.

Nor is an oppressive 'Catholic cult of feminine humility', which Janet McCalman identifies among girls from a Melbourne Catholic college conducted by nuns of French origin, detectable from the sources consulted.[55] The distinctive Mercy ethos of this school contained elements of initiative and fearlessness, evoking images of nuns nursing on dangerous battlefields, venturing into unfamiliar lands, and administering their own schools. Paradoxically, for girls at the Convent of Mercy, a traditionally patriarchal religion may have played a part in

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[54] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: an Australian History*, Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1985, p.257.

[55] Janet McCalman, *Journeyings: the biography of a middle-class generation 1920-1990*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993, p.129. Genazzano, the convent in McCalman's study is conducted by the nuns of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, a French order.

extending their concept of woman's role, stretching popular images of female capabilities and even female moral calibre.

Recommended reading

The texts which Tormore girls studied at the end of term, after their examinations, give an indication of what they were being encouraged to read in their spare time, when freed from the demands of public examinations. After the Junior Examination in 1909, the Fifth class read Tennyson's 'Geraint and Enid' and Ruskin's 'Sesame and Lilies', the lectures where Ruskin called for a more serious education for women to properly equip them with '[a]ll such knowledge ... as may enable [them] to understand, and even to aid, the work of men'.[56] In 1911, after examinations the Senior class had lectures on Elizabethan Literature, the Last Days of Pompeii and Italian history and art.[57] Prizes were awarded to those who distinguished themselves in studies undertaken after the examinations, thus encouraging girls to see that study was for broader purposes than the mere passing of examinations. A Tormore girl was to be a learner all her life.

A selection of books awarded as subject prizes from 1905-08 at MLC shows that these were not always chosen for appropriateness to the subject itself, but, as at its brother college, PAC, to further the appreciation of the British cultural heritage. Thus *Scott's Poetical Works* was given as an arithmetic prize, a book of Shelley's poetry for history and Kingsley's *The Heroes* for physiology. A book on *Picturesque England,* with a large picture of Westminster Abbey as frontispiece and containing illustrated stories, songs and legends about hundreds of famous English landmarks, was given in 1908 as a double prize for drawing and theory of music.[58]

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56 *The Tormorean* December 1909, p.4. (Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, p.143.)

57 *The Tormorean* Vol.XI No.38, December 1911, pp.22-23.

58 *Scott's Poetical Works*, awarded to Gladys Roach, IVA arithmetic, 1905; *Shelley's Poetical Works*, to Beryl de Garis, IVA history, 1905; Kingsley's *The Heroes*, to Vera Lathlean, IVA physiology, 1907; *Picturesque England in Lay and Legend, Song and Story*, unnamed, drawing and theory of music, 1908. MLC/AC OSA.

In 1908, the magazine recorded the addition of new library books, including *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and works by Dickens and Tennyson, to the school collection.[59] It would be of interest to know whether the library at this stage contained any Australian books. By the end of the war, the Methodist Book Depot, which advertised in the *Wattle Blossom*, began to sell Australian poetry and stories of Australian soldiers: in December 1918 it advertised a volume of Henry Lawson's poetry, *The Anzac Book* (a collection of stories and sketches about war in the trenches) and *Over the top with the Third Australian Division*, the experiences of an AIF chaplain.[60] Despite a lack of evidence of Australian literature being available at the school, some Old Scholars who were at MLC during this period later wrote appreciatively of Australia: Alison Ashby's illustrated book of South Australian wildflowers is one example, while Dorothy Langsford's Australian novels *Cooee of Glenowie* (1922), *The Outlaw* (1925), *Sun-Chased Shadows* (1927) and *Dan of the Ridge* (1928) were romantic adventure stories which celebrated the heroism of the Australian frontiersmen and women.

Adey instituted home reading and silent reading during school hours for Adelaide High School students. In 1908 every class spent 'at least one period a week in independent reading under the general supervision of the teacher',[61] and a 1910 photograph of ten young ladies seated quietly in the library reading intently under the watchful eye of Mr Adey himself suggests that this was a serious part of the daily timetable.[62] There appears to have been little choice among books set for home reading. The magazine recorded in 1909 that most Fifth class girls chose *A Tale of Two Cities*[63] and a 1910 list of 'home reading books for the coming quarter' shows a limited selection:

Primary: Uncle Tom's Cabin; Little Women

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59 *Wattle Blossom* Vol.III No.3, September 1908, p.13.
60 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1918, p.54.
61 Annual report for 1908, *SAPP* 1909, No.44, p.34.
62 *Adelaide High School 75th Anniversary,* p.43.
63 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Midwinter 1909 [No Volume no. given], p.23.

Junior: Hereward the Wake, Martin Chuzzlewit, Prisoner of Chillon.
Senior and Higher Public: Woman in White, Barnaby Rudge, Gerant and Enid. [64]

Apart from Harriet Beecher Stowe and Louisa May Alcott for Primary students, the selections were, true to the Headmaster's words, from 'the great treasures of our English literature'. If any Australian titles were offered, they were not recorded. Library and home reading were for reinforcement of the lessons of the English curriculum, not recreation from it.

Music and other feminine 'accomplishments'

Music, like needlework and various forms of art, was taught in the girls' schools as an 'extra', which meant that it was optional and charged for separately. Sometimes extras, particularly music, enjoyed a high status in the school. This was not the case at the Advanced School, where music was taught (along with dancing and drawing) but was considered peripheral to the school's major academic aim.[65] At Tormore, music had been a major element of the school's curriculum before Miss Jacob's time, and was continued, with painting and some needlework, in a more minor role. Prizes were awarded for these subjects, and Miss Jacob's annual reports proudly announced successes in the annual music and painting examinations.[66]

From its first year, MLC educated girls up to Higher Public Examination standard in a wide range of subjects: scripture, English, French, German, Latin, arithmetic, algebra, history, geography, spelling, composition, chemistry, physiology, botany, Euclid and trigonometry.[67] Music, painting, drawing, elocution and calisthenics were extras. However, from the beginning, a separate music department was established, with its own Director and visiting teachers. Girls could learn violin, piano, harp or singing. The Director from 1911-19 was Dr. E. Harold Davies, who then joined the staff of the Elder Conservatorium.

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64 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.3, Michaelmas 1910, p.12.
65 Jones, 'Pinnacle of the State School System', p.11.
66 *Advertiser* December 17 1908, p.9; Annual report 1910, SRG 196/16/2.
67 Work Diary of Ada Tonkin, 1903, MLC/AC OSA.

Even for those who did not progress to tertiary music studies, musical knowledge could be utilised in later life: one Old Scholar appreciated her music studies when she married a country Methodist minister and became his organist.[68] With its strong hymn-singing tradition, the Methodist church relied heavily on women to provide music for worship.

Though classified as an extra at the Convent of Mercy, music occupied an important role culturally and financially. A host of annual prizes was always awarded for music and an emphasis on musical performance is evident from concert programmes. In 1912, 143 students (out of a total 165) passed music in some form.[69] Written reminiscences of the early years refer to the Senior Choir, trained by Irish-Argentinian Mother Clare Murphy, singing in four parts, and to a school orchestra, trained by the German musician Herr Mumme, who also taught orchestra at CBC.[70] A 1912 photograph depicts an orchestra of nine violins and a piano.[71] A visit to the Convent by Professor and Mrs Ennis from the Elder Conservatorium in 1909, when they performed for the students on violin and piano, was reported in detail in the *Golden Wattle*,[72] and the achievements of students who qualified for entry to the Conservatorium were always proudly documented.

As well as being a component of religious worship (the choir sang regularly on Sunday mornings in the nearby Cathedral) music transmitted elements of the Spanish culture and, to some extent, the Irish tradition. It was also a key element of the cultured, Argentinian-inspired feminine ideal espoused by the school, and obviously remained in demand as indispensable to the genteel tradition of middle class girls' education which persisted at the school. The educated woman who played music

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68 Doris Weeding (née Crosby), 'Early Days at MLC', MLC/AC OSA.
69 Emery, 'Portrait', p.13.
70 Kennedy, 'Recollections', p. 4a.
71 Photographs Vol.1, MASA.
72 *Golden Wattle* June 1909, p.42.

- unlike the notorious image of the bluestocking - conformed to society's expectations of femininity.[73]

The Convent taught a wider range of extras than any of the other schools, and their role in the school, therefore, merits examination. Marie Crotty detected a 'basic ambivalence' between genteel accomplishments and academic subjects at the school, with an academic emphasis assuming priority in the late 1910s and becoming 'firmly entrenched' by 1912.[74] Academic studies were, however, always valued highly. From the 1890s, valuable prizes were donated by prominent Adelaide persons to students successful in public examinations, tangible encouragement to girls to pursue academic studies. By 1899, however, numbers entering for the public examinations were still small, with only three girls from the Convent listed in the Junior Public pass list.[75] By 1909, there were eleven candidates for the Primary. All passed, and the magazine praised the convent's achievement of first place among the convents of South Australia and Western Australia.[76]

The curriculum of this school demonstrates the inappropriateness of making a strict separation between accomplishments and academic subjects in the history of girls' education. Some accomplishments, such as handwork and music, came to be classed as extras, while modern languages were invested with new status as part of the competitive, publicly examined academic curriculum common to both sexes. In 1912, the Convent's Prospectus advertised, as well as extras, 'all the usual branches of a sound English education', Mathematics, Latin, French and Spanish and stated that the school was preparing pupils for Primary, Junior, Senior and Higher Public Examinations.[77] The Mercy Sisters in Ireland were educated women who undertook the task of preparing girls for

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73 Theobald, *Knowing Women*, Chapter 1: 'The Woman at the Piano: Women, Education and Culture in the Nineteenth-century Frame of Reference' explores the connections between culture and women's education.

74 Crotty, 'The Issue of Women and Schooling', p.21.

75 *Manual of the Public Examinations Board* 1899, pp.(36)-(38).

76 *Golden Wattle*, 1909, p.50.

77 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.66.

public examinations set by the Irish National Board. In South Australia, where women were admitted to university degrees from 1880, it was probably inevitable that an order with an academic tradition would prepare girls for the highest level of achievement open to them, while retaining instruction in the traditional feminine skills such as music and needlework in which they themselves excelled and which were obviously still in demand by middle class families.

Two teachers of the period illustrate the breadth and academic potential inherent in the accomplishments tradition. Sister Evangelist Vian taught fancy needlework to a whole-school class as well as teaching French and Spanish: being of Basque origin, she spoke both languages fluently. The 12-year old student who delivered a speech in Spanish for an Argentinian nun's feast day displayed an unusual accomplishment for a South Australian girl.[78] Mother Camillus Murphy, a Victorian with teaching experience prior to entering the convent, was a lover of literature, the classics and art who came to Adelaide in 1908 and taught Latin, physiology, painting and drawing. She was remembered as 'a very accomplished person, a good and provocative teacher' who 'would draw you out' and 'allowed you to express an opinion.'[79]

The decorative and time-consuming character of some of the more genteel accomplishments taught at the school indicates the social role such institutions played in the cultivation of skills for leisured ladies. During this period, convents were popular in all states for the high standard of training which nuns of the various orders could provide in traditional ladylike skills of music and needlework to daughters of the middle class.[80] A sample of drawn thread work done by one of Evangelist Vian's students in 1900 and retained in the Mercy Archives illustrates

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[78] Kennedy, 'Recollections' p.4a. Sr Kevin Kennedy recalls that Sister Evangelist was sometimes requested to translate, and helped one Adelaide businessman write in Spanish to his lady friend. (p.4a)

[79] Old Scholar Ursula Cock, quoted in Emery, 'Portrait', p.11.

[80] C. J. C. Garner, 'Ability or respectability: girls' education, Queensland and New South Wales, 1870-1885', in *ANZHES Journal* Vol.6 No.1, Autumn 1977, pp.12-21, p.17.

the highly intricate skills involved in some of the traditional accomplishments.[81] A report of the 1891 annual display and concert in the *Observer* made special mention of the 'exquisitely executed lamp shades, really superb paintings and drawings on display.[82] Ornamental items such as the paintings on opal panels, drawings of Australian fauna and flora, arrasene and crewel work and a richly embellished firescreen on display in 1897, the 'beautiful Russian, Brazilian and point lace work' and 'lace collarettes, which looked as if they had emanated from fairy fingers' in 1901[83] and the 'plush mantledrapes with wattle blossom and olive green mantledrapes with golden cellos' recollected by one student[84] indicate that Catholic girls' secondary education was still mainly the province of a well-to-do middle class who could spend leisure hours decorating comfortable homes. However, some 'plain sewing' was taught at the school: after the distribution of prizes in 1897, a newspaper report stated that 'the utilitarian as well as the aesthetic are encouraged by the sisters, and while there were on view some splendid samples of fancy and highly artistic work, there were also to be seen plain sewing, dressmaking and numerous articles of domestic use.'[85]

Needlework was an extra, indicating that, like music, it was not studied by all and the fees of the wealthier girls helped finance the academic education of some less wealthy students. Evidence of some leniency in fee collection indicates that not all who attended the school were wealthy.[86] A letter written by Mother Magdalene to a country parent claimed that the school 'attracts students of all classes, including the labouring class'.[87] However, the fees charged - one guinea (one pound one shilling) per term (compared with three guineas at the Advanced School for Girls

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81 Drawn thread work by Nora Dunlevie, 1900, MASA. An article of drawn thread work by the same student was accepted by the Governor and his wife 'to present to a royal dignitary visiting Adelaide'. Display, MASA.

82 *Observer* 26 December 1891.

83 *Register* 23 December 1901, 8h-i.

84 Kennedy, 'Recollections', p.10.

85 *Advertiser* 18 December 1897, 9b.

86 Emery, 'Portrait', p.7.

87 Letter to Mrs. Cock of Moonta, quoted in Emery, 'Portrait', p.5.

and Tormore House) would have deterred the majority of working class families. Extras (listed in the 1912 Prospectus as the Theory and Practice of Music (piano and violin), Singing, Drawing, Painting in Oils, Water Colours and Pastel, and Dressmaking)[88] were each charged at one pound five shillings per term. Extras such as music and needlework would also have provided income to support other Mercy ventures, such as the free Elementary School and the House of Mercy.

Elocution was a payable extra at Tormore and MLC, and was considered an important element in a girl's education. The rationale for its inclusion, as explained in the 1902 MLC prospectus, highlights the contrast with its role in the boys' schools:

> Not only is it essential that girls should learn to speak grammatically, but it should be recognised that clear and graceful elocution is an essential part of refinement, the power of being able to read with expression and skill is an accomplishment which adds a charm to the home circle, and may be used to heighten the enjoyment of a social gathering.[89]

While boys were trained to express their opinions in public, the rationale for teaching girls to speak well was to make them more 'refined' and 'accomplished' in the home and in polite society. Speaking well was also of obvious benefit for women's church work such as conducting meetings, taking bible study or teaching Sunday School, and was a skill which girls could utilise in professional life.

Debating

In 1910, Miss Benham's sixth class at Tormore formed a temporary debating society, an unusual step for a girls' school at that time.[90] There are records of girls' debates at Adelaide High School, but topics suggest that boys were given far more encouragement than girls to perceive themselves as citizens with a public role and real historical agency. Girls took part in debates held in the girls' classrooms and the nature of topics

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88 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.66.

89 MLC 'Our Girls: their education', p.15.

90 *The Tormorean* Vol.XV No.34 August 1910, p.17.

debated was vastly different from the boys'. In 1910, while girls debated Royalists and Puritans, or the influence of seventeenth and eighteenth century poets compared with that of poets of the nineteenth century, boys considered some of the major public questions of the day, such as whether Australia should have compulsory military training and whether the Northern Territory was merely a 'white elephant' to South Australia.[91] When a Literary and Debating Society was formed at the school in 1916 for 'oration, debate [and] reading', girls were excluded.[92] Adey was approached by the boys four years later to consider allowing girls to be admitted, but he 'was not favourably inclined, [and] the matter was dropped with a thud.'[93] Topics debated by the Society included political issues such as conscription, White Australia, Republic versus Monarchy and whether arbitration could bring about successful settlement of international disputes. Literary societies were an established part of Adelaide adult society, and were traditionally male. These often discussed serious topics of political interest which it was not considered polite or appropriate for females to enter into.

(B) THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION OF SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GIRLS.

> What weak-willed, despicable beings are many of Dickens' women .... The modern girl as a rule is not given to fainting and hysterics as a habit .... For the indulgence in bodily exercise has strengthened not only muscle, but also nerve and the power of self-control.[94]

There is abundant evidence that the South Australian schools saw themselves as important agents in the social construction of the female body, contributing to, modifying, and, in some ways, challenging, contemporary discourses of femininity. The four decades encompassed by this study mark a transition period in

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91 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.3, Michaelmas 1910, pp.17-18.
92 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.8 No.4, December 1916, p.18.
93 *Adelaide High School, 75th Anniversary, 1908-83, Souvenir Handbook*, p.54.
94 *Wattle Blossom* December 1912, p.29.

physical education in Adelaide girls' secondary schools, when gentler, more 'ladylike' forms of exercise were replaced by systematic programmes of physical culture and organised games, in some schools under the control of specialist physical education teachers. Relatively strenuous forms of activity previously considered unfeminine not only became legitimised for girls but were now seen as valuable instruments in the gendering process. Physical education was accorded a new seriousness of purpose in the rhetoric of Headmistresses and teachers, and was incorporated into the ethos of particular schools in terms of the cultivation of physical and mental discipline, personal character development, *esprit de corps* and the honour of the school. There were some variations in the ways the religious denominations cultured the female body in their schools, in accordance with their slightly differing views of ideal femininity.

Programmes of exercises and organised games markedly extended the range of physical activities offered to school girls. The new physical education had a liberating influence on the female body in terms of movement and dress, and appears to have challenged some crucial aspects of traditional femininity. While physical educators were careful not to offend social norms, sport did offer to girls experiences which provided 'a suspension of normal role-playing and the convention of female impotence'.[95] The previous chapters have illustrated ways in which aspects of the rhetoric, organisation and curriculum gave school girls an experience of a school femininity, which allowed them suspension from the strictures of more traditional femininity: it is argued here that this (for most girls temporary) suspension had its most visible expression in physical education.

This investigation will concentrate on the first two decades of the twentieth century, since this was the period which saw physical education accorded new prominence in the curricula of all the schools. It will be seen that change was dependent upon the views and policies of headmistresses and staff and

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95 McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women,* p.92.

their readiness to incorporate the moral benefits of physical activity into existing religious and cultural motives, as well as on such practical aspects as the availability of space and facilities.

Chapter Three outlined developments in girls' physical education in England, the introduction of team games for women, firstly in the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, then in the girls' public schools, and the emergence of a feminised form of Swedish gymnastics. As Madame Bergman-Österberg and her new breed of Ling gymnastics teachers preached the physical and moral benefits, both for the individual girl and the British race, of systematic exercises for girls, schools began from the 1880s to employ specialist physical education mistresses to oversee the physical development and health of their girls. The movement spread to some Australian girls' schools, bringing radical changes and a new seriousness of purpose to programmes of physical education.

Until the early years of the twentieth century, physical education in Australian girls' secondary schools was motivated chiefly by a preoccupation with ladylike deportment and the need for recreation to prevent mental strain. If team games were played, they were very much a peripheral concern of the schools, usually organised by the girls themselves. However, given the growing popularity of women's sporting activities, it was probably inevitable that games would increase in popularity in the girls' schools. By the late nineteenth century, sport had become an important element in the Australian way of life and had already become symbolic of an (albeit mainly male) Australian identity. Popular support for Australians representing their country in cricket and Olympic sports evoked strong nationalist sentiment.

In South Australia, an increasing number of sports were becoming open to women's participation. Cycling was popular with both sexes, as depicted in an 1896 photograph of members

of the North Adelaide Cycling Club, which shows approximately one-third women.[96] Many middle class homes had adjoining tennis courts and some churches had asphalt courts where social games were played. Hockey was brought to Adelaide direct from Cheltenham Ladies' College in 1899, when the Waterhouse sisters returned to Adelaide after their English education. By the end of the century there was a Ladies' Hockey Club in North Adelaide and a Boat Club for women rowers.[97] Girls in Adelaide schools would prove receptive to increased opportunities for physical activity: the largely middle class clientele of the girls' schools would most likely have been accustomed to social tennis at home or in the church community, and many of the boarders lived active, outdoor lives at home on large properties, riding horses and perhaps helping with hard physical tasks. Adelaide's Mediterranean-type climate and open spaces - particularly the belt of Parklands surrounding the inner city area which was in close proximity to all the city schools - encouraged a broad range of outdoor activities.

Exercise for health and deportment - Leschen's young ladies.

The schools had always been conscious of a need for fresh air and exercise, and advertised the health benefits of their locations and facilities. When the Advanced School for Girls moved to its new site in Grote Street in 1891, the Minister of Education, (reading the annual report of the headmistress) commented on the 'lofty, well-ventilated classrooms', the 'large asphalted playground' and the tennis court, adding that 'now the girls have plenty of room for games and recreation.'[98] MLC's first prospectus advertised its spacious grounds and

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96 J. A. Daly, *Elysian Fields: sport, class and community in colonial South Australia, 1836-1890*, Adelaide: the author, 1982, p.182.
97 *ibid.* p.183.
98 *Observer*, 26 December 1891, 5d-e.

'lofty, well-ventilated' rooms, assuring prospective parents that 'there is no healthier suburb than Malvern'.[99]

Until at least the early 1900s, exercise in most of the Adelaide girls' schools consisted of the traditional calisthenics and walking, undertaken for health reasons and also as an aid to ladylike deportment. All the schools investigated here employed visiting instructor Adolph Leschen and, after 1887, his son Hugo, to teach a feminised form of calisthenics. Although Leschen's programmes for both boys' and girls' schools taught healthy exercise and bodily discipline, there was a marked contrast between the strenuous German gymnastics exercises in the boys' schools and the emphasis on graceful movement in the girls' schools. Where the boys' schools demonstrated their year's work with displays of vaulting, human pyramids and the awesome giant swing, the girls' schools gave attractive presentations of club-swinging, dumbbells and intricate marching drills.[100] Girls at the Advanced School (where physical education was not a major emphasis) took part in Hugo Leschen's combined schools' gymnastic demonstrations in 1897 and 1900 in the Exhibition Building.[101]

Calisthenics lessons sometimes included social lessons appropriate for middle class ladies: an Old Tormorean remembered Leschen demonstrating how a lady lifts a vase of flowers off the piano 'very gracefully with her hand like that'[102] and seniors at the Convent of Mercy learned 'varied gavotte and minuet steps and figures that were both relaxing and graceful'.[103] MLC students remembered exercising in the gymnasium to the tune of 'waltzes and marches drummed out

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99 'Our Girls: their education', pp.4,21.

100 e.g. Convent of Mercy end-of-year concert, *Advertiser* 16 December 1897, 6i. An undated photograph in the Mercy Archives shows Hugo Leschen with a group of girls holding clubs.

101 Petersen, 'Varieties of P.E. at Way College', p.332.

102 Lady Phyllis Cilento, formerly Phyllis McGlew, who attended Tormore from approximately 1901-1918. Interview in Mackinnon, *The New Women*, p.84.

103 Kennedy, 'Recollections', p.13.

on the old piano' by Herr Leschen.[104] A photograph of a gymnastics lesson at MLC shows girls exercising with dumb-bells, parallel bars, rings and a giant slide, showing that not all Leschen's lessons were performance-oriented, or ladylike in a traditional sense.[105]

It is regrettable that there are only meagre resources available for a reconstruction of the Leschens' seemingly influential role in the transmission of physical ideals of gender to middle class girls in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Adelaide.

Tormore: 'a good, clean, straight jump'.

Tormore Headmistress Caroline Jacob always gave strong encouragement to physical exercise, and was herself an inspiring example. After she purchased Unley Park School in 1907, then in her mid-forties, she cycled the five mile distance between her two schools at least twice a week.[106] Tormore's first magazine (1900) contained a brief notice that skipping, 'the best and most healthy exercise', took place daily at 11 am.[107] Miss Jacob - and other Adelaide headmistresses - may well have been shocked by the unfavourable remarks made by Mrs Sandow, wife of the internationally famous physical culturist Eugen Sandow, who visited Adelaide in 1902. She was unimpressed by the deportment of Adelaide girls, as the Melbourne *Argus* reported:

> Your Australian girls are so pretty ... [s]uch sweet, lovely faces I have seen in the streets, but they walk horribly .... They stoop, they do not carry themselves, they seem to burden themselves. In Adelaide I noticed it most particularly.[108]

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104 Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p.42.

105 Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p.43.

106 Angove, 'A Tribute to Caroline Jacob', p.12. No doubt Miss Jacob was aware that Miss Beale at Cheltenham had learnt to ride a bicycle at age 67. (McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women*, p.83.)

107 *The Tormorean* Vol.1 No.1 July 1900, p.2.

108 *Argus* 11 September 1902, p.7. (I am indebted to R.C. Petersen for this reference.)

In 1903, concern for the physical fitness of the boarders led Miss Jacob to engage Herr Leschen to conduct calisthenics lessons for the boarders once a week before breakfast. She had obviously taken this step because she believed the level of participation in sport was too low: 'I hope [the calisthenics] has done good but a lack of enthusiasm for games while it makes calisthenics more necessary also makes the demands upon their usefulness too heavy.' She was pleased to announce that Miss Evelyn de Mole, a French teacher who would be arriving the following year, was interested in tennis, and added that 'Herr Leschen has introduced 'Basket Ball' into the school and I hope we shall derive as much benefit and pleasure therefrom as my friends in Hobart and Melbourne have seen in their schools.'[109]

Caroline Jacob's connections with the English girls' schools, especially Cheltenham Ladies' College, her visits to several of the schools to view their facilities and her contact with Church of England girls' schools interstate kept her directly informed of changes in physical education for girls. Ray Crawford has documented the introduction of organised games and Swedish gymnastics at Melbourne Church of England Girls' Grammar School,[110] where co-principal Miss Mary Morris announced in 1901 that the 'great importance of sport in schoolgirl life should at once be recognised', not only for the benefits gained by exercise, but because girls 'need the discipline of the playground which boys get ... which enables them to understand the value of co-operative effort in later life.'[111] In 1904 Miss Morris's younger sister Gwynneth was sent to Madame Bergman-Österberg's Physical Training College at Dartford, returning in 1906 as the school's specialist gymnastic and sport mistress.[112] Events at Tormore followed a similar chronology. Team games were always encouraged, although sometimes their popularity did not keep pace with Miss Jacob's enthusiasm. There are

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109 Annual report, n.d. but 1903, MLSA PRG 196/16/5.

110 Ray Crawford, 'Moral and Manly: Girls and Games in the Prestigious Church Secondary Schools of Melbourne 1901-1914', in Mangan and Park, *From "fair sex" to feminism,* pp.182-207.

111 *ibid.*, pp.185-6.

112 *ibid.*, p.198.

records of inter-school tennis matches against the Advanced School in 1900.[113] A hockey club, formed in 1901 with Miss Jacob as President, played weekly in the North Parklands but seems to have had only intermittent support from the girls, since it had to be re-formed in 1905, and one past student of the era did not remember hockey at all.[114]

However, team games at Tormore took on a new vitality and status with the arrival in 1908 of a specialist sports mistress to conduct a highly-structured physical education programme combining Swedish gymnastics and organised games. Miss Loxdale was the first of Madame Bergman-Österberg's graduates to be employed in a South Australian school, She had trained at Dartford College, which was set on a 14-acre site in Essex, with extensive playing fields, tennis courts, a cycle track and river as well as a gymnasium. After an intensive two-year course of gymnastics, games, remedial work, physiology, anatomy and teaching skills, Dartford graduates emerged committed to the crusade for that 'individual and race perfection' through society's future mothers which their founder had pursued with missionary zeal.[115] Like some English schools, Australian girls' schools may have modified the Ling method or combined it with other forms.

In introducing the new form of physical education at Tormore, Caroline Jacob had once again followed the precedent of the English girls' schools which she so much admired. She informed the Tormore community that the Swedish system was being taught in 'many of the important girls' schools in England, including Cheltenham' and acknowledged that she had taken her decision to introduce it at Tormore and her Unley Park School 'following the example of Miss Morris'. She had visited the Melbourne college to 'see what Miss Morris was doing', and now

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113 *The Tormorean* Vol. 1 No.3 November 1900, p.1.

114 *The Tormorean* Vol.2 No.7, October 1901, p.1; July 1905, p.1. Lady Phyllis Cilento recalled: 'We played lots of sport, we liked tennis, we didn't have hockey at school.' Interview in Mackinnon, *The New Women*, p.83.

115 Fletcher, *Women First*, p.23.

hoped to build a gymnasium.[116] In October 1909, thanks to the generosity of Miss Jacob's father, Tormore celebrated the opening of its gymnasium, the first built by a South Australian girls' school.[117] Demonstrations were held for parents to view the range of exercises learnt by the girls. In 1911 and 1912, classes displayed their work on the rib-stalls, horizontal bars, rings, jumping, rope-climbing and deep breathing exercises. *The Tormorean* reported 'We are glad so many girls are keen on gymnastics this term ... [and we] hope the time is not far distant [when more will be] able to go over four feet or more with a good, clean, straight jump.'[118] An undated photograph from these years shows girls dressed in the new 'gym. tunics' doing free-standing and apparatus exercises. Some girls are standing with hands behind heads, others swinging on the horizontal bars, some stretched with arms above their heads in the 'rib stalls' (wooden rungs fixed to the wall), others holding vertical climbing ropes.[119] *(Fig. XVII)*

The gym tunic appears to have come to Adelaide girls' schools in about 1912. It was designed by Mary Tait, a student of Madame Österberg, in 1892. Sleeveless, knee-length with three box pleats front and back, worn with long bloomers and stockings, a tie belt and white blouse, the costume was criticised as unladylike when first introduced in England[120] but subsequently became standard school attire.*(Fig. XVIII)* Tormore may have been the first Adelaide school to introduce gym tunics, as Dorothy Angove recalled adverse public reaction when they were first worn during her Tormore student days: 'It is strange to remember now how many good orthodox people were horrified at the costume of blouses and bloomers worn as uniform for this instruction.'[121] The Tormore gymnasium

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116 Annual report for 1908, in *Advertiser* 17 December 1908, p.9.

117 *The Tormorean* December 1909, p.1. (MLC had a gymnasium since 1904, but this had been built in 1897 when the site was occupied by Way College. Petersen, 'Varieties of P.E. at Way College', p.325.)

118 *The Tormorean* Vol.XII No.37, August 1911, p.2.; Vol.XIII No.40, August 1912, p.2.

119 SRG 196/28/14. n.d. (1910?)

120 McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation,* p.223.

121 Angove, *A Tribute to Caroline Jacob*, p.11.

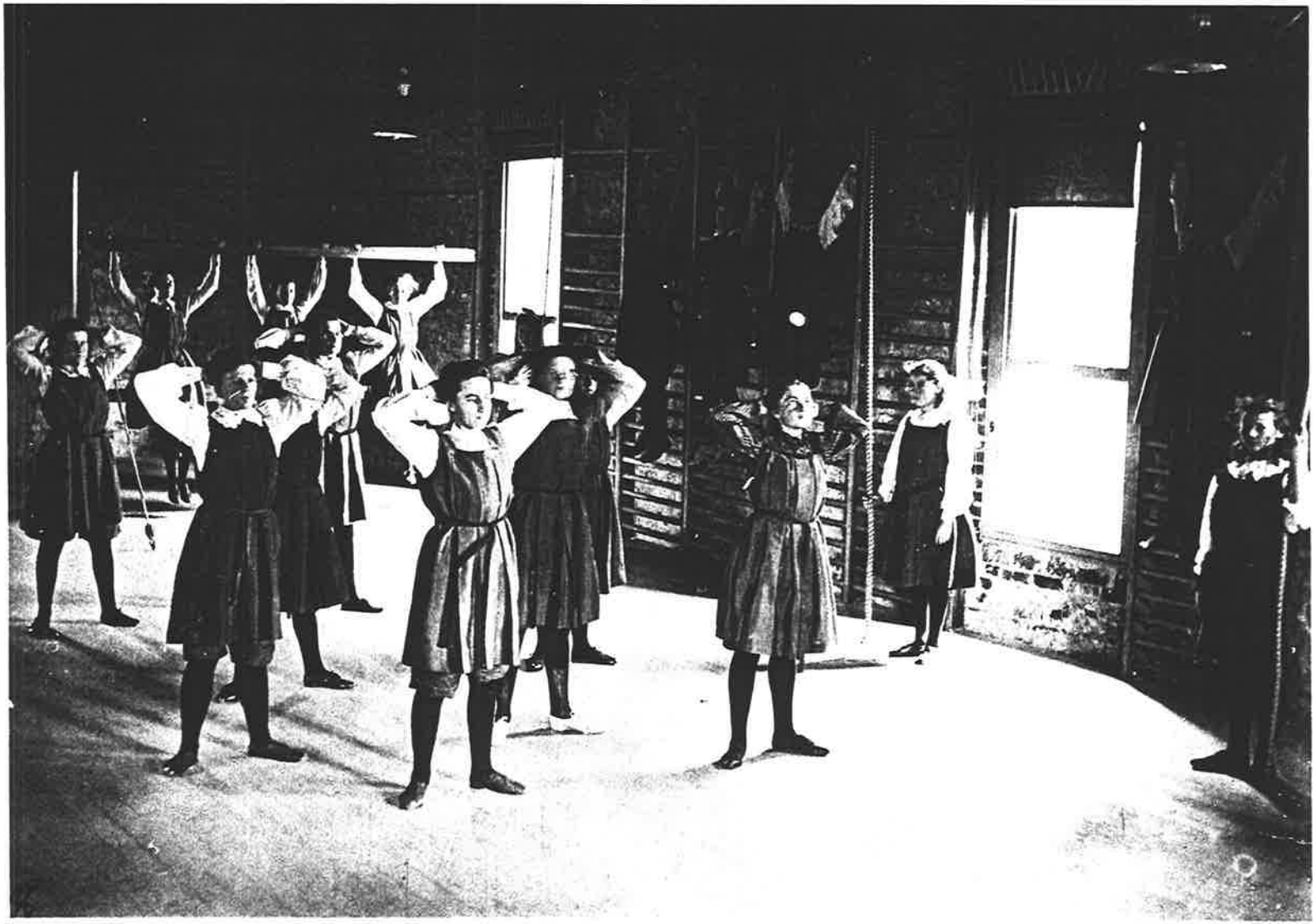


Fig. XVII. In the gymnasium at Tormore House School.
An undated photograph (*c.*1910) from the Tormore Old Scholars' Archives.



Fig. XVIII. The gym tunic.
Enlarged from photograph (*c.* 1910) from Tormore Old Scholars' Archives.

photograph, showing girls in various exercise postures, illustrates the mobility which the costume allowed. Designed for simplicity, practicality and freedom, it was a revolutionary departure from conventional feminine attire. It was asexual, in that it de-emphasised the natural contours of the female form. Sheila Scraton has suggested that the tunic was designed to preserve a childlike innocence by concealing the growing sexuality of the young girl.[122] The adherence to norms of female modesty was traditionally feminine.

The faces of the girls in the gymnasium photograph show expressions of serious concentration, reflecting the discipline of the gymnastic programme, which required immediate and accurate obedience to the teacher's commands, and also the school's attitude of reverence towards the gymnasium and its work. Miss Jacob established this attitude at the opening of the building when, after an opening hymn and prayers, she reminded the girls that the 'golden rule of silence' should be observed within its four walls'.[123] The same moral seriousness is evident in an article on 'Physical Culture' for *The Tormorean* in 1914: Miss Newton, Physical Training mistress from 1914-16, saw the cultivation of will power as one of the major objectives of physical education, and the foundation of both physical and moral excellence. The ideal result was the Tormore girl who would be recognisable for her good posture. The article demonstrates the importance the school attached to physical education as a gendering agent:

> Of what use is it to a girl to be able to swarm up a rope, to turn somersaults over a bar, to jump 4 ft 10 in, if at the end of these achievements she collapses into an invertebrate specimen of humanity with weak knees, flat chest, poking head and protruding waist? ... the whole object of your physical culture is to make you erect, graceful, free - it aims at giving you 'a sound mind in a sound body'.

The particular value of Swedish gymnastics, she explained, was that it 'aims at the mind of the student, to teach control over mind and body'. The main thrust of the article was a call for a

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122 Sheila Scraton, *Shaping up to Womanhood: gender and girls' physical education*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992, p.35.

123 *The Tormorean* December 1909, p.1.

'effort of will' to employ the lessons of gymnastics to overcome present 'bad habits of posture', so that Tormore girls would be known by the way they walk:

> When you all go out together people should be struck by it. 'How well those girls walk! What school is it?' 'Oh, that's Tormore, there's no mistaking them.'.... members of the school going about singly, or in twos, you've got a school badge on your hat. Remember it, and stretch up.

There were rewards and punishments to foster the ideal Tormore girl: teachers were asked to report girls who sat badly in class, and they would join the 'Awkward Squad'. On the other hand, good physical work could earn a special ribbon in school colours, 'to be stitched to the tunic just as a soldier wears his badge of honour stitched to his coat'. The badges, awarded annually, would be 'attainable by all who have the will to win them'.[124]

After the arrival of the sports mistress in 1908, the variety of sports offered at Tormore increased: swimming, cricket, hockey and basketball were added, then rowing and netball.[125] In 1914, with numbers reduced to 100, Caroline Jacob planned a demonstration of Swedish drill, tennis, hockey, cricket and basketball, hoping, no doubt, that her remaining clientele would be impressed by the comprehensive and systematic physical education of Tormore girls.[126]

MLC: 'a strong, healthy body'.

Physical activity was considered important for recreation at MLC from its foundation in 1902, because the 'intelligent mind must have a robust body'.[127] Calisthenics was taught as an 'extra' and the girls were given 'ample opportunity every

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[124] *The Tormorean* Vol.XIV No.45, May 1914, pp.14-16.

[125] *The Tormorean* Vol.XI No.36, May 1911, p.1; Vol.XIV No.46, August 1914, p.17. (The game of netball had been devised by students at Dartford as an adaptation of American basketball. Fletcher, *Women First*, p.23.)

[126] *The Tormorean* Vol.XIV No.47, December 1914, pp.2-3.

[127] MLC 'Our Girls: their education', p.21.

afternoon for tennis and other outdoor games'.[128] The Malvern site had an earth tennis court, and one Old Scholar recalled using sticks from gum trees to play hockey in a nearby paddock.[129] The school's historian quotes a recollection that 'dinner hour was often seriously encroached upon to leave time for the delectable game in which we often got considerably disabled, and we assembled at afternoon school in a state bordering upon collapse.'[130]

When MLC moved to its new Wayville site (formerly the boys' Way College) in 1904, the girls inherited two tennis courts and a gymnasium which, after some refurbishment, was advertised in the 1905 Prospectus as 'replete with all the latest improvements'.[131] Calisthenics was an extra, costing 2/6 per term, and a Sandow class was also available at 12/6 per term.[132] The Prussian-born physical culture instructor Eugen Sandow had been acclaimed during his Adelaide visit of August 1902 as 'the embodiment of perfect physical manhood'.[133] He gave performances of his amazing strength to overflowing audiences at the Tivoli Theatre. *The Register* acknowledged the power of Sandow's physical culture to '[lend] force to the character and strengthen[] the mind.[134] In a flight of rhetoric, Methodist minister Rev. Howard called him 'a mighty force for righteousness', comparing his mission for bodies to St. Paul's mission for souls.[135] 'Thelma', in her 'Talks with our Girls' column in *The Australian Christian Commonwealth* drew a more subdued analogy between body-building and Methodist girls:

> Sandow has taught us that by cultivation the muscles may become perfect. Let us cultivate will power, spiritual backbone, steadfastness, continuity, 'stickability', call it what you will, only, my dear girls, let your soul be

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128 *ibid.*
129 'An Old Scholar Remembers: Gertrude Mann', in *MLC: a report to friends of the school*, No.1, July 1966, pp.4-5.
130 Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p.18.
131 MLC 1905 Prospectus, p.8.
132 1905 Prospectus, p.11.
133 *Register* 23 August 1902, 3h.
134 *Register* 12 August 1902, 6f.
135 *Advertiser* 25 August 1902, 6c.

> vigorous and muscular, able to stand all the onslaught of that mighty trio, 'the world, the flesh, and the devil'.[136]

As well as a 1.1 hectare-site, the school was able to use the South Parklands across the road for hockey. Membership of the Tennis Club increased until, in 1906, 60 girls belonged, and there was a need for a third court.[137] With the arrival of headmistress Miss Walker from England in 1907, hockey was revived and became an organised school game, enjoying a status similar to tennis in the school. A Hockey Club was formed with Miss Walker as President and practice was held every lunch hour. A uniform was introduced, consisting of navy skirt, white blouse and red tie.[138] As the attention of the school was drawn to those who excelled at hockey by match reports in the *Wattle Blossom* and team photographs displayed alongside tennis teams on the walls of the Assembly Hall, a new type of female exemplar was being put before the girls. In 1908, the 'News of Old Girls' in the *Wattle Blossom* contained, as well as the usual weddings, engagements, university successes and travel, the news that three old Scholars were members of the South Australian Ladies' Hockey Premiership team.[139]

Miss Patchell (1911-27) gave further encouragement to physical education at MLC, seeing it as part of the all-round development of strong, useful women who could play a responsible part in their church and community. She told an interviewer for *The Australian Christian Commonwealth* in 1915: 'we endeavour to secure that physical development which will ensure a strong, healthy body.'[140] Miss Patchell brought out specialist physical education teachers from Madame Österberg's English colleges and oversaw the introduction of several new sports at the school. In 1912 she engaged Miss Withers, from Liverpool Training College. During this year, calisthenics was made compulsory for all girls and a Rowing

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136 *The Australian Christian Commonwealth* 3 October 1902, 6c.
137 *Wattle Blossom*, Vol.1 No.1, August 1906, p.4.
138 Twynam, *To Grow in Wisdom*, p.66.
139 *Wattle Blossom* Vol.3 No.3, September 1908, pp.2, 8, 18.
140 'MLC: Interviewing the Headmistress', in *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 12 February 1915, pp.8-9, p.8.

Club was formed, whose enthusiastic 16 members trained weekly.[141] The *Wattle Blossom* reported the progress of these new developments and helped popularise them among the girls. The 1912 school magazine featured, along with the usual tennis photographs, the Hockey Club[142] and a gymnastics class[143] and a School Sports section in 1913 covered two pages.[144]

The School's pride in its sporting emphasis was seen in the prospectus published in 1914, depicting a photograph of a hockey game in the Parklands.[145] In 1915, Miss Nesbitt, from the London Gymnasium College, became sports mistress. She introduced netball, a game which the Boarders noted: 'we play ... most energetically', and inaugurated the school's sports day.[146] Form notes for VIB in 1916 announced

> cricket is the latest craze
> And all of us deserve high praise.

The verse on calisthenics was less enthusiastic:

> In Caly, we wave our flags,
> Tearing them all to rags,
> Smash the sticks in ha'f
> And then begin to 'laff'.[147]

Calisthenics had endured after the introduction of Swedish gymnastics, possibly because 'marching and graceful evolutions'[148] provided such picturesque entertainment for public occasions. Displays could be designed to embody patriotism, as at the 1914 Prizegiving demonstration, when Lady Galway was given a guard of honour down the centre of

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141 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1912, p.37.
142 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1912, p.40.
143 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1912, p.48.
144 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, pp.72-3.
145 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1914, p.8.
146 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1915, p.7; p.43.
147 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1916, p.30.
148 Prizegiving 1914, *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1914, p.55.

the hall by girls dressed in white and bearing flags of the Allied nations.[149]

By 1913, the status of physical education at MLC had risen to the point where sporting honours were worthy of a recognition similar to academic results and Christian Union involvement. The 1913 *Wattle Blossom* recorded that the Dux for that year, Sesca Somerville, as well as achieving excellent results in the Higher Public, conducting a Bible Circle for the junior girls and winning the Goodfellowship Prize, had shown 'an active and healthy interest in all school sport', was Captain of the First Tennis Team and a member of the Rowing Club.[150]

The Convent of Mercy: tennis and the Australian girl.

At the Convent of Mercy during Australian-born Mother Magdalene's leadership (1891-1914), exercise was considered an important part of school routine and team sport was encouraged. A former student recalled that Mother Magdalene, the school's first Australian headmistress, 'highly approved of sport'.[151] It was seen as a characteristic of the Australian girl, the 'girl of today', as described (and recommended) in the school magazine of 1909, who is 'a little more Australian' than the girl of yesterday, because she is so active, 'exuberant' and 'brimming over with life', and is known for her 'originality, cleverness, tact [and] love of sport'.[152]

Tennis and hockey were the major sports, and these were played at lunch time in the school grounds and on weekends by those girls who played for suburban teams. These often returned on Monday with sprained ankles or bruised legs.[153] Girls were encouraged to play tennis with the construction of an

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149 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1914, p.55.
150 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1913, p.66.
151 Kennedy, 'Recollections', p.11.
152 *Golden Wattle* September 1909, p.26.
153 Kennedy, 'Recollections', pp.11-12.

asphalt tennis court in 1907[154] and a tennis prize was awarded at the annual prize-giving.[155] For the first edition of the *Golden Wattle* (1909), groups of senior girls were photographed holding tennis racquets.[156]*(Fig. XIX)* The 1912 *Golden Wattle* contained a photograph of 'Our Senior Tennis Girls', obviously an élite group in the school. Their long dark skirts, white blouses and ties were traditionally female attire.[157] The social status of the game, in the school as in the wider Adelaide society, was reflected in the election of Lady Galway's daughter, Miss d'Erlanger, as President of the Tennis Club.[158] Miss d'Erlanger, already encountered as a model of the educated young lady for her fellow-students, must have also possessed the organisational and social skills and sporting ability for this position.

Traditional ladylike exercise, in the form of calisthenics and walking, was also retained. The 1912 Prospectus advertised that boarders were conducted on 'long walks on Sunday and three week days', and some later recalled being instructed to walk while studying.[159] Hugo Leschen was still teaching at the Convent of Mercy in 1912, when the Prospectus announced: 'Special attention is paid to the deportment of the girls, and physical drill and calisthenics form part of the school course.'[160]

Adelaide High School: 'have a good hit'.

The Advanced School for Girls closed before the major impact of changes in girls' physical education was felt in South Australian girls' schools. The two main forms of exercise for girls at the Advanced School, tennis and calisthenics, continued at the new high school. The traditional girls' gymnastics, taught by Hugo

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154 *Golden Wattle* September 1909, p.21.
155 *Advertiser* 15 December 1910, 7g.
156 *Golden Wattle* September 1909, p.33.
157 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.32.
158 *Golden Wattle* June 1917, p.50.
159 McLay, *Women on the Move*, p.108.
160 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.66.



Fig. XIX. Senior girls at the Convent of Mercy, 1909.
Golden Wattle September 1909, p.41.

Leschen, was retained. With large numbers of girls, no gymnasium and no resources to employ English physical education specialists, it was no doubt easier to continue to employ Leschen to teach the girls, as well as the boys. A photograph of an outdoor calisthenics lesson conducted in 1910 (before the assembly hall was built) shows a large group of girls, probably the whole girls' section of the school, in the school yard.[161] Leschen was used to organising large-scale demonstrations, so would not have experienced problems instructing such a group. At the school's Annual Demonstration at the end of that year, 200 girls gave a display of figure marching and performed a floral minuet under the direction of Mr Leschen.[162]

Compared with boys' sport, girls' sport had a low status at the high school during this period. Girls were largely absent from both the rhetoric and the organisation of sport at the school, and were no doubt conscious of the subordinate position of their physical activities. Adey usually spoke about sport in masculine terms, as 'producing manliness and self-reliance'.[163] In 1909 the Sports Association, to which most of the boys in the school subscribed, consisted of 'a sports-master, assisted by a committee of the lads and other masters'.[164] The association financed provisions for cricket, tennis, basketball and football and the new (boys only) sport of rowing. Girls' sport was not entirely neglected, but appears to have been much less formally organised. While the boys needed to travel to the nearby Park Lands, the girls played their sport in the school grounds, which contained four tennis courts.[165] A photograph of the Girls' Tennis Club, the first of any girls' sport to appear in the school's magazine, was published in 1910.[166]

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161 *75th Anniversary Souvenir Book*, p.44.
162 *Advertiser* 17 December 1910, p.13f.
163 Annual report 1909, *SAPP* 1909, No.44, p.37.
164 Annual report 1910, *SAPP* 1910, No.44, p.58.
165 Annual report 1910, *SAPP* 1910, No.44, p.58.
166 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.2 No.2, Midwinter 1910, p.22.

Tennis was not the only game available to girls at this time. The magazine's Class Notes for the Midwinter edition in 1909 announced that girls from the Fourth and Sixth classes and some from the Commercial Class had formed cricket teams and played in the school yard at lunch time.[167] *(Fig. XX)* Female staff played at staff picnics, and probably encouraged the game: a photograph believed to have been taken at an Adelaide High School staff cricket match *circa* 1910 depicts a male wicket-keeper and a female batting, dressed in ankle-length skirt and a wide-brimmed hat.[168] One girl cricketer recalled many years later: 'Who thought of it, when or why I cannot remember but I guess it was so that we could have *a good hit.*'[169] This student's comments, like those of girls from other schools, express a feeling of liberation and enjoyment, even if the school attire of long skirts, long-sleeved white blouses and ties would have limited their range of movement in the game.[170]

At all the schools, the girls themselves seem to have shown more enthusiasm for games than for calisthenics or gymnastics.[171] Even the accompanying injuries and exhaustion, judging from the almost joyful references to 'sprains and bruises', the feeling of being 'considerably disabled ...bordering upon collapse', seem to have been relished, at least by some. Such activity sanctioned new uses of the female body: girls were allowed to move energetically and even hurt their bodies in the game - a departure from the traditional protective attitude. The sense of liberation and fun some girls gained from games contrasted with the usually sombre discourse relating to female physicality, with its Darwinian emphasis upon women as child bearers.

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167 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Midwinter 1909, p.23.

168 'Pic-a-Pak No.56, 'Education Centenary 1875-1975', Educational Technology Centre, Adelaide, 1975, No.27.

169 *75th Anniversary Souvenir Book* p.182.

170 *75th Anniversary Souvenir Book* p.182.

171 Kirk contrasts the more individualised movements involved in team games with the 'synchronized execution of movements' required in gymnastics, but maintains that games are not necessarily liberating. As 'rule-bound activities', they still regulate behaviour, though through a 'looser form of power over the body'. Kirk, *Schooling Bodies*, pp.142-43.



Fig. XX. Girls' cricket team, Adelaide High School, 1908-9.
75th Anniversary Souvenir Book, p.182.

At Adelaide High, inter-school matches and, from 1913, an annual tennis and basketball competition with Melbourne High School helped raise the profile of girls' sport. Sporting teams adopted uniforms, which not only expressed a corporate spirit and identified the school in inter-school games, but signified an elevated status for the sporting girl. In 1916, the First Basketball Team was pictured in the magazine wearing a long dark skirt, a white blouse and a blazer embroidered with 'AHS'[172] and in 1919, a hockey team was pictured wearing a similar uniform, but with a belt and scarf and a white band near the lower edge of the skirt.[173]

Girls' sporting achievements gradually achieved a status comparable with other school honours available to girls. The exemplary girl was likely to excel at sport as well as other school pursuits. The achievements of the inaugural Old Scholars girls' award winner, as listed in the school magazine, were a combination of academic, sporting and patriotic accomplishments: Emma Caldicott was girls' head prefect for two years, Dux of the girls' Higher Public class, Captain of the Tennis team, an enthusiastic basketballer and secretary of the Sock Club.[174] Younger school girls were given a different girl hero to emulate - the sporting girl who displayed physical ability and probably leadership and organisational and social skills as well. However, in contrast to the boys' schools, participation in games was not essential to school loyalty: there is no evidence of non-participants being despised as 'slackers' and there was no implication of disloyalty on the part of the senior girl who chose not to play, who, like the 1916 Dux of MLC, was happy when 'deep in her books'.[175]

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172 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.8 No.2, Midwinter 1916, p.14.
173 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.11 No.2, July 1919, p.16.
174 *Adelaide High School Magazine* Vol.10 No.4, December 1918, p.14.
175 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1916, p.26.

Inter-school sport

The South Australian Girls' Secondary Schools Tennis Association, the earliest inter-school sporting association for the Adelaide girls' schools, was founded in 1916 and a Hockey Association was formed in 1917. There were, however, earlier inter-school tennis and hockey matches played under less formal arrangements. Tormore played tennis matches against the Advanced School in 1900, and probably earlier.[176]

Inter-school matches were reported in the magazines as enjoyable social occasions, with little evidence of the serious competitiveness, much less of the aggression, evident in many boys' games. No doubt the schools would not have published reports which portrayed games as in any way unladylike. If a report of an inter-school hockey match in the Convent of Mercy's *Golden Wattle* in 1909 is any guide to girls' inter-school matches at the time, winning was not the main aim; indeed, if the article had not been titled 'How we Beat the Favourites'[177] a very close reading would be necessary to even establish the result in a fairly uneventful match where only one goal was scored. Beginning: 'It is a crisp, clear, autumnal afternoon. Fickle nature is in a kindly mood ...', the account is one-and-a-half pages of prose, filled with literary allusions, and was obviously an opportunity for a display of literary flair by a well-read student. The opposing team is not named, nor are individual players - even that of the sole goal-scorer - mentioned. The 1912 *Golden Wattle* contains reports of tennis matches played against Adelaide High School and MLC, with a comment that 'from a social point of view these matches are enjoyed by all the girls'.[178] The opportunity of moving beyond their own school communities was a broadening social

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176 *The Tormorean* Vol.1 No.3, November 1900, p.1.

177 *Golden Wattle* September 1909, pp.33-4. [The title is taken from an Adam Lindsay Gordon poem about a horse race, 'How We Beat the Favourite'.]

178 *Golden Wattle* November 1912, p.51.

experience, particularly for boarders with little other opportunity for interaction with people from other faith traditions.

With the beginning of girls' sporting associations from 1916, and prizes such as perpetual shields to be won, victorious teams were honoured. Whole teams were photographed and celebrated with something like hero status. For example, the MLC team which won the first South Australian Girls' Secondary Schools' Tennis Association championship in 1916 was proudly photographed with the shield for the school magazine.[179] Mention of individual successes is rare.

It was a sign of the greatly improved status of schoolgirls' sport by 1919 that the inter-school hockey final between MLC and the Anglican St. Peter's Collegiate Girls' School was played at Adelaide's most prestigious sporting venue, Adelaide Oval, in the presence of Governor Galway.[180]

The particular social and moral lessons of inter-school sport were incorporated into the rhetoric of femininity at some of the schools. Victory was applauded, but was not the main aim. Miss Patchell in 1919 praised the hockey team for contesting the final (which they lost) but noted that '[t]he most pleasing feature of all this is the true sporting spirit which is displayed by the girls, and the absence of all pettiness and snobbery.'[181] Inter school competition contributed to the social education of the modern girl. It appears to have been much less competitive than in the boys' schools during this period, less tied to the prestige of the school and the individual player and largely an opportunity for enjoyable interaction with middle class peers.

Inter-school games extended girls' sport into the public arena, with male and female spectators. Matches played before the public, such as the 1919 hockey grand final at Adelaide Oval,

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179 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1916, p.40.
180 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1919, p.6.
181 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1919, p.6.

signified a further adjustment to attitudes towards the female body. Whereas females were previously required to move gracefully and unobtrusively, conscious of the correctness of their carriage and the serious purpose of womanhood, it was now legitimate for this still relatively new category of institutionalised, pre-adult females to move in public in this particular context with pace and energy, for the enjoyment of the game.

The physical education of girls was one aspect of the culturing of girls according to ideals of gender, religion and class, and, to some extent, national identity. The four aspects of girls' physical education in Adelaide schools during this period - calisthenics, gymnastics, team games and inter-school sport - each made some contribution to the construction of a school femininity - a concept which, while not contradicting any traditional adult female norms, gave girls temporary access to a wider range of behaviour, dress and movement.

The tennis player, or indeed the agile Tormore girl, dressed in a gym tunic, attempting a 'good, clean, straight jump' of 4 feet, was far removed from the pale and passive Victorian girl intent on acceptably feminine drawing-room occupations. Yet as the lessons of sport were woven into the various religious and cultural ideals of femininity, expressed in terms of the Methodist girl, the Tormore girl, or the modern, or Australian, girl, such departures from acceptable conventional female behaviour were justified in terms of traditional values which left the essence of the female role absolutely intact.

Contrary to Crawford's suggestion that sports may have acted as a medium for the transfer of 'a male-oriented value-system marked by independence, individuality and competitiveness'[182] to girls, it is more likely, in the all-female context of the girls' schools, that sport during this early era served to heighten the girls' sense of femininity. Certainly this was the intention as voiced in the rhetoric of all the girls' schools, and there is no

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182 Crawford, 'Moral and manly', p.204.

evidence that girls' experience in these early years at Adelaide High School was any different. The image of the young lady with the tennis racquet, while not replacing the nineteenth-century lady at the piano, was at least a twentieth-century alternative.[183] Her racquet (or hockey stick) signified health, skill and sociability appropriate to modern women. In providing opportunities to cultivate good health, strength and vigour, the schools may have assisted girls towards a new awareness of themselves as physically strong, disciplined and enabled for purposes broader than motherhood and domestic life.

Conclusion

Investigation of the rhetoric, organisation and curriculum of this selection of Adelaide girls' schools has demonstrated that all were dynamic sites of gender construction. The adolescent schoolgirl - a relatively new feminine type - was still in process of definition. Her construction within different denominational contexts demonstrates the pervasiveness of religious ideals in gendering, while variations in different denominational settings underline the contextual contingency of feminine ideals.

National identity was seen to be a strongly gendered concept, as seen particularly in the schools' experience of the Great War. As school girls were encouraged to devote themselves to patriotic efforts, the feminine domestic, caring role was re-emphasised. Girls sometimes appeared to sense their lack of historical agency by comparison with the fighting men. High School girls, working quietly indoors for the Sock Club while the boys were drilling with the cadets and looking forward to volunteering for active war service, may have felt the disparity of gender more acutely than girls in single-sex schools. The emergence of the Australian soldier hero as the epitome of 'Australianness' as the

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183 The comparison was suggested to me by Ian Brice.

war progressed must have increased the female sense of remoteness from 'true' patriotism.

There were many elements common to schoolgirl femininity in all the schools studied. All made normative statements, usually on religious authority, about woman's domestic role being her highest (divinely-ordained and natural) function. All cultivated a femininity based on restrained, middle-class ladylike attributes such as quietness, gentleness, compliant behaviour, decorous eating habits, self-sacrificing attention to the needs of others, high standards of morality, and, in all the church schools, the cultivation of piety and dutiful 'female' service to the church. National identity - whether imperial, Australian or a combination - was invested with spiritual meaning. All saw intellectual development and the cultivation of serious study habits as assisting the development of a true womanly nature, and girls were offered many role models of ladylike learning. Some Old Scholar graduates and the schools' own headmistresses were exemplars of female independence. Lady Galway, as the wife of a military governor, mother of a soldier, inexhaustible charity worker, as well as an independent and learned woman, was a prominent local model of the multiple facets of educated femininity.

At some risk of caricature, denominational differences may be briefly summarised. Methodist Ladies' College girls were encouraged to be strong, morally and physically. Physical health was allied with moral strength: 'bodily exercise ... strengthened not only muscle, but also nerve and the power of self-control'.[184] A strong constitution was also a prerequisite for useful service: a girl should be able to participate in local church or missionary activities and work for the moral improvement of society. A Methodist girl was to be intelligent, practical and frugal, guided by standards of unworldliness, based on her devotion to the Bible. She was to be loyal to Australia and the Empire.

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184 *Wattle Blossom* Christmas 1912, p.29.

At the Convent of Mercy, the school environment and ritual fostered an intense spirituality with a strong aesthetic component. The Mercy ethos and the foundation story of this particular school contributed elements of feminine initiative and assertiveness which conflicted with the strong defence of the gender order at the level of the all-male Catholic hierarchy. Although the Marian model was the official template for Catholic womanhood (comparable to Queen Victoria as the ideal imperial model) many role models of both sexes were offered to encourage girls to aim high, take advantage of their opportunities and live courageously. Encouragement was given to the modern 'Australian' girl, as a type more sporting, active, useful and more enterprising than previous generations.

At Tormore, the emphasis was on the cultivation of moral goodness through both intellectual and physical effort. Swedish gymnastics was a valuable instrument in the formation of the moral strength which characterised the ideal Tormore girl. The conservative gender ideals of Anglican officialdom failed to counter the pioneering spirit of a headmistress who extended the experiences of school girls in ways which pushed at the boundaries of current femininity yet were justified in terms of conservative feminine ideals. The intense imperial identity fostered at Tormore precluded any overt recognition of a distinctly Australian femininity.

At the Advanced School for Girls and its successor, Adelaide High School, the ideal of the learned female was cultivated without being mediated through denominational ideals, although the influence of the prevailing Christian (predominantly Methodist) world-view is often apparent. Adelaide High School, being the only co-educational school studied and the only institution with a male head, offers a contrast with the girls' schools. The complementarity of male and female roles was constantly reinforced in the conservative gender regime of the school. Intellectual development, strict morality and ladylike behaviour were encouraged within an overarching loyalty to Empire, with Queen Victoria as the

exemplar of female goodness. Observances of imperial patriotism employed traditionally recognised 'feminine' decorative and literary skills. Girls at the High School were schooled into an Imperial-Australian patriotism akin to colonial nationalism which recognised an emerging Australian culture.

While the girls' schools physically retained some of the elegance and tranquillity of the middle class home, as institutions they were becoming much larger and taking on the rules and organisational features of boys' schools. Girls were becoming institutionalised, their behaviour and appearance corporatised and strictly controlled. Their year was arranged according to the constant demands of examinations and class tests and every aspect of their performance was closely monitored, marked and ranked against their classmates. Marks, certificates and qualifications were the signposts of a modern, competitive, meritocratic society. The schools' own successes created role models of a broader, more independent female role. As educated girls proceeded to university and gained access to traditionally male professions, school girls saw new possibilities. There was some public recognition of a broader role for women, most noticeable at government level when pioneering lawyer Mary Kitson's application to become a notary public in 1921 necessitated a change in legislation to remove the gender bar.[185] Women in professional life would face an ongoing challenge as they tried to reconcile a career structure defined by males with the demands of family life.[186]

The school years, as a collective institutional experience of a 'fuller and richer' girl-life offering experience of new dimensions of femininity, must be considered to have had some potential for altering female subjectivities. The curriculum provided some tools for changing girls' intellectual and physical consciousness. With a small minority of girls taking traditionally

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[185] The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act removed sex and marriage as disqualifications for a person's appointment or functioning as a public notary or Justice of the Peace. Helen Jones, *In Her Own Name: women in South Australian History*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986, p.264.

[186] see Mackinnon, *Love and Freedom.*

'male' subjects such as Latin, Greek, physics and higher mathematics, there was some challenge to the assumed sexual division of knowledge, although assumptions that some branches of study best suited the female mind would long persist. Although many textbooks reinforced conservative ideas of femininity, the study of English literature and history also allowed girls access to strong, decisive male models, and their education provided them with the intellectual tools to enlarge their mental horizons, to cultivate rationality and language skills. The increased autonomy and bargaining power of educated women within traditional marriage relationships which has been demonstrated by Alison Mackinnon's research into the decline of fertility[187] may also owe something to other, non-academic, school experiences which gave girls a sense of confidence and independence, such as the opportunities for leadership and social interaction offered by sport. The contribution of physical education activities to the construction of schoolgirl femininity may have been substantial. Girls - even those who did not excel - undertook activities which allowed them to feel their own strength, energy and flexibility, to move fast, be competitive and even injure their bodies. Femininity, though modernised and slightly redefined, retained its traditional essence: indeed, in the two schools (Tormore and MLC) where physical education was most strongly encouraged, it was rationalised by arguments relating to the cultivation of self-discipline and high moral standards of womanhood.

In some ways, girls' education pushed the boundaries of gender, extending the range of the feminine but leaving the core of femininity unchanged and respecting the prevailing gender order. The educated woman was still expected to use her knowledge appropriately in a man's society, but, by 1919, her accomplishments were intellectual, moral and physical, less genteel but more varied, and more appropriate for Australian women as voting citizens, capable organisers of charitable and domestic activities and possible members of the work force before or instead of marriage. In allowing girls access to an

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187 Mackinnon, 'Male heads on female shoulders'.

expanded range of female experiences during their school years, secondary schools had an open-ended potential to awaken the individual self-consciousness to possibilities for change.

CHAPTER 9:

The schools, gender formation and national identities: some conclusions.

This study has investigated a formative period in South Australian secondary education where it has been possible to observe, within different institutional contexts, a clear articulation of those ideals, attitudes and behaviour considered most appropriate for the young men and women of South Australia. Because the majority of the schools studied were founded by churches, religious discourses were crucial to all their educational ideals, and denominational variations were evident in the construction of gender and national identity in the different contexts. The major findings of this investigation have been discussed in some detail at the conclusion of the relevant chapters on the boys' and girls' schools; however, viewing these findings in combination will enable a more effective evaluation of their significance.

National Identities

The study has revealed many variations and subtleties. In the late nineteenth century, the national identities of Australians were layered, blended and hyphenated. South Australia proudly celebrated its imperial loyalty, but there were also evidences of an emerging independent Australian, and sometimes South Australian, identity which were usually quite compatible with the broader imperial identity. Within the various denominational contexts, religious and ethnic loyalties were intermixed, so that the ideals inculcated in the church schools were not necessarily those which had been formulated in English public schools in an age of high imperialism.

National identities in the schools ranged from strongly imperial to proudly Australian. Whereas St. Peter's and Prince Alfred Colleges were determinedly British in orientation, the Christian

Brothers' College forged an Australian identity from an Irish context, deliberately bypassing imperialism. Among the girls' schools, Tormore was fervently imperial, while MLC, perhaps because it was less attached than its brother school to the English public school ethos, appeared to encourage a dual imperial-Australian identity. Because of its Argentinian origins, the Convent of Mercy showed far less Irish enthusiasm than CBC. This school recognised and encouraged an Australian femininity. Adelaide High School fostered a 'colonial nationalism' which was strongly Australian within a loyal imperial context. Imperial loyalty may have been cultivated more vigorously in the girls' section, owing to the presence of an imperialist headmistress. Studies of additional schools would, no doubt, provide a still more varied picture: for instance, the English Dominican nuns at St. Dominic's Priory College could present a contrast to the Argentinian Mercy nuns of the Angas Street convent, or even to the Irish Dominicans at Cabra, and it would be interesting to observe ways in which the Bible Christian boys' school, Way College, differed from Prince Alfred College.

The Australian nationalism of the 1890s appears to have by-passed the schools, although early in the new century the magazine of Adelaide High School encouraged an Australian cultural nationalism. Federation occasioned no outbursts of nationalist feeling in the schools, and, apart from some recognition of Old Scholar colonial statesmen at St. Peter's, Australia's nation-making politicians were not mentioned. However, some Australian symbolism - particularly the wattle - did appear in the girls' schools, CBC and the government high school. The outbreak of the Great War fuelled imperialist fervour, but towards the end of the War, there were indications that the ANZAC soldiers were becoming recognised as distinctly Australian heroes. Further studies incorporating the inter-war years would reveal whether some schools encouraged this view of the Australian identity.

Where Australian subject-matter existed in the curriculum, it was mostly within a British context, and fitted into the Whig historiographical tradition. According to the racial discourses of imperialism, the indigenous heritage of Australia was neither relevant nor accessible. British ethnocentrism and racial stereotyping would long endure, complicating racial difficulties in Australian society for well over a century. The publication of Australian geography texts and some teaching of exploration history were early attempts to present something Australian for young people to appreciate. It is possible that an Australian consciousness may have been fostered in incidental ways, such as in the teaching of local topics in science, botany or geology. But moral aspirations were based on ideals of goodness in highly gendered conceptions of imperial citizenship characterised in the writings of Tennyson, Conan Doyle and the imperial adventure novelists and structured into English, and later, imperial, history texts. CBC's Reading Books, published in Ireland, were repositories of Irish culture, but Catholic boys' education became increasingly dominated by public examination set texts of English literature and history which gave access to an imperialist (mainly English) historical consciousness.

The interrelationship between national identity and gender was most obvious during war-time, when boys' and girls' roles in the schools reflected a narrowing of gender discourses and reaffirmation of the basic link between national identity and the 'reproductive arena'.[1] At the service of society's war-time needs, gender ideals, though not radically changed, were readjusted and modified. Patriotism had always been gendered, but true patriotism now became centred on the image of the soldier, with women relegated to supporting tasks such as knitting and sewing which reaffirmed their domesticity. There is some evidence in the school magazines that girls sensed their lack of historical agency. The Adelaide High School girls who declared themselves 'true sons of Britain' were only too aware that genuine 'true sons' were male.

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[1] This term is used by Connell, 'Making gendered people', p.464.

Religion and gender

Gender ideals espoused by the schools were strongly influenced by the discourses of British imperialism, but denominational and ethnic influences produced their own variants of masculinity and femininity. The beliefs, traditions, ethnic origins and the needs of the various churches in Australia informed their gender discourses. Within each denomination, there was a complementarity in the ideals of masculinity and femininity. The extent of variation between schools of different religious denominations signified religion as a major influence on gender ideals during this period.

At St Peter's College, imperial masculinity in the tradition of the English public schools accorded less emphasis to religion than to school and Empire. Athleticism was a key element in the construction of the colonial 'imperial man'. A Methodist variant was identifiable at Prince Alfred College, based on the beliefs and needs of Australian Methodism, with an emphasis on industriousness, moral earnestness, temperance, and readiness to undertake church and social responsibilities. The Irish-based masculinity observable at early CBC, characterised by tendencies to artistic sensitivity, Irish nostalgia and religious defensiveness, underwent an evolution during this period as the ethnic influence weakened, and sport gradually assumed a character-building importance equivalent to that in the other boys' colleges. The celibate clerical model of manhood continued to epitomise the highest spiritual ideals of Catholicism. At all the boys' schools, when religious discourse was seen to lag behind current conceptions of masculinity, attempts were made to link religion with tougher, more virile or athletic male images. Adelaide High School, a secular institution, did not exclude religion altogether, since the school demonstrated the Christian, predominantly Methodist, influence prevailing in South Australian society and government at the time. However, the emphasis on academic credentials was directed towards social, rather than religious, ends.

During this period, masculinities in all the schools studied were seen to have converged in three areas which might be characterised in the images of the footballer, the Rhodes Scholar and the Old Scholar Soldier. Sport, particularly Australian Rules Football, came to play a similar role in all the boys' schools in the inculcation of courageous and self-sacrificial loyalty to the school team and, by implication, to country or Empire. The common endorsement by all the boys' schools of the ideal of the Rhodes scholar, a symbol of archetypal imperial masculinity, was to some extent an outcome of compliance with a common examination curriculum founded largely on imperial values. From about 1910, ideal masculinity was becoming militarised, religious and ethnic variations less significant, and the Old Scholar Soldier eventually became the standard masculine hero.

The girls' schools demonstrated similar denominational variations. Although Tormore House was never an incorporated Anglican school, religion was a more obvious influence here than at St. Peter's. The ideal Tormore girl was self-disciplined, religious and devoted to serious academic study and carried herself with a physical rectitude which signified her moral strength. Methodist femininity was morally and physically strong, intelligent and useful for family, church or social responsibilities. Catholic femininity according to the Mercy ethos encouraged initiative and self-fulfilment in the context of faithfulness to religion. The Advanced School for Girls and later Adelaide High School emphasised academic learning, strict morality and sporting skills in a context which subordinated girls to boys and thus supported the established gender order.

Physical gendering

Gender construction in the schools was not confined to mental attributes: it had a crucial physical component, bearing out Connell's statement that gender 'is about a historical process

that operates through and uses bodies'.[2] This was most evident in school rules and rituals which regulated and disciplined the movement of bodies, their behaviour and physical appearance. For instance, girls' schools had rules which attempted to ensure 'ladylike' movement around the school and suitably delicate eating habits in the dining room. Formal physical education played different roles in boys' and girls' schools during this period. The boys' schools associated physical education with patriotism (particularly imperialism) and a corporeal ideal of masculinity, games being a medium for training loyalty, teamwork, competitiveness, justified aggression, discipline and character, and gymnastics being increasingly linked with national fitness, militaristic orderliness and precision and defence of the empire. Lessons of sport were sometimes linked to denominational ideals, such as (in Methodism) the duty to maintain physical health for usefulness to God. Sport created athletic elites among the student population and was observed as a tester and maintainer of hegemonic masculinity.

In girls' schools, rather than imitating a sporting ethic of 'manliness', sport was directed to cultivating femininity and extending the range of the feminine. Physical education allowed girls to experience a range of physical activities and legitimised some forms of movement and behaviour which had previously been considered unfeminine, thus contributing to a modernisation of femininity - albeit only within these all-female spaces. Physical education was linked to denominational femininities and was seen as valuable in cultivating strength of character, rather than a purely physical ideal. At Tormore, Swedish gymnastics was a means of instilling the self-discipline, physical erectness and strict morality of Miss Jacob's ideal Tormore girl, while MLC saw physical strength as essential to leading useful Methodist lives. Girls' inter-school sport appears to have been played with less competitiveness than boys', with more emphasis on sociability.

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[2] Connell, 'Making gendered people', p.464.

'Schoolgirl femininity'

It has been argued here that physical education was in some schools a key ingredient in the creation of a 'schoolgirl femininity', which was identified as a stage which postponed adult femininity and allowed girls to experience new dimensions of femininity. This stage provided opportunities for leadership roles as prefects or sports leaders, encouraged the development of new physical skills in sport and gymnastics and, formulated a distinctive pre-adult style of dress, as seen by the adoption of uniforms and practical sports clothes. The school girl stage was to be a moral, academic and physical preparation for an adulthood exemplified in female role models of successful professional, domestic or religious lives. Though it extended the schoolgirl experience, it remained grounded in the recognition of the primacy of women's domestic role: thus Miss Jacob believed education to be a preparation for 'the fulfilment of the highest duties and ... the enjoyment of the fullest privileges of womanhood'. The school girl was, therefore, a paradoxical figure: attired in her gym tunic, she was a representation of tradition and modernity, subservience and autonomy, liberation and institutionalisation.

At an individual level, schoolgirl femininity was potentially liberating: some girls were conscious of living 'fuller and richer lives' than previous generations, and their educational experiences challenged them to explore their mental and physical capabilities, perhaps assisting some to greater confidence and bargaining power in later life. Alison Mackinnon's claim that 'access to the language of education' affected women's 'consciousness of themselves as autonomous beings, as something other than the bearers of the race'[3] must gain strength if the 'language of education' is interpreted more broadly than the academic context to include the lessons of physical education and sport. It is suggested that these activities

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[3] Mackinnon, 'Male heads', p.37. Mackinnon's article is based on women university graduates; however, the 'language of education' is not inapplicable to girls with only a secondary school education.

may have imparted to girls a stronger, more enabling, sense of female physicality that extended far beyond ladylike deportment and the serious business of child-bearing and may have been an energising force in their lives, whether in domestic, church or work environments.

Although male adolescence was also being defined within the boys' schools, it appears to have been a more direct initiation into manhood, with little sense of the postponement of adult responsibilities.

Schools and gender construction

Comparative school studies such as this are useful for casting more light on gender construction within institutions. The demonstration of differing gender discourses in various denominational and ethnic contexts illustrates the cultural contingency of gender, supporting a social constructionist approach. The official rhetoric demonstrated that school heads saw their institutions as crucial sites for the construction of gender identities and considered themselves as entrusted managers of gender for their denominational communities. This is not to suggest that gender was their paramount concern; nevertheless, it has been shown to be one important organising principle of the schools. School heads and their prestigious guests often voiced authoritative normative statements about gender (and gendered citizenship) based on powerful religious or imperialist discourse. In the rhetoric and throughout the curriculum, the gender order was presented as essential to the welfare of society, natural or divinely-ordained and having (in Joan Wallach Scott's terms) a 'timeless permanence'.[4] Gender ideals were powerfully reinforced in various practices in school organisation, and sometimes even in architecture, gardens, furnishings (as, for instance, in the drawing room-style recreation areas in girls' schools) and school symbols. School magazines played a special role in creating and sustaining ideal gender images by presenting senior students, Old Scholars and

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[4] Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', p.168.

historical and literary figures as exemplars of standards usually unattainable by the majority. In both boys' and girls' schools, rewards, in the form of prizes, prestige or responsibility, privileged those who conformed to the ideal images of masculinity or femininity, which usually entailed academic or sporting success.

On the surface, all the schools appeared to be inculcating stable gender ideals with conviction and confidence. However, inherent in the schools' sustained efforts is the realisation that ideal masculinity or femininity is not a natural outcome, and that there are insecurities and difficulties in the production and maintenance of the gender order. The 'front of harmony and good order' may be, as Connell observed, deceptive.[5] Indeed, the rhetoric of at least one of the schools revealed deep anxiety over a decline of masculinity, with a consequent degeneration of the British race and civilisation itself. Although the girls' schools constantly urged girls towards high ideals of womanhood, there appeared less anxiety and more willingness to experiment. This difference might be explained by a gender order which gave men greater responsibilities as protectors of country and empire, and, therefore, less flexibility.

Denominational and ethnic differences among the schools produced variants in masculinities and femininities, so it is perhaps risky to generalise about whether these schools were preserving or attempting to alter the gender order. This study has suggested that, while the boys' schools were engaged, for the most part, in the preservation and policing of masculinity (in its various inflections), the girls' schools had more freedom to move. Within these all-female environments, femininity could extend, modify or redefine itself, although even those changes which appeared to stretch the boundaries of femininity were justified in terms of conservative ideals and were not intended to subvert the gender order. In the only co-educational school in the study, the presence of girls presented no challenge to gender relations, as the girls' section fitted

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[5] Connell, *Gender and Power*, p.193.

within a rigid gender regime which privileged boys. The place of girls in the early years of coeducational state high schools would repay further analysis.[6]

This study, though it has assumed some relationship between the discourses of education and the formation of identity, has not attempted to judge how individuals may have accommodated or resisted the schools' efforts. Musgrave prefers to characterise discourses of national identity in the school curriculum as 'invitations', thereby conceding a considerable degree of individual agency and implying that discourses, however powerful, are not necessarily accepted.[7] Poststructuralist theorists view the individual consciousness as a site of discursive struggle, in which the individual is 'an active but not sovereign protagonist'.[8] Haywood and Mac an Ghaill concluded their study of masculinities in schools with two cautions which apply equally to femininities: firstly, 'schools do not exist on their own as locations for the creation and contestation of masculinities [but] complexly interrelate with other social and cultural sites' and 'schools do not produce masculinities in a direct, overly deterministic way, but .. the construction of students' identities is a process of negotiation, rejection, acceptance and ambivalence.'[9] Those who did not accept the school's gender ideals may have negotiated an alternative response. In the era under study, academic standards, measured by a constant and unforgiving system of marks, tests and public examinations, must have created high numbers of 'failures', and, particularly in boys' schools, the prestige attached to sport must have subordinated many non-sporting boys. Those who did not feature in the magazines or in lists of examination results may well have constructed for themselves other modes of masculinity or femininity in defiance of accepted standards.

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6 Campbell, *Toward the State High School*, pp.16-19.
7 Musgrave, *To Be An Australian?*
8 Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, p.40.
9 Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 'Schooling Masculinities', p.59.

Gendered historical analysis of Australian schooling is essential to understanding the gender discourses embedded in Australian educational practice, and may be brought to the investigation of contemporary educational problems: Michèle Cohen's historical perspective on the problem of boys' underachievement is an example.[10] Such analysis is also potentially useful for wider investigations of gender inequalities and social injustices such as homophobia and domestic violence. However, comparative studies such as this indicate a need for awareness of contextual variations and subtleties in gender construction which may be linked with people's profoundest beliefs about the meaning of human life.

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[10] Cohen has traced the origins of boys' underachievement to the tradition of the English gentleman, whose taciturnity and effortless underperformance were signs of mental health and depth of character. Michèle Cohen, "A habit of healthy idleness': boys' underachievement in historical perspective', in Debbie Epstein, Jannette Elwood, Valerie Hey and Janet Maw (eds.), *Failing Boys? Issues in gender and achievement*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1998, pp.19-34.

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