SCHOOLING AND CAPITALISM:
EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1836-1925

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Bibliography
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SUMMARY

Recent years saw a renewed interest in marxist and other theories of education. Drawing on some of these, the thesis examines several aspects of the history of education in South Australia in its first hundred years.

Chapter 1 discusses the advantages of a marxist approach, assesses three influential examples of its application to educational history, and outlines the basic characteristics of marxist social analysis.

Chapter 2 looks at the making of a capitalist society in South Australia. Against a background of economic development, it traces the history of major classes and their political organisation, and concludes by an overview of the education system.

Chapter 3 examines the process of providing South Australia with a government-supported education system. It outlines various hypotheses regarding the introduction of mass schooling, examines the interplay between the lives of various class sections and the definition of a 'good school', and concludes with some thoughts on the reasons for introducing the 1875 Education Act.

Chapter 4 looks at the profound transformation of school processes which occurred under the new Act. The controversial implementation of this legislation is conceptualised as a class-cultural conflict, and traced to issues such as Correct English, irregular attendance, support of dame schools, free education, and the concept of intelligence.

The following three chapters deal with attempts to solve, in the education system, several fundamental problems of contemporary capitalism – an economic crisis, a redistribution of production knowledge, disruption of customary ways of transmitting economic security from one generation to the next, and changes in juvenile employment patterns.
Chapter 5 examines attempts to forge a nexus between schooling and individual social mobility in the context of tightening class boundaries and deskilling. Chapter 6 discusses the ideology of the dependent child and its applicability to South Australia, and Chapter 7 the changing formulation and functions of technical education.

The last chapter looks in some detail at South Australia's labour movement around the turn of the century, and in particular at the setting up and early history of the ULP. It then traces, through the examination of several labour newspapers, the changing assessment of the place of schooling in labour political strategies.
This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Pavla Miller
This thesis owes much to the help, encouragement and concern with Correct English of my friends Doug McEachern, Brian Abbey, Ian Davey and Brian Condon.
List of abbreviations

AEU  Amalgamated Engineering Union
ALF  Australia Labor Federation
ASU  Amalgamated Shearers' Union
AWU  Australian Workers' Union
SAEG South Australian Education Gazette
SAGG South Australian Government Gazette
SAPD South Australian Parliamentary Debates
SAPP South Australian Parliamentary Papers
ULP  United Labor Party
ULU  United Labourers' Union

Herald  The Weekly Herald
Register  The South Australian Register
INTRODUCTION
Marxists attempting to contribute to education history come under several standard criticisms. On the most basic level, it is argued that theory is irrelevant to the concerns of historians who, if they are worth their salt, can make 'facts speak for themselves'.

Even if a need for some theory is acknowledged, marxism usually does not figure in the line up of eligible candidates. It is dismissed either on the grounds that marxist pronouncements are ideological assertions and do not have the status of theory in the first place, or because marxist theory, with its dogmatic, abstract character and mechanistic emphasis on the economy, is too blunt an instrument to use in the delicate task of historical reconstruction. The last, most realistic objection, is that until very recently, marxists did not have anything very sophisticated to say about education.

In my thesis, I have attempted to prove that such criticisms are based on mistaken and untenable assumptions, and that marxist theory — although not its straw man image — can provide an effective perspective for scholarly historical research.

The present moment is particularly opportune for such a task. On the political front, the public education system has become one of the targets of conservative attacks on the social wage. Radicals who used to condemn 'bourgeois schooling' now find themselves in need of a more sophisticated
theory in order to defend the positive features of the institution. A historical perspective is an indispensable part of such theory.

In the field of theory, there have recently been some interesting steps towards the development of a marxist theory of education, as well as a renewed interest in using the sociology of knowledge and other theoretical approaches to study schooling. On the other hand, there is a modest but growing body of research on the history of education in South Australia — virtually none of it, however, making conscious use of these theoretical perspectives.

I want to make a contribution to the historiography of South Australian education by elaborating the connection between the two fields of research. In order to do this, I have reexamined in some detail several periods where the usefulness of the marxist approach in reconfiguring historical problems comes out most clearly.

The first chapter discusses the connection between theory and history. My aim has been to prove not only that social theory is inevitably present in any history writing, but also that the author's stance on this issue can often be interpreted in political terms. This discussion makes clear my reasons for choosing both the project of my thesis and the theory employed in carrying this project out.

Having made a case for the use of a particular theoretical approach, the thesis is located, through a critique of several major contributions, in recent marxist literature on the history of schooling. Drawing on this critique, I have presented an outline of some of the theoretical ingredients of my analysis. The key points of this approach are illustrated and expanded in the several chapters of the thesis, reshaping, in many crucial aspects, the problems formulated by the theory underlying conventional history writing.
Chapter 2 contains the general social background against which the various educational problems and solutions are set. It outlines the establishment and development of a capitalist social system in South Australia and indicates the major economic phases of this development. In the second place, it is concerned with the history of the different classes and, to some extent, with the political expression of their interest. Lastly, it presents a brief summary of the major educational developments in the period under discussion.

Chapter 3 examines the origins of mass schooling in South Australia. In the first part, it outlines and evaluates various hypotheses advanced by historians to explain this event. The second part, using the most plausible of these explanations, begins the task of reconfiguring the history of education. The account here revolves around the interplay between the patterns of life of various class fractions, an Education Act relying on local initiative and a regulated 'free market' in the provision of schooling, and the shifting balance of political power in the colony.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the large-scale transformation of schooling processes which occurred under the 1875 Education Act. Through a close examination of inspectors' reports and other documents, I have attempted to reconstruct, in some detail, both sides of the struggle to make schools more 'efficient'. Issues such as regular attendance, exams, 'correct' English usage and set timetables are analysed as foci of conflict between Education Department's attempt to enforce laws and regulations, and exigencies of working class life.

The following three chapters deal with the various uses of schooling which developed in late nineteenth and early twentieth century South
Australia in response to several interconnected problems of contemporary capitalism. These problems were: a crisis in the process of capital accumulation; a crisis in the established patterns of maintaining and enhancing the class position of individuals, and the development of an ideology of the dependent child.

Chapter 5 deals with the displacement of some aspects of this complex crisis into an effort to extend state-provided elementary schooling. It points to the increasing use of educational qualifications in restricting access to various kinds of jobs, and the tension between immediate economic needs of working class families and their long-term tenuous investment in social mobility through schooling. It then discusses, in some detail, three strategies for extending elementary schooling—through the setting up of a government secondary school, the awarding of bursaries and exhibitions, and the provision of fifth and sixth classes in existing primary schools.

Chapter 6 deals with the ideology of the dependent child. Its first part looks at factors which contributed to the rise of this ideology in the United States, England and Germany: changing nexus between school and work, a crisis of youth employment, and a wide dissemination of psychological theories portraying young people as fragile and malleable. A wide range of statistical data is then used to judge to what extent similar material conditions applied to South Australia. The last part of the chapter traces changes in perceptions of youth which occurred in South Australia at the turn of the century.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the development of government-sponsored technical education. Different ways of understanding the problems of
contemporary capitalism gave rise to different schemes of technical education. I trace this understanding through three major phases: an initial enthusiasm about the power of technical education to 'bring forth' colonial industries, a scepticism about technical education as a panacea for economic problems and a far more precise definition of the personnel and type of instruction technical education should concentrate on, and finally renewed attempts to give technical education to all crisis-ridden working class youth.

Chapter 8 charts a brief history of the setting up and development of the United Labor Party, and examines some aspects of the labour movement's attitudes to schooling. Using an evidence a range of progressive newspapers, it traces the transformation of the original enthusiasm about the role of education in class struggle to a concern about social mobility and efficiency of 'each unit of the state'.

Throughout the text of the thesis, I have used and reproduced a large amount of statistical material. This not only contributes to the precision of my argument, but makes readily available a collection of data useful in the collective process of rewriting the history of South Australia which my thesis hopes to encourage.

Notes

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY AND THEORY
Economy and politics stand together in very much the same relationship as Little Red Riding Hood and the wolf.¹

As regarded the subjects that might be left out of the curriculum...history might be dropped, partly because in that branch of education much was taught as fact which was not fact, and it was a mistake to teach children anything that was untrue.²

In recent years, there has been an impressive growth in the sophistication and scope of theories dealing with education. Marxist theory, where for many years schooling, like other problems touching directly on the social production of individuals, remained on the periphery, has been enriched by several important works concerned explicitly with modern education systems.³

At the same time, many recent or rediscovered social theories, although not dealing with education or coming directly within a marxist tradition, have dealt with subjects in such a way that they can inform the adequate theoretical coverage of some of the remaining dark spots in a marxist account of schooling.⁴

The development of mainstream historiography, as well as the growing sophistication of tools for understanding schooling, has made uneven impact on education history writing. Very impressive links between the two related fields have been made by several British and American historians,⁵ who indeed have made a contribution to marxist theory itself. In Australia, however, a similar process has hardly begun. Although, apparently, the history of education has been dislodged from the realm of
headmasters' common sense, the old, unexamined assumptions have usually remained to structure the arguments and underpin the conclusions. It has, for example, become virtually impossible to omit all mention of social class (or at least socio-economic status [SES]) and of 'social and economic factors'. But, as Stedman-Jones complains,

the result has been a subjectification of social relations and a form of discussion which is pre- rather than post-marxist. For sociological theories of stratification have been persistently characterised by the evasion or denial of objective economic relationships...

One of the reasons for this neglect is that some of the essential ingredients of a sophisticated analysis of schooling, such as a thorough social and economic history, are missing in Australia. Most of the existing fragments of such an analysis moreover refer to the eastern states, and there the economic and social development often proceeded along markedly different lines from those in South Australia. Douglas Pike's history of South Australia ends in 1857 and, apart from several honours theses, is only taken up by John Hirst in a stimulating but not comprehensive fashion for the period from 1870. There are several excellent but partial treatments of the Depression and ensuing industrialisation, but again no comprehensive background history. Economic and political history of nineteenth century South Australia largely relies on Coghlan's work at the turn of the century. Although this has been supplemented by several theses and articles, we are still a long way from a coherent account of the making of class society in South Australia.

Another, far more serious reason underlying the poverty of Australian education history, is the comfortable illusion of many historians that
their field is somehow insulated from the rough world of social theory. It is not.

As in any other theoretical enterprise, the writing of history involves selecting, interpreting and organising information on the basis of some more or less coherent and explicit system of relevancies. The fact that marxists tend to acknowledge their particular theoretical bias usually makes the theory implicit in their work more coherent, but neither more nor less present in the actual selection and presentation of evidence than is the case with authors who claim a complete absence of theory in what they write.15

As the British historian Stedman-Jones argued,

...history, like any other 'social science', is an entirely intellectual operation which takes place in the present and in the head. The fact that the 'past' in some sense 'happened' is not of primary significance since the past is in no sense synonymous with history. Firstly, the historian investigates or reconstructs not the past, but the residues of the past which have survived into the present (literary sources, price data, inscriptions, field systems, archeological sites, etc.). The proper evaluation and use of these residues in order to make historical statements are technical skills of the historian. Secondly, and more important, the work of the historian is an active intellectual exercise which designates which of these residues possess historical significance, and what significance they possess. The historian, in other words, constructs historical problems on the basis of an argued case for their relevance to historical analysis, and then, through the critical use of extant residues (or even a search for new ones), attempts to provide a solution to them. The criteria by which the construction of a problem will be judged of historical significance will ultimately be dependent upon some explicit or implicit theory of social causation. In this sense, there is no distinction in principle between history and any other 'social sciences'. The distinction is not that between theory and non-theory, but between the adequacy or inadequacy of the theory brought to bear.16
This has several important consequences for our understanding of past events. Firstly, different theories can be logically expected to generate different explanations of 'what happened in history'. Recently, marxists in particular have been extending the reinterpretation of major events in educational history that was begun by revisionist historians.

Second, a theory can throw light on certain aspects of history which would otherwise remain invisible — for example, those underlying dynamics of historical situations which happened behind people's backs and without them being aware of them, and which were often characterised by non-actions, silences, and a quiet consensus about implicit assumptions. Together, these two things help to create a situation where the self-conscious use of a theoretical perspective would allow the historian, in many instances, to present a different formulation of what it is that is being investigated in the first place: to 'make' rather than 'take' problems.17

Importantly, this relationship between theory and history works both ways. On the one hand, developments of theory will show up new, reconfigured problems. On the other hand, the social identification of particular problems will sometimes draw attention to the inadequacy of the theory within which they are formulated, and will encourage the search for a more adequate one.

In practice, this means that the problem-making of educational theories is closely linked with the nature of political struggles in the area.18

If we accept the point that history-writing must necessarily be done on the basis of some theory, the question becomes which theoretical approach one should use and, beyond that, what are the criteria for evaluating the validity of the final product — a particular historical hypothesis.19
Evaluating historical hypotheses

My criteria for evaluating historical hypotheses draw on current developments in the philosophy of science.20 In recent years, as the firm distinction — and distance — between objective reality and scientific hypotheses made by philosophers of science became commonly accepted,21 historians lost one of the main ways of distinguishing history from natural sciences. In other words, natural sciences are no longer seen as accumulating a vast store of 'facts'; reflections of reality so immediate that they will remain the same for all times, solid building blocks in the edifice of 'absolute truth', an enterprise which the historians themselves aspired to in the nineteenth century, but were forced to abandon in the twentieth.22

In both fields of enquiry, it is argued, the practitioners establish hypotheses which attempt to account, in a logically consistent way, for a greater range of data than their predecessors. As a hypothesis becomes accepted, it moulds not only the shape and interpretation of information already accessible, but the selection of 'facts' to be 'discovered' and the techniques for discovering them. In both cases, one of the main criteria of theoretical adequacy is the degree to which a hypothesis can account for the data by a unified, coherent, logically consistent theoretical scheme without having recourse to various ad hoc, incidental theories.23

The second criterion of theoretical adequacy is the degree to which a theory actually 'works': its predictive power, its capacity to generate new knowledge and the precision with which it can inform social action. As E.H. Carr put it,
Scientists, social scientists and historians are all engaged in different branches of the same study: the study of man and his environment, of the effects of man on his environment and of his environment on man. The object of the study is the same: to increase man's understanding of, and mastery over, his environment.²⁴

Here again, as in the problem of 'factual theories', the historians have for a long time attempted to draw a distinction between natural and social sciences: physics could remain scholarly while enabling people to gain greater mastery of their physical environment, but history's contribution to the same process with regard to people's social environment was almost automatically decried as 'bias'.

Both the reluctance of social theory to concern itself with discovering the fundamental dynamics of social change and the anxious concern of natural sciences with increasing human mastery of nature can be traced back to the particular way our society is organised; and are, in the last analysis, political choices. This is because a capitalist society depends both on the rapid development of the means of production and on relatively static and opaque relations of production.

It is through such linkage of social theory to the political requirements of preserving a capitalist society that we can interpret the fear provoked by attempts to popularise penetrating social analyses, and the corresponding unease felt by many social scientists at seeing their discipline ' politicized'. An example of this moral reluctance is provided by the prominent American historian Sol Cohen. In his article, "The history of the history of American education", Cohen approved of Cremin who "respected ideas but abhorred ideological commitment as antithetical to historical scholarship",²⁵ but felt "desperately sad" that recent revisionist historians seemed bent on repeating "the folly of attempting to politicize history of education".²⁶
But the mere fact that it is in the interests of the ruling class for history to opt out of an endeavour to understand society does not provide historians with good reasons for doing so. Indeed, the segregation of history and politics can only be maintained at the price of some very odd theorising. At its base, it involves the neglect of a crucial distinguishing feature between the objects of social and natural sciences.

People are both the object of enquiry and subjects capable of modifying their own activity on the basis of understanding it. The objects of natural sciences, on the other hand, behave in the same way irrespective of the degree of scientific knowledge that people have of them.

On a more concrete level, the 'reluctant' historians can be accused of insisting on scholarly criteria of good history when writing about the past, but abandoning the scholarly apparatus when called on to scrutinise the workings of contemporary history in which they are directly involved. And yet it can be argued that this latter concern is a stronger inducement to 'objective' history writing than the 'canons of academic scholarship'.

It is comparatively easy to make a theory academically respectable. If we are going to act on it, however, it had better be true as well.

'Good' history, then, would seek to maximize our knowledge about the human authorship, in all its complexities, of social phenomena. In doing this, it will try to establish a balance between those parts of the explanation which emphasize people's conscious designs in producing their world, and those which concentrate on the structural constraints and determinants of people's actions. For example, it will not be enough to know that a changed climate of public opinion caused something to happen. In addition to the structural constraints of the situation, we will want to know whose opinion was considered to be 'public', how it came to be changed, how
exactly was this change of opinion relevant to a particular event, and whether in fact the whole episode could not be conceptualised in a different way.  

A third criterion of theoretical adequacy, closely linked with the other two, is the capacity of history to base an account of people's actions on a sympathetic reconstruction of the life experiences of different social groups. It is necessary to go beyond the cultural pluralism inherent in simply asserting the validity of meanings given to events by their various participants, and attempt to find to what extent the different life experiences are mutually dependent, or have a common source. For example, after exploding the moral reformers' categorisation of families whose children did not attend school as 'vicious' and 'depraved', and grounding non-attendance in the logical exigencies of labouring households, we should go a step further. It can be argued that the pattern of family life which the bourgeoisie was extolling as a moral imperative for all depended directly on subjecting the labouring class to living and working conditions which made the idealised family institution an impossible attainment for them.

The need for a theory of such capacity is relevant to more than the writing of history; it is necessary when theorists attempt to investigate the contemporary social experience of different classes, sexes, national and ethnic groups.

It was, indeed, recognised by a rare English inspector who wrote, in 1845, The fact is that the inner life of the classes below us in society is never penetrated by us. We are profoundly ignorant of the springs of public opinion, the elements of thought and the principles of action among them — those things which we recognise at once as constituting our own social life, in all the moral features which give to it form and substance.
The marxist approach to history

Marxist theory claims to satisfy all of these criteria of objectivity. In the first place, it claims to make a coherent, logically consistent account of history. Second, this explanation has a greater power to generate new insights precisely because it is able to take into consideration a greater range of causal social factors than other theories. Moreover, in analysing the past, marxists hope to perfect their tools for analysing the present. This is not some gratuitous benefit. It stems directly from the insistence of historical materialism on the historicity both of theories and of the social phenomena which they analyse. Last, marxist theory, above all through its insistence on the necessity to analyse class struggle, is led to the detailed consideration of some social groups whose history, if not completely invisible, is unnecessary to the concerns of many pieces of conventional history.

It is not my intention here to present a detailed theoretical argument in favour of these claims. Rather, I have used my whole thesis as an argued case for the practical usefulness of (a particular version of) marxist theory in explaining the history of Australian education. The first step in this case is an exposition of a marxist account of schooling through a brief critique of several recent key contributions: *Schooling in capitalist America* by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "The origins of public education" by Michael Katz, and "Notes on the schooling of the English working class" by Richard Johnson.

The book by Bowles and Gintis, *Schooling in capitalist America*, is an integrated account of the authors' research over a number of years. When it first came out, in 1976, it immediately provided a focus for discussion
about marxist historiography and theory of education. While many aspects of the book have been surpassed, it continues to be essential reading for people working in this field.

Katz's contribution, "The origins of public education: a reassessment", has a similar significance. It was first presented as presidential address to the 1976 meeting of the History of Education Society in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The 'reassessment' refers not only to the tendency within a particular stream of revisionist historiography, but Katz's own movement towards the use of marxist theory in his work.

The article by Johnson is again a reinterpretation of earlier work by using marxist theory, as well as an indication of theoretical developments within the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University.

Schooling in capitalist America

In their book, Schooling in capitalist America, Bowles and Gintis attempt three major tasks. The first one is to establish that the 'economy' which is commonly accepted to be somehow linked to education is in fact a capitalist economy characterised by exploitation and class conflict. The second task is an attempt to elaborate the nature of this connection between the economy and schooling in a capitalist society. The third is to suggest a theory of educational change.

The carrying through of the first task is essential to the rest of the analysis, and is the point at which Bowles and Gintis signal their departure from orthodox history. This indispensability of economic analysis for the understanding of education is neither a dogmatically stated a priori requirement, nor a fashionable, ad hoc addition. Rather, it stems logically from the authors' understanding of the way society works.
The economy, and in particular the process of capital accumulation, has to be analysed in great detail, because it is precisely in the conflict-ridden relations of production that one can find the key to understanding the shape of the education system.

But Bowles and Gintis' contribution goes beyond defeating theoretical idealism and making economics the legitimate concern of educational historians. The authors differentiate themselves just as sharply from most of the new economic historians through their particular conceptualisation of the economy.

This analysis is distinctive in its insistence that the technical aspects of production cannot be considered in isolation, but must be seen as part of a social process characterised by an irreducible conflict between workers and capitalists:

Capitalist production, in our view, is not simply a technical process... The central problem of the employer is to erect a set of social relationships and organisational forms, both within the enterprise and, if possible, in society at large, which will channel [the workers' personal and social needs] into the production and expropriation of surplus value.31

How does the education system fit into this pattern? According to the authors, schooling does not "add or subtract from the overall degree of inequality and repressive personal development"32 present in a capitalist society. Nevertheless, it plays an important role in reproducing both the technical and the social aspects of capitalism:

On the one hand, by imparting technical and social skills and appropriate motivations, education increases the productive capacity of workers. On the other hand, education helps defuse and depoliticise the potentially explosive class relations of the production process, and thus serves to perpetuate [these] social, political and economic conditions.33
The second role, which the authors conceptualise as a 'displacement of contradictions' is accomplished, above all, by the habituation of students to the 'social relationships and organisational forms' they will later encounter in the workplace. Anchoring recent research on the 'hidden curricula' in an analysis of the capitalist relations of production, Bowles and Gintis formulate a 'correspondence principle' which, documented and reiterated throughout the book, becomes one of the linchpins of their analysis.

The educational system helps integrate youth into the economic system... through a structural correspondence between its social relationships and those of production. The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self-image and social class identification which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy. Specifically, the social relationships of education—the relationship between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work—replicate the hierarchical division of labour.

But the problem is that "The capitalist economy and bicycle riding have this in common: stability requires forward motion". The incessant changes in and expansion of both the process of capital accumulation and of class struggle mean that any mechanisms for defusing class conflict, including those located in the education system, will continuously become inadequate. This applies the more so since, unlike the economy, the education system is relatively static. In sum, the third task of the book is based on the observation that "...the independent internal dynamics of the two systems present the ever-present possibility of a significant mismatch arising between the economy and education".

When Bowles and Gintis apply this hypothesis to the history of educational change in America, they are able to identify forces far more substantial
than the spirits, sentiments and climates of public opinion, democratic or otherwise, that seem to be the motive forces in so much of conventional history writing. According to them,

the main periods of educational reform coincided with, or immediately followed, periods of deep social unrest and political conflict. The major reform periods have been preceded by the opening up of a significant divergence between the everchanging social organisation of production and the structure of education. Lastly, each major reform period has been associated with the integration into the dynamic capitalist wage-labour system of successive waves of workers.

The book represents a major, politically powerful, attempt to integrate recent research into a comprehensive marxist account of schooling. But there are many areas where it can, and indeed has to, be improved if its theory is to be used as a guide to detailed historical research. Most of these are closely linked with the central theme of the book — the correspondence principle. The fact that the relations of schooling resemble, in many respects, those of capitalist production, is a very powerful and insightful thesis, which should not be omitted from any analysis of capitalist education system — but only after, as most of the critics of the book have pointed out, its precise theoretical status is firmly established. While it is possible to document the process whereby the structures and relations of schooling come to resemble, to a certain extent, the structures and relations of economic life, it is quite another to theorise the reasons for this correspondence and yet another to explain the way in which it actually works. But the absence, in the book, of a theory of learning and of hegemony, does not allow such distinctions to be adequately established. In fact, what happens instead is that the authors collapse the first and the third problem-description of the character of schooling structures and of the way they work; and hand over to the
capitalist the second problem, establishment of a correspondence between school and the workplace.

The confusion between structures and outcomes of schooling is one of the most significant defects of the book. In talking about school processes, Bowles and Gintis lose sight of their own statements about a relatively autonomous education system with its own dynamic, and of the fact that people are active agents in their own production. As a result, in their account, the structures and relations of schooling not only correspond to those of production, but seem to have a direct, unmediated impact on their participants. But although people might end up behaving and thinking in a way congruent with the 'hidden curricula' of schools, there is no automatic connection between the two. On the contrary, such connection, in an institution which depends for its legitimacy on relative lack of coercion, can only occur through the participants' own, semi-autonomous cultural activity. As an outstanding recent example of this approach illustrates, a more sophisticated marxist analysis is quite capable of producing interpretations which sharply conflict with those of Bowles and Gintis.

For example, Bowles and Gintis argue that

Schooling fosters and rewards the development of certain capacities and the expression of certain needs, while thwarting and penalising others. Through these institutional relationships, the educational system tailors the self-concepts, aspirations and social class identification of individuals to the requirements of the social division of labour..., and that "...the class, sex and race biases in schooling do not produce, but rather reflect, the structure of privilege in society at large".

But Paul Willis, in his book Learning to labour, is able to describe a mechanism where it is precisely a revolt against the school labelling process and the maintenance of opposite norms by a school 'counter-culture'
which, coupled with sexism, leads working class lads to actively seek hard, unskilled manual work and reject white collar and skilled work favoured by the school as 'unmanly'.

Moreover, if "education helps defuse and depoliticize the potentially explosive class relations of the production process", it can hardly do so through "a type of social relationship that fairly closely mirrors that of the factory".

On the contrary, the schools attempt to leave out certain aspects of the social relationships of the factory — this is indeed part of the raison d'être for a schooling system separate from the process of production. The schools however are never entirely successful in eliminating from their operation the contradictory character of capitalist social relations and reproduce, in a different place and in a different form, class conflict.

These points can be extended in a critique of Bowles and Gintis' conceptualisation of the nature of the connection between economy and schooling. If the relations of production can provide us with a key to understanding schooling, the authors' search for this key is conducted in distinctly functionalist terms.

A convincing demonstration of the usefulness of contemporary work organisation for maintaining the power and profits of the employers stands in as a proof of the causal status of workplace structures in the formation of the 'hidden curricula' of schools. The logical corollary of this position is the identification of an agent actually carrying out the functional requirements of the capitalist economy — and here the authors opt for a remarkably powerful and class-conscious bourgeoisie.

There are serious problems with both parts of the argument.
On the one hand, production relations are present in the shape of science, machinery, child-rearing practices, consumer goods, status of children in society, popular conceptions of hierarchy and intelligence, to name just a few. It is these elements, reinforced by every family and corner shop, rather than relations of production per se, that enter the process of struggle and negotiation through which educational structures are defined. In other words, there is no direct causal link between the economy and education. Rather, their relationship is mediated by a variety of cultural forms transmitted by people in their everyday life.

While Bowles and Gintis provide us with some of the basic ingredients of analysing the relationship between economy and schooling, we can't accept those parts of their analysis which suggest a direct causal link between these two aspects of society. It is Willis and Johnson who, through their fine appreciation of the interplay between capitalist development and individual actions, offer the best hopes of filling this theoretical gap.

The same theoretical considerations seriously undermine the second part of Bowles and Gintis' argument as well. Here, the authors reverse their overemphasis on structures, and emphasize the autonomous society building activities of the capitalists. While

...the education system operates...not so much through the conscious intentions of teachers and administrators in their day-to-day activity, but through a close correspondence between the social relationships which govern personal interaction in the workplace and the social relationships of the education system,^4 the capitalists, enjoying a position quite unlike that of anybody else, seem to be consciously erecting the social structures which would further their class interests.
But just as the teachers and students reproduce important aspects of capitalist society unawares as they go about their mundane, everyday activity, so do the capitalists. The fact that the public statements of some of them come close to our reconstruction of their interests — and, more importantly, that their decisions make an important impact on the shape of the material and social environment, is not enough to put them in a position of 'social control'.

Brian Abbey and Dean Ashenden, in their review of *Schooling in capitalist America*, put the point in the following way:

> The contending classes do not in normal times directly confront one another — they stand in a relation which is mediated by the world-as-built. Of course, when viewed historically that world isn't given — it is the fruit of our predecessors in the class struggle, and it embodies that past. But (and this is the crucial point) it also shapes the future in a pervasive and penetrating way. Those machines, and the science and technology which has arisen with them, do demand skills and knowledge in quite definite forms. What's more they shape our ways of relating to others and ourselves which make them a crucial ingredient in the production of both the relations of production and of culture in general. What we're dealing with is not only a contest between human beings revolving around the means of production — it is rather a dialectic between social beings as mediated by culture (or cultures) shaped in part by the material circumstances of production.  

*Schooling in capitalist America* is an avowedly marxist attempt to outline a theoretical approach to schooling. Its major strength consists in fracturing the opaque character of 'society', and in a radical relocation of education within it. Instead of linking education, in an ad hoc fashion, with this or that economic factor, the authors have attempted to analyse the motive forces of capitalism, and situate education firmly within the fundamental conflicts these generate.
But while Bowles and Gintis succeed in stripping these motive forces of their arbitrary character, the authors' lack of consistency and sophistication in the use of certain aspects of marxist theory makes such forces less lifelike than they would otherwise have to be. In particular, a finer appreciation of the cultural significance of people's everyday actions and environment would obviate the need to search for direct causal link between 'culture' and 'economy', and correct the excessive quietude of workers and hyperactivity of capitalists that this search encourages.

The origins of public education

In 1976, the prominent American revisionist historian Michael Katz wrote an article in which he attempted to use some aspects of marxist theory in order to reinterpret the emergence of public education systems in nineteenth century North America. His reassessment of the origins of mass schooling comes in four parts. First, Katz outlines four critical social developments relevant to the emergence of school systems — industrialisation, urbanisation and immigration; gradual assumption by the state of direct responsibility for some aspects of social welfare; invention of institutionalization as a solution to social problems; and a redefinition of the family which involved its separation from the workplace, a reduction of its role in the treatment of deviance, and its closer involvement in the life of its members.

Second, Katz discusses five problem areas formulated by contemporary observers; problems which arose out of the above 'social developments', and which were believed to have a solution in the educational system.
These were urban crime and poverty, where working class families were seen as breeding grounds for paupers and criminals; increased cultural heterogeneity, which was more often than not equated with immorality and deviance; the necessity to train and discipline a workforce often unused to the rhythms of urban and industrial environment; the crisis of youth in the nineteenth century city; and the anxiety among 'middle class' parents about their adolescent children.

To bring the two lists, which display a great deal of sensitive historical insight, into some sort of coherent relationship, Katz suggests the outline of a social theory. Armed with these tools, he discusses the question: 'To what extent can public educational systems be said to have been imposed upon the poor?', and tentatively leaves the answer with a sketchily outlined theory of hegemony, which he believes might provide a bridge between conflict and consensus interpretations of United States' history.

Katz argues that we need a theory which would show

...exactly how the problems listed...interacted with each other to produce systems of public education. That explanation is an important and subtle task, drawing not only on historical events but on a theory of social development and on sociology of knowledge and motivation."

Before suggesting my variant of such a theory, I want to make a more ambitious claim for it. First, as argued earlier, a theory is already present in the different problems and developments; it is possible that the 'coherent explanation' would not only show their interconnections, but redefine the 'problems and developments' themselves. At the same time, independent theories of social development, sociology of knowledge and motivation are likely to be, in many respects, incompatible. The more
they are reconciled into a coherent theory the more chance they have of informing a coherent historical account.\textsuperscript{48}

In the case under discussion, instead of relying on disconnected accounts, we should try to explain how the increasing domination of the capitalist mode of production helped to fashion a certain social reality, including the ways in which people have sought to explain that reality.\textsuperscript{49}

In the second place, although the author is attempting to use 'capitalism as a concept' in his reinterpretation, his characterisation of capitalism remains problematic. Katz not only lacks Johnson's finer appreciation of the depth of class cultural conflict. Where Bowles and Gintis over-emphasized the capitalists' conscious role in erecting social and material environment conducive to greater exploitation of workers, Katz can be criticized for neglecting important aspects of this process. At the same time, a major analytical strength of Bowles and Gintis' book — discussion of the 'displacement of contradictions' — is lacking in Katz's analysis.

Katz acknowledges the existence of class conflict, but reserves it for special occasions. Most of the time, the action belongs to the capitalists; the workers remaining passive except for brief bursts of organised class-conscious activity such as strikes. This is because, following common usage, Katz confuses class conflict with class agitation. He is looking out for organisation, unions, leaders, meetings, speeches, leaflets and aims, and large-scale clashes with authority. In this way, many aspects of class struggle, parading under a different name, have escaped his attention. For example, indiscipline, go-slow, absenteeism, minor industrial sabotage, fight for retention of old job classifications and lack of interest in work, not just union organisation and activity, are some of the ways in which the workers try to resist increasing exploitation.
Similarly, events which we have become accustomed to classify otherwise, such as order, rationality, specialisation and discipline, should not be seen as 'inherent aspects of capitalism', but as some of the ways in which the capitalists try to increase profit.

But the understanding of class conflict has to be broadened out in yet another direction. People not only resisted, but formulated and acted on strategies of self-improvement. Only rarely did these strategies resemble actions of workers fully conscious of themselves as a class. Far more often, they represented the sectional interest of a fraction of the working class, or simply individual strategies for coping with life. For some sections of the class, these strategies included, in various ways, the use of schooling.

Workers did value educated, literate children and safe babysitting care. It can be argued that other institutions, such as apprenticeship and 'boarding out', would have been able to fulfil this function more in keeping with the workers' interests. Nevertheless, the workers' use of schools for this purpose has to be sharply differentiated from acquiescence with bourgeois attempts to eradicate various aspects of working class culture.

Such widened understanding of class conflict can be systematised in the concept of 'displacement of contradictions'. Looked at carefully, the most successful capitalist innovation can never completely remove conflicts arising in the capitalist relations of production. Rather, the conflict can be given a different, less immediately threatening form, and be displaced into a different sphere of human activity. In this way, when Katz maintains that schools have played a key role in getting people to spontaneously accept the structure of inequality which circumscribes their
lives because, "with even their internal organisation a reflection of social ideology, schools have taught the legitimacy of the social order," he can be criticized on two counts. First, as with Bowles and Gintis, mere consonance with social ideology does not prove an institution's major role in generating this ideology. After all, every corner shop, wedding ceremony and suburban street reflect and reinforce the same ideology. To establish the schools' share of reproducing capitalist hegemony would be a far more ambitious enterprise.

Second, the tools for 'teaching people the legitimacy of the social order' are by no means perfect. In South Australia, for example, I have argued that the enforcement of compulsory attendance and the tightening of school discipline under the 1875 Act encouraged the growth in the number of 'inefficient' small private schools on the one hand, and a widespread dissatisfaction with traditional working class occupations on the other. As Johnson says,

...schools seem to reproduce instead of the perfect worker in complete ideological subjection, much more the worker as bearer of the characteristic antagonisms of the social formation as a whole.51

Schooling of the English working class

A solution to some of the theoretical problems I pointed to in Katz's article is suggested by Richard Johnson in his "Notes on the schooling of the English working class 1780-1850". Against conventional historians, Johnson emphasizes the usefulness of the mode of production as an explanatory concept. Against a simple model of causality employed by some marxist authors, he introduces the notion of class cultural conflict.52 In the first part of the article, Johnson explains the rise of mass schooling by the effort of the bourgeoisie to aid the extension of the
capitalist mode of production through 'cutting the reproduction' of working class culture.

In the second part, he locates the timing of the introduction of mass schooling in the crisis of hegemony sparked off when the same process of extending capitalism undermined older systems of authority and gave rise to a radical working class challenge. Lastly, Johnson establishes some theoretical distance between the intentions of schoolmen, the structures they set up, and their actual effects of working class children.\textsuperscript{53}

Johnson sets himself a more ambitious task than Katz — where Katz speaks of relatively independent problems and developments, Johnson is already testing out an integrated analysis. The pinchpin of this analysis is the concept of class-cultural control/transformation, but should perhaps rather be identified as class-cultural conflict. This conceptualisation, intentionally different from that of 'social control', makes Johnson more attentive both to the indigenous forms of working class education and to the subversion of schoolmen's intentions.

For Johnson, resistance to work discipline, the defence of customary rights of relief, the practice of customary sports and pastimes, the equally traditional use of alcohol in sociability or need, the spending of hard-won wages on petty luxuries, the theft of property or the street life of children and adolescents constituted forms of resistance, even if often not self-consciously oppositional or only partially political.

In their day-to-day attempts to live their lives under capitalism, working people behaved in a way which was obstructive to progress or even to self-advancement within a capitalist social order. If capitalist development in town and countryside was to be speeded and secured, it was necessary to cut the reproduction of older popular culture.\textsuperscript{54}
This analysis fits well with the case under discussion. However, Johnson can be criticised for linking his concepts too closely to a particular historical conjuncture. As he says,

Modern industry did need new elements in human nature, did require the learning of new relations. Early Victorian moralism, then, was not some gratuitous bourgeois aberration. Cultural aggression of this kind was organic to this phase of capitalist development.\textsuperscript{55}

The oppositional culture of the working class, the 'older popular culture', seems to date back to feudalism, and the 'cultural aggression' to be closely linked with early industrialisation. But both the oppositional working class culture and the cultural aggression have a wider explanation.

Next to its origin in a different mode of production, workers' oppositional culture arises out of the capitalist mode of production itself. Firstly, as Bowles and Gintis stress, capitalism is an inherently revolutionary mode of production, with constantly changing technology, division of labour, patterns of work and distribution of population. People used to particular rhythms of work constantly come into environments where their habits appear as inefficiency.

Secondly, some aspects of the 'oppositional culture' are produced through the organisation of the new jobs themselves. E.P. Thompson, in \textit{The making of the English working class}, for example draws attention to the fact that Irish labourers, unused to the rhythms of factory life, were preferred for heavy labouring to English workers who have learnt, through decades of factory experience, to husband their strength.\textsuperscript{56} Moreover, the capitalist modes of life and work themselves produce not only forms of resistance to the employers, but often also a 'mentality' which impedes the smooth working of capitalist society. For example, the conditions of life of
casual wage labourers militated against frugality, orderly family life, respect for private property, sobriety and diligence, habits which their employers would dearly have liked them to have. Similarly, cultural aggression occurred at other periods of sharp class conflict besides industrialisation. Importantly, that part of it which saw the emergence of mass schooling was not linked with industrialisation in either Canada or Australia.

Although Johnson is not primarily concerned with the effects of educational expansion, his theoretical approach is equally applicable to this area. In particular, without using any ad hoc theories, Johnson is able to show that the same factors that made for the introduction of mass schooling — class-cultural conflict and early industrialisation, were also among the reasons why "the whole schooling enterprise was likely to fail or work only in rather unexpected ways". 57

First, the desire to get children into schools conflicted with industrial capitalism's insatiable appetite for child labour. Second, working people used provided schools in an instrumental manner, taking from the system what they wanted but withdrawing children from school once these skills (especially a measure of literacy) were secured. Third, the system was subverted in its working by the resistance of school-children.

And finally, at the time, family, neighbourhood and even place of work were probably of much greater importance in shaping young people's character than school. In any case, schools, like other bourgeois institutions, were never able to produce a 'perfect' worker in complete ideological subjection, and instead reproduced the worker as bearer of the characteristic antagonisms of the social formation as a whole: schools reproduced forms of resistance, however limited or unself-conscious. 58
What, then, are the major characteristics of a marxist account of schooling? In the first place, schooling takes place in a capitalist society characterised by exploitation and class conflict. This conflict is not confined to class-conscious struggle centred on the place of work, but extends into a whole range of diffuse activity which can be characterised as 'class-cultural conflict'. In this scenario, capitalists can no longer be seen as exercising 'social control'.

Second, the capitalist relations of production profoundly mark the cultural and material products and processes which surround people in their everyday life. At the same time, many conflicts generated in the sphere of production are constantly being displaced into other spheres of human activity. For these two reasons alone, it is necessary to understand the 'economy' if we want to analyse schooling.

Third, historically, mass education systems developed in such a way that they could help reproduce both the technical and social aspects of capitalist production. On the one hand, schools teach people specific technical skills. On the other, they expose them to an environment which in many respects resembles that of the workplace. Nevertheless, the link between 'the economy' and schooling remains very complex. Above all, it is mediated by the autonomous cultural activity of educators and pupils — and as such reproduces, albeit in a different form, many of the contradictions schooling is intended to solve. In addition, because of the different internal dynamics of the two systems, there is a continuous possibility of a serious mismatch between them.
It is around these basic concerns of a marxist account of schooling that the next section of this chapter is structured. First, it describes in more detail some of the basic characteristics of a capitalist society. Next, it discusses the displacement of contradictions into the education system and the link between schooling and society. Finally, it looks at the actual process of schooling.

**Analysing capitalism**

At the centre of my analysis is the assumption that Australian society is a capitalist one — more precisely, that its development is dominated by a capitalist mode of production. Before going on to describe this society, however, it is necessary to establish the rough shape of the theory adequate to the task. I have done this by discussing two fundamental requirements — the *dialectical* and *layered* character of marxist theory.

In the first place, a marxist analysis of Australia would maintain that the basic production relationships people enter into are present, in many complex ways, in all other spheres and results of human activity. Since, in a capitalist society, most production is carried out by wage labourers in antagonistic relationship to a class of owners of the means of production, we would expect other spheres and results of human activity to be deeply marked by this conflict. This has important consequences for marxist theory.

...if the way of life in class society is antagonistic, then the theory of class society must also be antagonistic...If there is room in the theory for the conditions under which the ruling class is able to alienate and exploit the labour of the producing class, then there must be room for the conditions under which the ruling class is unable to alienate and exploit labour. If the theory includes the conditions and kind of labour discipline and control, it must also include the conditions and kind of labour indiscipline and absence of
control. If it contains an explanation of how the owning class restrains the producing class, it must also show how the producing class restrains the ruling class. If it is an economic theory which emphasizes the process by which wealth in a particular form is produced, it must give equal emphasis to the process by which wealth in this form is destroyed...For capitalist society, if we have a theory of productive labour, accumulation, and capitalist development, we also need a theory of unproductive labour, capital disaccumulation, and socialist development.\textsuperscript{61}

But it is immediately necessary to stress that this fundamental insight can be elaborated only on the basis of another essential aspect of marxist analysis – its layered character. This is because, even when the whole theory is logically consistent, tools developed for one level of analysis are often inappropriate for other levels. More specifically, as argued in comments on Schooling in capitalist America, the terminology and concepts used in analysing the general development of a whole social system become exceedingly clumsy and misleading if they are used to describe in any detail the everyday life of one of its members. There, it is necessary to deal with events and explanations the overall analysis can well afford to leave out. This, indeed, is one of its strengths.

It is in class analysis (which, in the marxist scheme, is an essential component of studies in the history of schooling), that the necessity of a layered approach comes out most strongly. Balbus\textsuperscript{62} and Stolzman and Gamberg,\textsuperscript{63} in their separate contributions to class analysis, for example highlight a major problem which arises after rigorous critique of stratification theory. The authors correctly point out that class and stratification theories are incompatible since they not only employ a strikingly different conceptual apparatus (based on analysing the conflict of opposing interests and opposite attributes on the one hand, and the distribution of the relative share of the same attribute on the other hand); and refer to
different spheres of social reality, but also move on a different level of abstraction.\textsuperscript{64}

While Marx was interested in developing "an analytical tool for the explanation of structural changes in societies characterised by a capitalist mode of production",\textsuperscript{65} stratification theory is "[b]roadly concerned with questions pertaining to the forms, functions and consequences of discernible systems of structured social inequality". This can include examination of "how people's position in the stratification hierarchy determines their individual or collective behaviour".\textsuperscript{66}

The latter is obviously a very important area of research, where highly abstract marxist theory is nearly as lame as stratification theory is in explaining the dynamics of capitalism. But this does not mean that, after demonstrating the inadequacies of stratification concepts, marxist theory should abandon the field. Indeed, recent developments in marxist theory provide some tools for understanding the range of problems where stratification theory has made its home. However, these contributions sometimes suffer from a lack of clarity about the level of abstraction to which they refer.

An important attempt to deal with such problems is an article by Theotonio Dos Santos, "The concept of social classes".\textsuperscript{67} In it, the author argues that many complaints about the inappropriateness or conceptual confusion of marxist method stem directly from a failure to understand the dialectical approach used. As he says, "[r]igorous differentiation and interdependence of the levels of abstraction is one of the major aspects of the dialectical method..."\textsuperscript{68}
In his article, the author distinguishes between four levels of abstraction in relation to class analysis: mode of production, social structure, social situation and economic cycles. It is not my intention here to offer a detailed critique of Dos Santos, but rather to preface a more detailed description of capitalist society by a few remarks which will explain the changes I have made in his theoretical scheme. These refer, in the first place, to the content of the fourth level and, in the second place, to an attempted change in emphasis regarding the connection between the different levels of analysis.

For Dos Santos, the fourth level, economic cycles, is important because it alters the 'visibility' of different aspects of capitalist society. For example, class conflict and exploitation are far more readily apparent during depressions or revolutionary situations than during periods of prosperity. Partly as a result, more or less 'perceptive' theories appear at different stages of the economic cycle. But it is quite possible — and indeed necessary, to incorporate precisely this kind of insight into levels two and three: to explain the ways in which a changing political and economic situation is translated into different kinds of class experience and organisation. The problem of the fourth level is symptomatic of Dos Santos' whole approach, which does not fully and consistently take into consideration how various building blocks of his levels — technology, wage and skill differentials, and consumption patterns — are 'produced' in the course of class struggle. In the following exposition, the level of 'economic cycles' is accordingly dissolved, and incorporated into the rest of the analysis.

Secondly, I want to pursue more consistently than Dos Santos seems to do the opening promise of a dialectical relationship between different levels of analysis.
Specifying the levels from the most abstract to the concrete does not imply a one-way, top-down movement of determination. In fact, each level should be conceptualised as having some measure of autonomy, as well as complex links with the other levels. Determinations move both ways, although it is very difficult to establish the precise mechanisms through which this is done.

At the same time, it should be kept in mind that the three levels of abstraction are merely different ways of seeing one social reality; different aspects of one object.

At this point, I can recommence my description of capitalism.70

First level – mode of production

On the first level, that of capitalist mode of production, we are concerned with the abstract formulation of the underlying conditions and basic tendencies in a capitalist society. Although these basic features of capitalism might not exist in a pure form in empirical reality, their understanding is a prerequisite to explanation of that reality. What are these conditions?

The historical basis of a specifically capitalist society is the existence of two classes—a mass of people divorced from the means of production and both able and obliged to exchange their labour power for wages on the one hand, and the existence of capital capable of buying and utilising this labour power on the other hand. In the apparently free and equal exchange between worker and capitalist, the value of a commodity is measured by the time socially necessary for its production. In exchange for his or her labour power, the worker therefore obtains the means necessary for staying alive and bringing up children within a certain historically established family structure and standard of living.
However, labour, as distinct from other commodities, has the characteristic of producing value. By extending the necessary labour time, that is, the time spent on producing the mere value of labour power, it becomes the source of surplus value (of more value than it has itself) and, by the same token, of increasing economic power of capital.

This continuous expansion occurs because capitalism is an inherently dynamic mode of production. Its motor is the competition-induced drive to accumulate capital—a drive which, acting independently of the will of individual capitalists, assumes the status of a 'structural imperative'. Quite simply, the capitalist who fails to make a profit or continuously to increase the size of his firm will sooner or later be taken over by a more successful competitor, or go out of business. Under capitalism, accumulation involves the effort to continually increase the rate of surplus value, continuously increase the exploitation of the working class: "The secret of the self-expansion of capital resolves itself into having the disposal of a definite quantity of other people's unpaid labour".

In various ways, the working class resists this effort. Its logical interest (as distinct from its policy at any given time), is more than the granting of 'a fair day's pay for a fair day's work'; it is the abolition of the conditions of its exploitation—of the wage labour system itself. This interest is rarely formulated into a coherent programme. Insofar as it is present in workers' individual or collective actions, however, it constitutes a continuous threat to the smooth functioning of a capitalist economy. It is only through containing and defusing these constant threats that the capitalist mode of production is able to survive. Thus class struggle is the other, inseparable side of capital accumulation, an essential component in shaping the way capitalist society develops.
When they are coherently defined, the opposing interests of the two classes appear in the form of ideologies. On the side of the bourgeoisie, a true expression of its interest involves the attempt to present its values and needs as those of the society as a whole, and to avoid the formulation or manifestation of fundamental class conflict. A true expression of workers' interests, on the contrary, would seek to analyse the real clash of interest between the two classes in order to demonstrate the causes of exploitation and devise means of removing them by radically restructuring society. This is because "[f]reedom for the owning class is the freedom to exploit the labour of the producing class. Freedom for the producers is the freedom from surplus labour, i.e. freedom from the owning class".  

The necessary relationship between two classes with opposing interests represents one of the many irreducible contradictions of capitalism. It is important to stress that such contradictions are present, in various forms, on all levels of class analysis—not only in the analytically defined mode of production, but within classes and institutions, different aspects of the day-to-day life of individuals, and even within people's minds.

The capitalist mode of production exists in a social formation many of whose aspects do not operate according to the logic of the dominant mode of production. From the standpoint of the capitalist, these 'dissonant' features gradually come into view as obstacles to capitalist development. They are often analysed as such, and become the target of a concerted effort to subsume them under the capitalist mode of production.
Second level — social structure

The capitalist mode of production does not develop in precisely the same way in all countries. To analyse the historically specific social forms and structures which develop in different locations, it is necessary to use a lower level of abstraction.

While the previous section stressed the conflict between classes, here it is appropriate to concentrate on the divisions within classes. For workers, the application of science to work processes characterised, at every step, by commercial competition and class conflict, leads to constant changes in technology and division of labour. While advancing capitalism subjects more and more people to the general conditions of wage labour, the changing division of labour within enterprises, as well as the uneven development of regions and sectors of the economy, mean that not all are subject to the same conditions of work.74

Indeed,

...this progressive simplification of the underlying class structure of capitalism is accompanied by a simultaneous and contradictory movement toward complexity and differentiation within the ranks of the major classes.75

The same process can even be seen as giving rise to different labour markets within one country.76

Of the various distinctions used to describe sections of the working class, that between craft workers and unskilled labourers and Asian workers is useful in analysing nineteenth century Australia, while fragmentation of the labour force between white men and women, Aborigines and later non-Anglo Saxon migrants becomes relevant in the twentieth.77

For owners of capital, divisions are fostered not only by capitalist competition itself, but by the size of investment and the different areas in which capital is deployed.
We can thus distinguish between money capital (such as in portfolio investment and loans), productive capital (employed directly in production), and commodity capital (employed in trade). These fractions are further divided into monopoly and non-monopoly capital. In the Australian conditions, another distinction is essential — that between sections of capital exposed to international competition and able to operate, because of their competitiveness or natural shelter, without substantial assistance; and those operating behind a substantial tariff wall.  

In summary, the employment of capital in different sectors of the economy on the part of the capitalists, as well as substantial differences in the conditions of work between different groups of workers, make it necessary to speak on this level of analysis not only of classes, but of class fractions.

While these class fractions share certain fundamental class interests, their objective position within the capitalist economy gives them a whole range of sharply competing immediate objectives. For example, different class fractions could favour different patterns of state expenditure (e.g. city schools and sewerage as against country roads and subsidized port facilities) and general economic policy (e.g. free trade as against protection), or different approach to the content and organisation of schooling (e.g. competitive classical curriculum as against industrial education or 'working class knowledge').

Not only classes, but institutions take on a more specific form on this level of analysis. Within different countries, the changing conditions of capitalist economy influence not only the transformation of structures which predated capitalism — such as the state or the family, but the development of new ones — such as reformatories or trade unions. Sometimes,
indeed, the character of particular institutions becomes the focus of class struggle. In turn, through taking over specific aspects of reproduction of capitalist society, as well as helping to mould and process people's demands, the institutions become one of the determinants of class struggle. 79

And finally, if the first level of analysis identified class interests and ideologies, here it is possible to point to the extent to which these are embodied in and inform various social practices and institutions. In other words, capitalist ideology is not merely a set of ideas which workers for some reason believe or are forced to believe. This ideology is embedded in our environment and in the objects and practices which people continuously encounter in their everyday lives. Money, used car yards, workplace hierarchy, all-firm football teams, dormitory suburbs, buying doctors' time, police and throw-away food containers can all be included in this list. None of these bits of 'materialised ideology' is altogether perfect. On the contrary, they continuously produce problems and practices - such as the energy crisis or stealing— which can make their continuous existence very precarious.

Third level - social situation

Together, the structures of the second level form a historically changing but nevertheless (from the point of view of individuals), relatively stable pattern of positions in the class structure. The characteristics of these 'class places' provide the people who fill them with much of the raw material of their experience. 80 At work, this experience relates to the degree of hierarchy and competence expected in different jobs, to working environments and to modes of class organisation. Outside of work,
it is influenced by the lifestyle, status and public influence that
different jobs or other forms of income provide for, as well as by
people's sex and membership of various groups and institutions. Again,
it is the characteristics of class places that intervene between a current
political and economic situation and its impact on particular people. A
depression is experienced differently by a labourer, policeman, housewife,
or a grazier.

But class places influence not only what happens to people, they have to
do with their perception of it. In other words, people's social environ-
ment is a significant factor in structuring the 'psychological' mechanisms
they develop for appropriating, digesting, assimilating, classifying,
sorting out and making sense of experience. These in turn come to
strengthen the 'inertia' of a particular mode of production. Often, even
if people consciously reject some of these patterns, such as competitiveness
or sexism, they find their feelings continue to be affected by them.
In summary,

Members of different social classes, by virtue of enjoying
(or suffering) different conditions of life, come to see
the world differently and to develop different conceptions
of social reality, different aspirations and hopes and
fears, different conceptions of the desirable.81

It is important to stress that people are in no sense passive recipients
of this experience. To begin with, as Piaget argues, it is only through
active manipulation of objects that children are able to acquire such
basic concepts for comprehending the world around them as those of space
and number: according to him, intelligence develops out of motor activity,
not just passive observation.82

But the significance of people's autonomous activity goes far beyond its
active role in assimilating experience. It is precisely through their
everyday activity that people produce and reproduce capitalist society. As Marx put it,

Like all its predecessors, the capitalist process of production proceeds under definite material conditions which are, however, simultaneously the bearers of definite social relations entered into by individuals in the process of reproducing their life. Those conditions, like these relations, are on the one hand pre-requisites, on the other hand results...of the capitalist process of production; they are produced and reproduced by it.83

People are not mere cogs in this process. Their participation in capitalist production is mediated by a semi-autonomous cultural level characterised by such factors as personal and collective creativity, consciousness, unintentionality and rationality.84 For example, capitalists may well want a certain number of particular workers. In order to actually have appropriately qualified people apply for jobs on Monday morning, however, a whole string of events, many of which are only tenuously linked to capitalist rationality, has to occur.

If we return, on the basis of the preceding discussion, to the problem of class interests and ideology, we can get a clearer understanding of the dominance, or hegemony, of the capitalist world view in our society. On the one hand, working class people work and live in a system organised around their exploitation, and show their awareness of this fact through a variety of individual or collective actions which challenge it. On the other hand, they only rarely distill this practical attitude into a coherent working class world view, and instead conceptualise many situations in terms of bourgeois ideology.85

In this light the operation of bourgeois hegemony is best understood as a fragmentation and disorganisation of the culture and consciousness of the subordinate class — not its obliteration. Working-class culture may be denied wider articulation, made to seem partial and inadequate, and publicly labeled as inferior. But it is not made to disappear and cannot be until the conditions which give
rise to it themselves disappear. The contradictions between the dominant and the fragmented subordinate culture remain, always present in informal groups and working class institutions and individuals.  

As the previous section tried to show, this 'fragmentation' and 'disorganisation' is more than an intellectual conflict in the realm of ideas, it refers to people's experiences as well. Since the...

...progressive simplification of the underlying class structure is accompanied by a simultaneous and contradictory movement toward complexity and differentiation within the ranks of the major classes, workers experience not only unity, but division between groups of workers. Moreover, in proportion as conflicts are displaced from the workplace into some other sphere of life, workers tend not to experience direct conflict with the bourgeoisie.

Having sketched out some of the features of capitalist society, it is now possible to consider in more detail those of its aspects which came to constitute mass education systems.

Schooling and society

The development of capitalism in different countries not only transformed the character of tasks traditionally performed in such societies, but created many new ones. Historically, one can in a sense trace a path of some of these fundamental problems, such as turning children into productive adults, or struggles over the control of the labour process, through various institutions and social processes. Put differently, in the course of class struggle, contradictions generated and transformed by the capitalist mode of production assume different shapes and are displaced into different aspects of society.
The public education system is one of the many locations in which people have been trying to resolve the problems of the capitalist mode of production. Although it has generally developed, in the second half of the nineteenth century, as part of the state, it has an ambiguous status within it. Unlike some other institutions, for example the army or the courts, schooling as such is not a necessary, determining aspect either of the mode of production or the state. This is because, although the education system plays a vital role in reproducing capitalist society, there is no necessity in its being run by the state. Its different functions, moreover, could conceivably be relocated elsewhere. For example, basic literacy could be taught by local councils or private enterprise (for example, through the 'voucher system'), and all aspects of vocational training could be carried out by industry.

The education system has its own structure, its own momentum, its own relative autonomy. Such relative autonomy enables it to perform many of its functions. But, by the same token, this means that one can in no sense assume a perfect fit between schooling and the 'needs' of capitalism, however defined. For example, rigid bureaucracy which serves well to discipline teachers and minimise community control of schooling might hamper, as well as anticipate, the displacement of social 'problems' or contradictions into the education system. Moreover, the education system can sometimes take over a particular publicly defined 'task' (for example, technical education), but in the process transform it to deal with a different problem, often of its own making.

Not only structural, but political factors mediate the displacement of contradictions into the education system. While a particular course of action might be favoured by sections of the bourgeoisie or the working
class, the class fraction which actually holds political power can resist such a move as being against their interests. (For example, there can be a conflict between land-based and manufacturing capital about socialising the cost of reproducing labour power.)

In summary, there is no logical or structural necessity in schools actually taking over a particular problem. Whether they do or not depends on a number of factors – the shape and composition of the education bureaucracies, the class fraction or alliance holding political power, the intensity and form of class struggle at the time, the state of government finances and the overall economic situation. And even if we could theorise a connection between all these factors, they do not influence schooling just as they please; they do not do it under circumstances determined by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past...

Just as there is no necessity in schools taking over particular problems of capitalist society, those contradictions actually dealt with in schools should not be identified as the 'essence' of schooling. Such a conceptualisation tends to obscure two important facts. Firstly, as soon as we describe what happens in schools in terms of wider social processes, it becomes obvious that the same basic problems, although often in different forms, are being resolved elsewhere. For example, schools might teach respect for authority and private property, but then so does every daily newspaper and local policeman. Secondly, since the fundamental problems the schools deal with are perpetually reproduced by the capitalist relations of production themselves, they can never be completely solved within the education system. They can, however, be transformed into a more manageable, less immediately threatening, but equally
contradictory process. For example, some of the conflict inherent in assigning people to the reserve army of the unemployed is displaced into the grading processes in schools. There, it appears that people's 'intelligence' and 'application', not the requirements of capitalist economy, are responsible for unemployment. But although this understanding of the situation might make the unemployed less likely to organise, it can intensify vandalism, truancy, and emotional problems of young people, to name just a few.

How then can we conceptualise the link between schooling and society? In the past, marxist writing on education could often be characterised either in terms of a 'structuralist' or 'instrumentalist' approach. It is only recently that some authors have attempted to construct a theory which draws on the strengths of both.88

The instrumentalist approach points to the way in which individual members of the ruling class are able to exert their influence. Its research project concentrates on showing the many, often hidden ways, in which capitalists are able to fashion the state and its policies after their own interests. Valuable as it is in demystifying the decision-making process, this approach has its limitations. The most serious of these is the tendency to equate the dynamic of capitalism with the collective will of the capitalists (even if in struggle with the workers). In practice, this means that the theory would cease to apply if the capitalists got voted out of office and the public service was reorganised. Even the most sophisticated approaches have trouble systematically accounting for the factors delimiting the capitalists' and the state's actions, or for those of the state's actions which are opposed by large segments of the bourgeoisie.89
In historical research, this approach is often identified as a 'social control' problematic.90

The structuralist approach, in contrast, attempts to show how the state is structured and constrained so that, irrespective of the personnel that staff state institutions, it functions in a way favourable to the capitalist class as a whole. If members of the bourgeoisie are found in key positions in the state structure, it is a result, not the cause of, its capitalist nature.91 If, as is often the case, the structuralist approach is joined by functionalism, it gives rise to a research project which attempts to identify the often contradictory functions the state must perform in order to reproduce capitalist society as a whole; and locate them within specific areas of state action.

But it is one thing to prove that the state should act in a particular way to fulfil its role in reproducing a capitalist society, and quite another to show why it actually comes to function this way.

Since class consciousness is explicitly rejected by structuralist writers as an explanatory concept (it does not explain anything, a proper theory should explain it), one possible solution to the problem is ruled out.

In education studies, this approach is developed by Louis Althusser in "Ideology and ideological state apparatuses".92 In a simpler form – that of the 'correspondence principle', it appears in the work of Bowles and Gintis, discussed in an earlier section of this chapter.

In summary, neither the instrumentalist nor the structuralist approach can, on its own, provide a satisfactory theory of the state.

But, by itself, some 'middle way' between these two is not enough either. On the one hand, we should be able to account for the fact that, in different historical periods, the state comes very close to either one or
the other model. On the other hand, we should look for a theory capable of incorporating both the insight that the capitalist state has some autonomy, and the historical process through which this relative autonomy is established.\(^9\) One impressive recent attempt in this direction is made by Andersen, Friedland and Wright in their article "Modes of class struggle and the capitalist state". The following section presents a brief summary of their argument, and recapitulates at greater length those parts of it which seem to be most pertinent to the study of state schooling institutions.

The paper "Modes of class struggle and the capitalist state" attempts to develop a theory which sees the state simultaneously as a product, determinant and object of class struggle. This is possible on the basis of the realisation that

State structure is itself a source of power. The organisation of political authority differentially affects the access, political consciousness, strategy and cohesion of various interests and classes. State structure is not neutral with respect to its effects on class conflict. The structure of the state intervenes between social needs and the way these needs are translated into political demands, between demands and state outputs, and between specific outputs and the ability to organise and raise new demands in the future.\(^9\)

More specifically, state structures can develop and change in such a way that they neutralise the political threat working class organisation presents to the process of capital accumulation by making its demands congruent with the reproduction of capitalist social relations. Moreover, the removal of critical areas of state activity from direct political scene into non-elective institutions can, to a large extent, insulate them from political accountability. This has the effect of
...maximizing the translation of capitalist economic power into patterns of allocation and non-decision favourable to those interests, while simultaneously minimizing the need for those capitalist interests to participate in manifestly political ways.95

One concrete example of this is the gradual emancipation of education bureaucracies from local politics. In the United States, in urging the corporate form of external school governance and internal control by expert bureaucrats, the centralisers were, of course, simply exchanging one form of political decision-making for another. They wished to destroy the give-and-take bargaining of the ward system, the active lay influence through subcommittees of the board, the contest over cultural and tangible values that had characterised the pluralistic politics of many large cities. Instead, they wished to centralise control and differentiate functions over a large geographical area in a 'modern and rational' bureaucracy buffered from popular vagaries.95

State structures are then neither pre-determined nor eternal. Over the years, their exact form has developed out of conflict not merely between the workers and the bourgeoisie, but between different sections within classes. Moreover, as capitalism develops, some state structures start hindering, rather than aiding, the state's function in the accumulation process. It is then that we can expect to find a surge of attempts to transform them. There is no reason for assigning to the bourgeoisie an exclusive authorship of these attempts. Quite often the movement for reform can come from sections of the state administration, or from the party-political sphere.

In summary, the capitalists attempt to influence the state in a variety of ways described by the instrumentalist theories. But they are not able to do this just as they please. On the one hand, they have to contend with the political organisation of the working class. On the other hand, they are constrained by the character of the state structures themselves,
especially by their relative autonomy. Like the workers, therefore, the capitalists, in trying to influence what the state does, attempt to reshape the structures through which their demands are processed in such a way that they become more suitable to the furthering of their own interests. The state is a capitalist state because, to a large extent, they have succeeded in doing this. Most state structures are shaped in such a way that they are far more amenable to the kinds of pressures available to owners of the means of production, rather than to those of working class organisation. Nevertheless, given the existence or potential of such organisation, even the most elaborate and 'functional' state structures can never be entirely successful. This is because of their inherently contradictory character, which the working class can use as a basis of political action.97

How schools work

The previous section discussed in some detail the social context of education systems, touching only indirectly on the problem of how schools actually work. This section outlines a systematic way of describing the school environment. Secondly, it looks at some attempts to explain the way in which this environment affects those who participate in it. In schools, a variety of things pass between teachers and pupils. Some are realised by both parties, but many go unnoticed. To tidy these events up and render them more intelligible, I have introduced three concepts: content, process and structure of schooling.

The content of schooling refers in the first place to the overt, explicit message of school readers, textbooks, spelling books, teacher's lesson on arithmetic, bible stories or educational pictures. Because of its form,
this aspect of schooling has been most open to public scrutiny. In the second place, content has to do with the underlying ideological framework within which this message is set, and which delimits the range of possible questions and answers. Third, on a level which merges in many respects with the process of schooling, it refers to the way in which some aspects of a society's culture (in its anthropological sense) are selected out and organised into a corpus of 'school knowledge'.

The other two concepts, process and structure of schooling, describe different aspects of the social relations within a school. The process of schooling (today often called the hidden curriculum) refers to the complex of events — and their interpretations — which occur as the teachers and pupils prepare themselves for and carry out learning of the actual content. Designed to teach essentially the same lessons as the textbooks, the processes of schooling are potentially far more effective. While children can take or leave the lessons contained in their textbooks — whose language they often hardly understand — they themselves produce, through their everyday behaviour, the school processes. As long as they go to 'properly organised' schools, children can try to disregard or subvert this experience; they cannot avoid it. Indeed, in certain cases, we can attribute to the process of schooling the same generative power as we have become accustomed to see in the family. If the family, or patterns of sexuality, provide the source of personality traits identified by Freudian psychology, the 'hidden curricula' produce perhaps less powerful, but still very effective, structures of meaning.

The structure of schooling refers to the legal and administrative framework within which the actual activity of schooling is set. Some of this assembly of rules and regulations is present in everyday school activity
— in the multitude of administrative routines the teachers have to carry out, the timetable they have to observe, the examinations they have to prepare their pupils for, the circulars they have to answer; or when, in caning a pupil, the teachers assert their authority. On some occasions, school rules are startlingly absent — as when a burly student breaks the teacher's cane and threatens to break his neck if he tried to hit his little brother again. Many aspects of the structure of schooling, however, are not routinely invoked, and serve to delimit, and give back-ground meaning to, teachers' actions.

Before suggesting some of the ways in which learning actually takes place in schools, it is necessary to establish a distance between the intentions of school administrators and the actual events in classrooms. As Johnson says, "The monitorial system according to the gospel of Joseph Lancaster was one thing; its operation in schools of brick and mortar with children of flesh and blood and even average ingenuity was quite another". 99 Willis conceptualises this distance through a distinction between the official, the pragmatic and the cultural level. 100 The point of this distinction is that, on the second level, "some of the real functions of institutions work counter to their stated aims". 101 On the third level there are

...the cultural forms of adaption of the institution's clients as their outside class experience interacts with the practical exigencies and processes of the institution as they strike them. One of the important variants of this is likely to be an oppositional informal culture which may well actually help to accomplish the wider social reproduction which the official policy has been trying to defeat or change. 102

It is through an elaboration of this level that we can arrive at a closer understanding of the learning process. According to Willis, the impact of
schools on people is mediated through a semi-autonomous cultural level possessing three distinct characteristics.

In the first place the basic material of the cultural is constituted by varieties of symbolic systems and articulations. These stretch from language to systematic kinds of physical interaction; from particular kinds of attitude, response, action and ritualised behaviour to expressive artefacts and concrete objects. There are likely to be distinctions and contradictions between these forms, so that for instance, actions may belie words, or logics embedded within cultural practices and rituals may be quite different from particular expressed meanings at the level of immediate consciousness. In the second place these things are produced at least in part by real forms of cultural production quite comparable with material production. Indeed in such areas as the generation of a distinctive style in clothing or changes made in the physical environment the production is material production. The basis for, and impetus of, this production is the informal social group and its collective energies at its own proper level. Finally cultural forms provide the materials towards, and the immediate context of, the construction of subjectivities and the confirmation of identity. It provides as it were the most believable and rewarding accounts for the individual, his future and especially for the expression of his/her vital energies. It seems to 'mark' and 'make sense' of things. 103

Capitalism and schooling in South Australia

I have concluded this chapter with a brief summary of my theoretical points, and an indication of the way they are developed in the different chapters of the thesis.

Australia is a capitalist society whose structures and institutions developed in the course of class conflict. With regard to the education system in South Australia, my thesis examines the ways in which powerful schooling structures, today often regarded as natural and inevitable, developed in the course of sharp conflict between and within classes.

In their turn, these structures affect the shape that class struggle will and can take, as well as the range of its possible outcomes. For example,
The displacement of social problems into the state sector plays a central role in the reproduction of the capitalist order. The form in which a social problem manifests itself and the arena in which the resulting conflicts are fought out are matters of no small importance. The class nature of social problems is often obscured when manifestations of the underlying contradictions are displaced into the state sector.¹⁰⁴

In my thesis, I have explored several such intersections between schooling and social conflicts generated, in the first place, in the sphere of production. One of the most important of these was the attempt by the bourgeoisie to remould, through schooling, the 'mentality' of the working class. This 'mentality' represented a logical effort by labouring people to survive within working and living conditions largely determined by their employers. Yet it often conflicted with the capitalists' economic and social aspirations, and was attacked as such. Not all sections of the bourgeoisie had an equal interest in such a crusade. Many land-based capitalists, relying on casual and unskilled labour, saw education expenditure as a misdirection of state funds. City manufacturers, on the other hand, tended to align themselves with sections of organised labour to promote institutions which encouraged the 'rationality' and predictability of future citizens and unionists.

When, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the class structure tightened and many trades started losing their traditional grip on the working process, schooling began to be employed in the allocation of people between different class places.

While only comparatively wealthy people could afford to buy the amount of schooling which began to be required in many well-paying jobs, yet it began to appear that, on the whole, they were the only ones intelligent enough to succeed at school.
But schooling came to play a part in reshaping the pattern of class places itself. In particular, it started intervening in the conflict over the division of labour within the production process. This conflict, flaring up again and again in the course of capitalist development, saw the transfer of production knowledge from artisans to increasingly exclusive groups of often white collar workers.

The growth of science, occurring within this context of progressive expropriation of production knowledge from the direct producers, put into question the apprenticeship system, and raised the problem of alternative modes of transmitting production knowledge.

For different reasons, some sections both of the bourgeoisie and the labour movement favoured the displacement of the 'problem' into state-sponsored technical education – the first attempted to transfer to the state some of the costs of reproducing labour power, the second wanted to regain overall knowledge of the production process; both hoped to control the new institution.

The far-reaching transformation of the production process helped to change the traditional division of the life-cycle. Towards the turn of the century, young people found it increasingly difficult to enter the workforce in anything but 'dead-end' jobs. As their work opportunities declined, an increasingly popular 'ideology of the dependent child' started obstructing their passage from the dependent relationships of the family and the school. Eventually, it was technical education for 'less able' children which allowed popular schooling to be extended without jeopardising the exclusiveness of scarce educational qualifications.

Throughout the period, labour and capital attempted to employ schooling as part of a solution of the problem of class consciousness. While,
towards the end of the nineteenth century, labour spokesmen hoped that free and compulsory education would make the glaringly unjust workings of capitalism transparent to future workers, the employers looked to schooling as explicit means of lessening class conflict.
Notes

An earlier version of a part of this chapter appeared as P. Cook: "The uses of marxist theory in the history of education: a critique of some contributions" (paper presented to the 1979 ANZHES conference).

1. From a newspaper editorial opposing Professor Mitchell's University extension course on Political Economy given in Adelaide in 1896. Register, 19.12.1895.

2. C.B. Whillas at South Australian Teachers' Association meeting, reported in the Register, 4.6.1888.


4. Much useful work has been inspired by the sociology of knowledge, anthropology and social history.


7. ibid., p.301.


14. Which in fact contributes to the first problem.

15. Similarly, in the natural sciences, "Pure empiricism does not lead us anywhere — not even to experience; much less, of course, to experiment. An experiment, indeed, is a question we put to nature. It presupposes, therefore, a language in which we formulate our questions; in other words, experiment is not the basis of theory, but only a way of testing it." A. Koyré, introduction to G.F.M. Anscombe and P.T. Geach (eds.): Descartes: philosophical writings (Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954), p.xiii.

16. G. Stedman Jones, op. cit., p.296. Fifteen years earlier, another prominent historian, in emphasizing the same point, was moved to say that the 'age of innocence', when "historians walked in the Garden of Eden, without a scrap of philosophy to cover them, naked and unashamed before the god of history", is irretrievably lost, and "those historians who today pretend to dispense with a philosophy of history are merely trying, vainly and self-consciously, to recreate the Garden of Eden in their garden suburb". E.H. Carr: What is history (Penguin, 1964), p.20.


18. This point is brought out in a graphic way by two recent protagonists in the 'inequality debate'. In their opinion "Having the appearance of critical social science, the debate in fact has been closely tied to the changing grounds chosen by the privileged in defence of their interests. When, in modern times, inequality of educational provision first came under broad attack the upholders of privilege responded by discovering that there were different types of minds and that these required broader or narrower education...There ensued a debate on psychological testing which gradually forced the defenders of inequality to yield intellectual and some other ground...When subsequent reforms professed to establish equality of educational opportunity the egalitarians set out to show by detailed demographic
studies that access to more and better education still depended on the parents' social position. This later line of work dominated educational sociology until five or ten years ago. We are now on the threshold of a third phase which will, it seems, revolve around the theory of knowledge currently espoused by modern conservatives - a theory which emphasizes the objective, thing-like character of knowledge and the complex but given order of its internal structures. Against this the liberals and progressives are employing the sociology of knowledge to show the epistemological assumptions buried in the structure of school curricula, and the political ramifications of teaching such curricula." B. Abbey and D. Ashenden: "Explaining inequality" in The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology (Vol.14, No.1, 1978), p.8.

19. This is especially important because of many marxists' "temptation to conduct theoretical criticism of history's methodology, not by demonstrating its validity or invalidity, but simply by demonstrating its non-marxist character". S. MacIntyre: "Radical history and bourgeois hegemony" in Intervention (No.2, 1972), p.47.

20. An excellent summary and critique of modern approaches to the philosophy of science - especially those of Imre Lakatos, Karl Popper, Thomas Kuhn and Paul Feyeraband, can be found in A. Chalmers' book What is this thing called science? (University of Queensland Press, 1976).

21. This distinction is based on the recognition that, however good they may be, thought representations of a particular object will always have a different status from the object itself. Theories can be better or worse approximations of 'objective reality'; they should never be treated as the same thing.


23. Perhaps the strongest argument for using a unified theory is that the phenomena we are describing are interconnected on many levels.


26. ibid., p.329.

27. This can be called a 'structuralist' approach. For a definition and discussion of these issues, see D.A. Gold, C.Y.H. Lo and E.D. Wright: "Recent developments in marxist theories of the capitalist state" in Monthly Review (Vol.27, Nos.5,6, 1975).

28. It is this theoretical point which puts into a perspective what I have attempted to do in my thesis. The work is not done merely for the love of truth and a desire to 'set the record straight', it also comes from the recognition that, insofar as they are read, different ways of writing history contain different political lessons for the present. These might range from reinforcing the powerlessness of people subject to an opaque but seemingly benevolent process, to
deepening the appreciation of men and women as active producers constrained by their social and historical situation and the level of their understanding of it.

29. See Chapter 3, p.113.


31. S. Bowles and H. Gintis: op. cit., p.10. Surplus value is a technical term used to denote that part of the value of a worker's product which is left over to the capitalist after accounting for expenses such as wages, materials and depreciation of capital.

32. ibid., pp.129-30.

33. ibid., p.130.

34. ibid., p.131.

35. ibid., p.232.

36. ibid., p.236.

37. ibid., p.234.


40. ibid., p.85.

41. P. Willis, op. cit.

42. S. Bowles and H. Gintis: op. cit., p.11.

43. ibid., p.133.

44. ibid., pp.11-2.


47. ibid., p.390. Chapter 3 deals with the particular historical conjuncture through which Katz explains the rise of public schooling. Here, discussion is limited to a few theoretical issues.

48. Given the fragmented way in which we have become accustomed to conceptualise social phenomena, this is an extremely difficult and ambitious
task. One of the best existing attempts to tackle it is the philosophy of internal relations developed by B. Oillman in his book Alienation (Cambridge University Press, 1971).

49. "...so we cannot judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production." K. Marx: "Preface to a contribution to the critique of political economy" in K. Marx and F. Engels: Selected Works (Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951), p.329.


51. R. Johnson: "Notes on the schooling of the English working class", p.52.

52. Johnson in fact identifies his concept as 'class-cultural control/ transformation', but his whole argument revolves around various manifestations of cultural conflict.

53. As in the discussion of the two preceding works, I have left comments on the applicability of Johnson's analysis to the South Australian situation until a later chapter, and confine myself to a few remarks on the theory underlying his argument.

54. ibid., p.49.

55. loc. cit.


57. R. Johnson: op. cit., p.51.

58. ibid., pp.51-2.


60. Not counting various 'straw men' versions of marxist theory, there is a sizeable group of serious but partly conflicting marxist attempts to analyse capitalism. In the account which follows, I will try to integrate the positive aspects of several of these latter approaches.


64. Similarly, after analysing several different approaches to the history of compulsory schooling in America, David Tyack concludes that their contributions cannot be integrated by 'simple additive eclecticism', since "the models deal with social reality on quite different levels: the individual or the family, the ethnocultural group, the large organisation, and the structure of political or economic power in the society as a whole". D.B. Tyack: "Ways of seeing: an essay on the history of compulsory schooling" in Harvard Educational Review (Vol.46, No.3, 1976), p.588.

65. J. Stolzman, op. cit., p.106.

66. loc. cit.


68. ibid., p.173.

69. As he says, "Certain cyclical phases tend to accentuate the contradiction between the appearance of phenomena and their modes of being, i.e. their 'essence'; other phases, particularly those that are revolutionary, make the essential aspects of reality 'appear' in immediate experience". ibid., p.180.

70. This description will necessarily be very schematic, but will contain references to more detailed treatment of various topics by authors from whom I have drawn.

A mode of production can be defined as a particular combination of forces and relations of production, where the way the surplus product is appropriated is the single most important factor. For my purposes, the definition of the mode of production includes certain necessary conditions for its reproduction.

A social formation is, quite simply, the society in which particular modes of production exist – one usually appearing in dominant and others in subordinate form.

There has been a prolonged debate on these issues among contemporary marxists. Among the most important contributions to this debate are L. Althusser and E. Balibar: Reading capital (New Left Books, 1970) and T. Asad and H. Wolpe: "Concepts of modes of production" in Economy and Society (Vol.5, No.5, 1976).


73. P. Vilar has formulated the problem in this way: "Suppose there is a disjuncture between an institutional form, a mode of thought, an economic attitude or a social ethic and the mode of production which we assume to be operative...Must we then say that these morals, attitudes, thoughts, etc. are advanced, are backward, are survivals, have an autonomous rhythm and so on. Would it not be better to say: to what extent is this mode of production, taken to be in place, functioning, according to its own model? In what areas does it do so? Over what duration scale? In which sectors is it an effective totality (already, if it is developing, and still, if it has begun to become destructured)" P. Vilar: "Marxist history, a history in the making: towards a dialogue with Althusser" in New Left Review (No.80, 1973).


75. ibid., p.51.

76. Bowles and Gintis in Schooling in capitalist America, for example, adopt a distinction between primary and secondary labour markets. "The primary segment is located predominantly in the corporate and state sectors, where jobs are characterised by relatively high wages and modicum of job security assured through white- and blue-collar unions. In the primary labour market sector, where bureaucratic order and the hierarchical division of labour is the rule, there are clear job ladders, seniority rules, and opportunities for promotion. Credentials of various types here play an important role and workers are predominantly adult, but not aged, white males. Alongside the primary sector, there is a secondary segment. Here jobs are characterised by low wages, great employment instability and worker turnover, and little unionization. In the secondary labour market, job ladders are few and there is little chance for promotion. Educational credentials are not important requirements for job entry; jobs leave little room for learning skills, and workers are not paid according to training and skills. Finally, workers are relatively powerless vis-à-vis the employer; threat and coercion are the usual means of enforcing compliance. A large portion of the jobs in the small-scale entrepreneurial capitalist sector may be considered part of this secondary labour market although the lowest level white- and blue-collar jobs in the corporate sector also take this form." S. Bowles and H. Gintis, op. cit., pp.66-7. See also R.C. Edwards: "The social relations of production in the firm and labour market structure" in Politics and Society (Vol.5, No.1, 1975).

77. In the Australian context, this line of analysis is developed by J. Collins: "Fragmentation of the working class" in E.L. Wheelwright and K. Buckley: Essays in the political economy of Australian capitalism, Vol.3.

78. T. O'Shaughnessy: "Some recent conflicts in the ruling class" in Intervention (No.10-11, 1978).

79. G. Esping-Andersen, R. Friedland, E.O. Wright: "Modes of class struggle and the capitalist state" in Capitalistate (No.4-5, 1976) pp.191,198. A good example of analysis on this level of abstraction
is the scheme developed by O'Connor in his book *The fiscal crisis of the state* (St. Martin's Press, 1973). Unlike many other authors, O'Connor, in explaining the expansion of the capitalist state, seeks reasons which are firmly rooted in the dynamic of capital accumulation. For him, the moving factor behind the increasing size of the capitalist state is the interplay between three sectors of the economy—competitive, state and monopoly sectors. "All three sectors of the economy are part of a single contradictory process: the growth of the monopoly sector leads directly and indirectly to the growth of the state and the competitive sector; the expansion of the state in turn becomes a source of further growth of the monopoly sector as more and more of the costs of accumulation are socialised; the growth of the competitive sector increases the social expenses of the state and thus hampers its ability to further underwrite monopoly sector growth..." D.A. Gold, C.Y.H. Lo, E.O. Wright: "Recent developments in marxist theories of the state", p.42.

In nineteenth and early twentieth century South Australia, this three-way model obviously would not work, but it is possible to replace it by the group large-scale landed capital, small-scale manufacturing capital, and state sector. It is on this scheme that I have based my argument in the chapter on social background.

80. This distinction between 'class agents' and 'class places' is conceptualised by the French theoretician Nicos Poulantzas in *Political power and social classes* (New Left Books, 1973). It has a most useful function in demolishing the confused notion that a considerable movement of people between different classes is the same as the dissolution of the class structure itself.


84. "In its desire for workers of a certain type the reach of the production process must pass through the semi-autonomous cultural level which is determined by production only partially and in its own specific terms. Its own terms include consciousness, creativity of collective association, rationality, limitation, unintentionality and division." P. Willis: *Learning to labour*, p.171.


87. F. Friedman: "The internal structure...", p.51.

88. See, for example, B. Jessop: "Recent theories of the capitalist state" in *Cambridge Journal of Economics* (Vol.1, No.4, 1977); D.A. Gold et al., op. cit.
89. One of the most important recent contributions in this tradition is R. Milliband: The state in capitalist society (Basic Books, 1969).


91. This approach is developed most convincingly by N. Poulantzas in Political power and social classes.


93. "This relative autonomy, however, is not an invariant feature of the capitalist state. Particular capitalist states will be more or less autonomous depending upon the degree of internal divisiveness, the contradictions within the various classes and fractions which constitute the power block, and upon the capitalist class as a whole..." D.A. Gold et al., op. cit., part 2, p.44.

94. G. Esping-Anderson et al., op. cit., p.191.

95. Ibid., p.194.


97. In the second part of the paper, the authors develop a typology of class struggle as part of an effort to conceptualise a relationship between it and state policies. The typology is constructed around three different dimensions of political demands for state intervention: the level of intervention, where the major distinction is between actions affecting the process of production as against that of circulation; the form of intervention, which either can or cannot be expressed in commodity terms; and, finally, the consequences of intervention, which can be either reproductive or non-reproductive for capitalist social relations in the society as a whole.

This typology puts in a wider perspective my earlier stress on the importance of the location of struggles between workers and capitalists, and the shape of institutions which actually mediate them. A preliminary point which comes out of this typology is that demands which can be channelled into 'reproductive'-'commodified'-'circulation' policies not only fail to challenge, in any way, the reproduction of capitalist social relations, but lead to forms of working class organisation which accentuate the market-based divisions within this class, rather than demonstrate its common underlying character and thus aid the development of it as a 'class for itself'. The opposite is true for 'unreproductive'-'non-commodified'-'production' policies. In the struggle to transform their demands into these types of state policies, workers are more likely to group themselves in ways and
experience incidents which will strengthen their conception of a class for itself. Moreover, if implemented, these policies would, in the manner of Gorz's 'revolutionary reforms', undermine the reproduction of capitalist relations of production. Political class struggle can therefore be conceptualized as a struggle over which of these types of political demands will dominate: that is, over the content of class struggle itself.


100. P. Willis, op. cit., p.177.

101. loc. cit.

102. ibid., pp.177-8.

103. ibid., pp.172-3.

CHAPTER 2

THE DYNAMICS OF COLONIAL CAPITALISM
The settlement of Australia by white men was part of the process of capitalist expansion in England. From the very beginning, British industrial growth was heavily dependent on the international market for sources of raw materials and for markets.1

The previous chapter outlined some of the basic theoretical ingredients of a marxist history of schooling. This history, it was argued, cannot be understood merely in terms of the institution itself, but has to be seen as one of the many locations in which conflicts arising in the process of capitalist development are fought out (albeit indirectly), by different class fractions.

This section of the thesis provides a background against which such understanding of education history can be developed in later chapters.

Firstly, paying attention to its unique features, it will present a brief outline of the origins and development of capitalism in South Australia. Secondly, it will concern itself with the history of different classes and of major fractions within them, and with the political expression of their interests. Lastly, it will indicate the general pattern of educational change in the period under consideration.

Throughout, this development will be seen in the context of Australia's changing role in the British Empire. Until the end of the nineteenth century, this role centred on the provision of raw materials, and the import of manufactured products from Britain. After this period, Australia became, in the context of Britain's sharply declining economic power, a junior partner of an increasingly complex — and defensive — division of labour.2
The crisis of British capitalism after 1870 had a profound effect on development elsewhere. Economic stagnation at home and the decline of the traditional export industries on which Britain's industrial growth had depended so heavily were the leading features of the crisis. To overcome them the United Kingdom increasingly committed its capital to expanded reproduction abroad rather than to domestic activity. The Dominions were the principal recipients of income which inflated incomes, created opportunities for investment and increased demand for capital goods from Britain. British economic relations with the rest of the world were marked, after 1870, by the retreat of much trade and capital dealings to the confines of empire. And capital in the Dominions was by degree committed in greater measure to industrial and related urban development.  

The establishment of capitalism in South Australia

South Australia was founded as a capitalist venture in the 1830s by British investors trying to find new profitable outlets for their capital and remained, for over a century, tied to their changing fortunes and interests. It was carefully planned to avoid the problems that plagued the attempts to transplant capitalism into the other colonies – especially the Swan River one.  

As in some other instances in Australian history, the planning and setting up of South Australia revealed the workings of capitalism in a remarkably transparent form.  

At the time, money could be made out of colonial investment in three main ways: through trading, speculation in land, or employing people to work for wages. The exercise in land speculation depended on the development of a viable, respectable and prosperous community where the price of land would go up. This was especially important since, at the time, land in the other colonies was selling for much less – 5 shillings as against the 12-20 planned for South Australia.  

Irrespective of the price of land, similar conditions applied to merchant capital. For wage exploitation to operate two requirements were necessary – a sufficient number of labourers
without means of production, and sufficient capital to buy their labour
to work.

The early investors saw these problems quite clearly. In 1835, for
example, a club of intending colonists and investors "heard Rowland Hill
lecture on the astronomy of South Australia, but the recurring question
of most interest to members was the means of maintaining uniformity in the
wages to be paid in the colony to emigrants".7 The prospective employers,
having in mind a closely settled agricultural colony, were looking for
ways of

- establishing a fund to carry out labourers and their
families...; [ways] to render the acquisition of land
by the emigrant labourer neither so easy as to prevent
a proper concentration of settlement [a nice euphemism
for compelling him to work for wages] nor so difficult
as to remove too far the reward of industry and frugality;
and to induce capitalists to emigrate to the colony.8

Edward Gibbon Wakefield, whom Marx called 'the most notable political
economist of [the 1830s]', went a long way towards resolving these
problems. He did this not through discovering "anything new about the
colonies", but through discovering "in the colonies the truth as to the
conditions of capitalist production in the mother country".9

Wakefield's recipe for establishing capitalist wage relations in South
Australia was elegantly simple: expropriate all land belonging to the
native population, and sell it to migrants for a price that would pay for
a passage from England for labourers to work it, and be sufficiently high
to prevent "working men...obtaining independence fatal to the prosperity
of employers".10 As Marx paraphrased it,

This 'sufficient price for the land' is nothing but a
euphemistic circumlocution for the ransom which the
labourer pays to the capitalist for leave to retire from
the wage-labour market to the land. First, he must
create for the capitalist 'capital', with which the
latter may be able to exploit more labourers; then he must place, at his own expense, a *locum tenens* on the labour-market, whom the Government forwards across the sea for the benefit of his old master, the capitalist.\(^{11}\)

In practice, things did not work out quite as planned. One major source of problems was the weakness of the colonisation theory, especially with regard to fixing the 'sufficient price' of land.\(^{12}\) Another was the complex and ill-defined three-way split in governing the colony in the first few years of its existence—between the South Australian Company, the Colonisation Commission and the Colonial Office. Moreover, there was a conflict between two of the aims of setting the colony up: to make money out of land speculation, and out of exploiting labour.

This conflict was exemplified in the conduct of the South Australian Company:

Before the way to agricultural expansion was opened, the economic control of colonists by the South Australian Company [which represented absentee land investments], had waned. In boom and slump the [South Australian Company] had undermined the policies that the Colonisation Commission and the Colonial Office professed to practice. By seeking special privileges for their own emigrants, absentes played havoc with the Emigration Fund. By pressing personal claims they had disrupted land sales and defeated concentration. By sub-dividing their sections, they had stimulated speculation. By premature settlement, ruinous terms of tenancy, grasping policy, misuse of the land account and defiance of Colonial Office procedure, the Company failed to fulfil its pledge of philanthropy.\(^{13}\)

Nevertheless, in spite of its defects and the fact that it was never fully implemented, the Wakefield policy contributed to the firm establishment of a capitalist mode of production in South Australia.

Although periodical shortages of labour tended to increase wages above the level paid in England, the system of wage labour was neither threatened by workers acquiring their own means of production (as was the case in
Western Australia] or confused by the availability of convict labour, nor softened by any form of assistance to those unfortunate enough not to find work.

The prevailing view of the employers was that 'the only way to shorten the period between the arrival and the time of work was to throw the immigrants entirely on their own resources, even at the risk of some hardship and privation'...What had to be avoided at all costs was any spirit of dependence on government support. It was not that the people of Adelaide had no charity...\(^{14}\)

In fact, the particular Adelaide charity did have its brighter side. The sooner people obtained work, the sooner they would be able to start saving in order to become independent producers in their own right. To this end, each working class immigrant was required to declare 'his willingness to work for wages until he had saved sufficient to enable him to buy land [at inflated prices], and employ others'.\(^{15}\) It was by such small farmers that the founders hoped the colony to be largely populated.

In the following section, the development of this capitalist society is traced through three different economic phases -- first, as an agricultural and mining colony producing for a buoyant local and overseas market; second, in the period up to First World War, as a state reorienting itself to the more intensive use of natural resources; and finally, in the period between the wars, as an economy sharing in the most vulnerable aspects of Australia's industrialisation.

**Agricultural and mining boom**

In the period to 1890, Australia developed as one of the major British suppliers of primary products. Its potential as a source of wool and wheat and its mineral wealth attracted a steady flow of capital and migrants from the 'mother country'. In the 1850s, this was spurred on by
the goldrushes. From the 1870s, as the British economy entered a long period of stagnation, capital inflow of unprecedented levels entered Australia in part as a counter-cyclical measure. Throughout this period, Australia's role remained emphatically that of a supplier of raw materials and a consumer of manufactured goods. Except for naturally sheltered secondary production, capital was on the whole unavailable for industrial development, and the dominant fractions of capital were organised around the export-import trade.

Against this common background, economic development in the different colonies varied. While wool and gold formed the basis of prosperity in New South Wales and Victoria, South Australia grew rich on the export of wheat and the mining of copper. In line with the plans of the original investors, its economy was, to a large extent, based on small-scale agriculture.

The colony possessed several characteristics facilitating this development of relatively small-scale farming which its eastern counterparts found much more difficult. In the first place, small holdings came with the way the land was sold. They remained viable because, in contrast to New South Wales and Victoria, South Australia was able to develop into a wheat growing colony and, within a few years of settlement, add other forms of intensive agriculture, especially vine growing. Not only was wheat farming suited to the geography of the state, the development of agriculture coincided with the goldrushes in the eastern colonies as well as the less spectacular discoveries of copper in South Australia, a population boom, and thus a rapid rise in the demand for wheat. From 1862 to 1880, South Australia was the 'granary of Australia', with a wheat yield greater than that of the whole of the rest of the continent.
addition, the ideology of the dissenting migrants that the religious clauses of the South Australian constitution were designed to attract were well suited to the dynamics of creating this class of small commercial farmers.  

Although South Australia became distinctive for its dependence on wheat farming, wool growing was an essential aspect of the economy, in many years contributing more to export trade than breadstuffs. Squatters were able to run sheep on land leased to them beyond the surveyed and settled areas; land which they sometimes bought at auctions when their leases were resumed. Many, moreover, purchased large tracts of the best land under the 'special survey' provisions in the first few years after settlement. Unfavourable seasons, lower prices and higher costs, as well as the more stringent government control of pastoral lands combined to make wool-growing a less profitable pursuit in South Australia than was the case in the eastern colonies. Nevertheless, those with sufficient capital could make substantial profits. As one contemporary observer put it,  

You find plenty of rich squatters who it is palpable could not have got on in any other calling demanding much mental power, either natural or acquired — men who have been fortunate enough to take on the one pursuit in which they could not help making money in spite of themselves.  

Not only wool but copper developed into one of the colony's major staples. In 1842, the discovery of the mineral at Kapunda helped to lift South Australia out of a severe recession. More spectacular copper discoveries at Burra Burra in 1845 started a land and mining boom. By 1851 more than thirty mining companies were operating, many of them paying spectacular dividends. Indeed, between 1846 and 1852, minerals accounted for well over half of South Australia's exports.
The development of manufacturing during this period was strongly limited by the small size of the local market, the preference of investors for primary industry, and relatively high wage rates. Nevertheless, behind the shelter of high transport costs, local industry developed to provide infrastructures for primary production and to meet the demand for food-stuffs, clothing, furniture, building materials, housing, general repair and maintenance work, specialised agricultural implements, and later railway equipment and machinery.  

Eric Richards estimates that between 1844 and 1876, about one-sixth of the total workforce was employed in secondary industry ranging from primitive backyard operations to "surprisingly elaborate manufacturing tasks".  

According to Coghlan, the Province...was early distinguished for its machine making: in 1850 six machine manufactories were at work, and a number of useful agricultural machines had been perfected, amongst which was the forerunner of the stripper, which practically revolutionised wheat growing of the world.  

To enhance the profitability of primary industry and to cater for the expanding population, there was a rapid growth of infrastructures – such as railways, port facilities, roads, bridges, residential and commercial buildings, and these in turn absorbed large numbers of workers.  

As in the other Australian colonies, government played a very significant role in the provision of these infrastructures, one which was much larger than in most capitalist countries at the time. Butlin estimated that between 1861 and 1890, the public sector accounted for 41.8% of all capital formation in South Australia. The massive amounts of capital required for this development did not, on the whole, come from local savings, but reflected the greatly increased flow of British capital into Australia, and its preference for the security of government loans.
The limits of rural expansion

With the end of the first long boom, the fitful flow of British capital sharply contracted, but debt commitments, accumulated from a more prosperous period, did not. This exacerbated the balance of payments problems created for the colonial governments by a fall in export earnings, and led them to curtail sharply their social expenditure and thus add to the already serious employment situation.

In buoyant periods capital inflow supplemented export earnings to meet payments deficits; sharp reductions in the standard of living met them at other times. Throughout the country, the mass of labour engaged in providing infrastructures became redundant, miners lost their jobs, and bad seasons combined with low prices for agricultural produce sent farmers bankrupt.

In South Australia the signs of depression appeared earlier than in the other colonies. Coghlan notes that by 1881,

Although the conditions of business showed a marked improvement over those of former years, . . . it seemed that agriculture was near its full extension; the pastoral industry seemed indeed capable of extension, especially in the unknown Northern Territory, but such development was not likely to be on a large scale; while mining was decidedly on the wane.

The decline in the profitability of mining, as well as the gradual exhaustion of copper deposits, led to the closing, in the late 1870s, of the Burra and Kapunda mines.

In agriculture, bad seasons and low prices were joined by a decline in the eastern grain market. Aided by agricultural machinery developed and manufactured in South Australia, both New South Wales and Victoria overtook the original 'granary of Australia' in wheat production.

The economic situation in South Australia was made more serious by the state of government finances. Heavy borrowing in anticipation of economic
growth, followed by a slump and a sharp reduction of capital inflow, led to a situation where

Instead of 3.3% of the value of staple exports being sufficient to cover both the interest and loan redemption annual payments, as was the case in 1861, 20% of the value of staple exports was needed in 1891 to do no more than equal the interest payment.  

As profits declined, employers, making use of the growing reserve army of the unemployed, and often with the help of direct government intervention, started trying to compensate the falling rate of profit by reducing wages and going back on agreements about conditions of work. In the ensuing struggles, workers suffered a series of defeats. Nevertheless, even with the industrial defeat of labour, there was a limit to servicing the overseas debt and maintaining profits through increasing exploitation of workers in a stagnant economy. One way out of the situation was a reorganisation of the export industries. Eventually, rural production started concentrating on the more intensive use of land and the export of dairy products, meat, sugar and wheat, while the mining industry reemerged as a major exporter. Nevertheless, investment in these industries occurred under different conditions from those of the first long boom.

Because of rural expansion in countries like United States, Canada and Argentina, Australia started losing its privileged position as a supplier of agricultural products. At the same time, the terms of trade moved against the primary producing countries. This meant that the potential for new profitable investment gradually shifted to secondary industry — although here the rates of profit were generally lower than in existing agriculture. This was because, although established agricultural investments were more profitable than those in industry, the reverse tended to be the case with investment in new agricultural areas.
To profitably employ the mass of idle capital and labour it was, in the end, necessary to industrialise. The making of the Australian federation, with its common internal market and outside tariffs, can be seen as creating some of the preconditions of this industrialisation.

But while most British colonies attempted, at one time or another, to industrialise, not all managed to do so. Indeed, the conventional account of Australian economic development sees the country industrialising in spite of the wishes and preferences of British capital. In a persuasive reinterpretation of this process, Peter Cochrane argues that the contemporary problems of the British economy, in particular the contracting market for its capital goods, on the contrary led to the encouragement of a particular form of industrialisation, together with rural expansion.

According to him, this complex linkage stemmed from the fact that "...the increased export of capital goods to the Dominions was a function of their increased spending power arising from the expanded inflow of loan capital". In turn, the repayments of these loans depended on export surplus generated by rural industries, whose expansion, it was hoped, would moreover provide a home for some of Britain's 'surplus population'.

In spite of the qualified approval of some sections of British capital, Australian industrialists were faced with many problems. These ranged from the reluctance of foreign investors to provide capital for import replacement industries and the unsuitability of local financial institutions for funding industrial ventures, over the shortage of skilled labour, high wage rates and inability to use economies of scale, to the political dominance of a pastoral-finance fraction of capital.

In the general framework of these conditions, what happened to the South Australian economy?
Between federation and the depression of 1930, Australia experienced two periods of rapid industrial growth: the decade up to about 1912, representing the full recovery from the 1890s depression and the severe drought which followed it, and the period from about 1919 to 1927, reflecting the expansion of industry after the First World War, and the imposition of protective tariffs. South Australia participated in both of these periods of expansion, but the major emphasis of its economic development remained on agriculture and mining. Indeed, the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century saw the state's second period of significant rural expansion. Closer settlement, mixed farming and introduction of new technologies in established areas and the opening up of new land with lower and less reliable rainfall brought record profits from rural exports.

After the state had recovered from the long drought at the turn of the century, its manufacturing, spurred on by rural prosperity and population growth, expanded rapidly along existing lines. The main branches of secondary industry were processing of primary products, production of food, drink, clothing and building materials, and railway and farm supplies. The growth of industry in the first few years of the twentieth century was so promising that in 1907 and 1908 South Australia was the state with the highest average value of production per head of population. But while the other states continued expanding, the growth of South Australian industry leveled off. In 1909, it was overtaken by Victoria in per capita production, and in 1911 it fell below the national average.

The First World War and the drought which preceded it affected South Australian industries far worse, and for a longer time, than those of the other states. Even more than in Australia as a whole, South Australia's
was a dependent economy, relying on the world market and the weather for rural prosperity and, indirectly, government revenue; and on the imports of most producer and many consumer goods.

The disruption of trade caused by the war was all the more serious for South Australia because of its double dependence on the mining and production of metals. On the one hand, very large proportion of secondary production came from refining some of the raw materials of Broken Hill at the Port Pirie smelters. When the war broke out, countries like Belgium and Germany, which were closely linked with the production of metals at all stages (from financing mines and smelting a proportion of the ore, to importing of the finished product), suddenly became Australia's enemies.

The war thus led to a disruption of mining, increase in unemployment, and a sharp loss of railway revenue for South Australia.

On the other hand, Australia was not self-sufficient in iron and steel. Even after the opening of the Newcastle steelworks in New South Wales, the greater part of iron and steel still had to be imported from oversea. This meant that, at a time when there was great demand for locally-made machinery, South Australian industry could not expand but had to contract because of a shortage of iron: "the position [was] so acute that manufacturers of agricultural machinery [were] unable to meet the requirements of the farmers". Thus the isolation of Australia during the war stimulated, in South Australia, only the manufacture of consumer goods, and the state came out of the war just as dependent on its primary industries as before.

Both the war and the drought exposed the danger of South Australia's extreme reliance on primary production. But while in Victoria and New South Wales the war provided an opportunity to set up new industries and strengthen old ones, in South Australia there was no successful move to
redress the balance. Most new industries established in Australia during and after the war and eventually protected by tariff, were not situated in South Australia.

Moreover, the industries introduced into the eastern states during the war to supply local demand and produce for export began to provide, after the reduced export opportunities that came with the end of the war, strong competition for the smaller states. In South Australia, this seriously affected the leather industry and flour milling, where employment was sharply reduced in spite of a growing population.15

As the state's competitive position worsened, any significant expansion of manufacturing seemed possible only through the establishment of entirely new industries. This opportunity was seized on by two firms — Richards and Holdens who, taking advantage of the wartime restrictions on the importing of car bodies, started manufacturing them in Adelaide. From small beginnings, Holdens had, by 1925, in operation the "largest motor body building works in the southern hemisphere".16 Indeed, the second period of industrial expansion was accounted for in South Australia mainly by the growth of the motor body industry and its suppliers, and the Government Railway Rehabilitation scheme, which between them employed nearly 8,500 workers.

Development of a class society

The previous section presented a brief historical sketch of South Australia's capitalist economy. This section explores a slightly different perspective. It draws out some major points concerning the development of major classes, and amplifies them by a brief reference to the political articulation of their interests.
The dynamics of founding South Australia not only set in motion a capitalist society, they also firmly established the families of its ruling class. The original land speculation provided early investors with large tracts of the best, and rapidly appreciating, land. Within a few years, these land-based capitalists were able to diversify their interests into mining, retail, merchant and finance capital.

In their turn, 'men of substance' who made their money as merchants or in mining ventures often took up large pastoral leases. Because of the particular characteristics of the pastoral industry in South Australia (with the exception of the relatively isolated South-East, where land was unsuitable for farming), most landowners tended to live in Adelaide.

The insecurity of pastoral leaseholds and the early success of farming made the world of the South Australian pastoralist quite different from that of his counterpart in the eastern colonies. For most, investment in pastoral industry did not become associated with a way of life on the land; it remained merely a way of making money.

This intermeshing of capitals made for a tighter cohesion of the South Australian ruling class than that of other colonies, where the different fractions of capital had a tendency to develop more independently. While large-scale merchant, banking and productive capital remained economically and politically united throughout the first long boom, the preferences of British investors and Australia's position within the world market fostered a split between land-based and manufacturing capital, a split which was crystallised in the free trade versus protection issue.

Unlike the merchants and landowners, most manufacturers led a precarious existence on the border between employers and employees, and often sought political alliance with the workers. During the depression of the 1890s, the borderline between working class and industrial bourgeoisie became more sharply drawn, and there started appearing large-scale industrial
enterprises. But it was only in the period immediately preceding the Second World War that this fraction of capital won political dominance and in its turn started forging political alliance with banking capital.

Hand in hand with economic domination of large-scale capital went attempts to link firmly political power with the privileges of ownership. The first Legislative Councils consisted of members appointed by the Governor, and those elected by the owners of property on the basis of plural voting.\(^5^0\)

By 1850, in opposition to the increasingly conservative 'men of property', there started emerging a reform movement based on a coalition of town artisans and tradesmen, workers, and small farmers. Shortly before the passage, in 1851, of the Australian Colonies' Government Act, the South Australian Political Association was formed. Amalgamating the Hindmarsh Elective Franchise Association and the Adelaide Complete Suffrage League, the Political Association saw as its task securing the preconditions of a democratic society for their (male) descendants. To this end, it adopted and advocated the entire Chartist program: universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, no property qualifications for candidates and payment of members. Although this agitation had little immediate impact, it significantly affected the final shape of South Australia's constitution.\(^5^1\)

In 1855, this constitution came to embody some very advanced features. Although women were disenfranchised until 1894, there was no property qualification for members of either house, and the House of Assembly was elected by full male suffrage.

But the liberality of these provisions was carefully and thoroughly counterchecked by others. In the first place, until 1888, there was no
provision for payment of members of parliament, so that candidates in effect had to be 'men of independent means'.

More importantly, there was the triple check of the Legislative Council. In order to "be the guardian of [capital] productive interests, and...see that property was not rashly dealt with", the upper house was designed, as in the other colonies, to be "constitutionally powerful, politically conservative, and beyond the control of the people at large".

Restricted franchise (based on property qualification) and rural weighting dealt effectively with the voters, but a third defence was thought to be necessary - a defence against the relatively democratic lower house itself. Such a defence was created by 'accident or design', through the lack of procedural provisions for a deadlock between the two houses of parliament. In effect, this meant that there was no way a bill could become law if the Legislative Council was opposed to it. And it worked.

By 1883, J.P. Stow maintained that the Legislative Council "had thrown out, in different years, every measure submitted to it for taxing property", while a later researcher found that, between 1857 and 1901,

The Council refused to pass almost one-half of the bills which were in some way connected with property, property rights, taxation or the powers of the Legislative Council, and defeated eighty percent of them outright.

If the Legislative Council vigorously defended private property, it was, in their eyes, from unselfish motives and in the interests of the whole community:

...mark well...how necessary it is that good, patriotic, unselfish and tried men should be elected...The Assembly is the place for the representation of class interest, local prejudice and of party cliques; but let not these political considerations have a place in that House where the broad and general interests of the community should above all be observed.
The numbers of the Establishment earnestly believed that "it was an evidence of high civilisation when the rights of property were respected". Only some people were not quite civilised—yet.

The workers, like the class of their employers, were divided into factions. Reflecting the rural and mercantile bias of the colony, most of South Australia's workforce was concentrated in rural industries and in transport. Here, the structure of the pastoral industry, mining and transport started producing large concentrations of unskilled labourers who, in many respects, resembled contemporary European proletariat. In the manufacturing sector, the situation was different.

Although the rise of heavy industry in Europe had by this time given rise to a proletariat of wage earners employed in large factories, the small scale of manufacturers in Australia at this time resembled a class of artisans rather than a proletariat.

The shortages of labour and the general prosperity during this period, in spite of cyclical downturns in the economy, strengthened the bargaining position of workers, especially skilled ones, who were able to achieve a high degree of unionisation and relatively high wages and short working hours.

Australia's living standards in the 1860s were the highest in the world, with per capita income and consumption at levels 50% above those prevailing in America and 100% above those in England. They continued to rise steadily until 1890.

According to McFarlane, Australia's imperialist connections led to a unique pattern of economic development. The main feature of this development was a relatively low reliance on depressing wage levels as a means of building up capital accumulation necessary for industrialisation. This had
...profound implications for the growth of an Australian proletariat, and especially for its class consciousness. That is, such economic background was conducive to the integration of the trade unions into the bourgeois state and the Labor Party's integration into imperialism.62

Indeed, there is much truth in the assertion that

The dominant theme of working class politics has been the creation not of a classless society, but of a one class society...The radicalism of the late nineteenth century was an 'aggressively aspiring petty bourgeois kind...and designed to obtain such governmental action as would ensure the establishment of a utopia of independent producers'.63

Many workers who, in England, had 'nothing to lose', were attracted to South Australia by the promise of becoming independent producers. And although the promise became more and more tenuous, and might not apply to themselves, there were enough people who 'made good' around them to convince large numbers of workers that removing obstacles to becoming small producers was indeed the road to a better society.

It is true that this ideology was vigorously maintained by the landed capital, since it provided a legitimation of their own position (they were the ones who made good) and channelled opposition against them into relatively safe demands. But there were objective conditions which made the dominance of this ideology possible.

Up to the 1890s, the most important of these were the related factors of relatively high standard of living of Australian workers, a substantial degree of inter-class mobility, the small scale of manufacturing production and farming and, lastly, substantial differences in the interests and life experiences of different fractions of the working class.

Throughout the nineteenth century, irregular employment, large fluctuations in wages and frequent influx of migrants in periods of unemployment gradually led groups of these workers to combine. In temporary alliance
with small farmers, they protested against the Wakefield system. From the workers' point of view, sponsored immigration was blamed for lowering wages through creating an artificial surplus of labour, while, in opposition to the interests of small farmers, the price of land was put up to pay for the immigration program.

Although the gains made were small by today's standards, they gradually forced the government to limit immigration during slumps, and to give up the idea of throwing unemployed workers entirely on their own resources. At the same time, increasing numbers of capitalists started appreciating the usefulness of preemptive measures (such as compulsory schooling) designed to 'civilise' workers, measures which they previously tended to see as a waste of money.

Reflecting the differing economic conditions, lifestyles, interests and aspirations of different fractions of the working class, the patterns of union organisation created during the long boom were by no means uniform. When the United Labor Party was founded in 1891, these differences were carried over into the workers' first permanent political organisation. Although the Labor Party developed policies aimed at a gradual reform of capitalism; its left wing, centred around several 'new unions' of unskilled workers, adopted a socialist policy. But while the interests and policies of different fractions of the working class differed in some respects, they had many things in common. They faced common exploitation under a wage system whose class boundaries were increasingly clearly defined. It was the large-scale strikes of the early 1890s which gave many workers their first unambiguous experience of sharply drawn class conflict.

A significant division — along racial lines, nevertheless persisted. Fed on a combination of economic interest and racial prejudice, it often overrode the labour movement's concern with capitalist exploitation.6a
The third major class in the South Australian economy was that of small farmers. Although many properties were bought with money brought over from Europe, some were purchased with savings accumulated in the province. Workers were only rarely able to save enough wages to take up farming, but profits from gold or copper mining, or various other independent activities, enabled many of them to do so. In 1847, for example, the Register wrote

...it will appear that the class of small farmers is increasing rapidly; in the dry season they are employed in carting ore from the mines to the port, for which they are well paid, and when the rain sets in, and this work is suspended, it is time for ploughing and sowing. With their gains in carting ore many have been enabled to purchase or rent and have commenced farming on their own account.⁶⁵

In the years under discussion, renting land was at least as common as direct purchase. Bowes notes that, during the 1850s and 1860s, a large proportion of South Australian farmers did not own the land they cultivated. In the 1860s, tenant farmers amounted to at least half of the total number of farmers.⁶⁶

Although no longer engaged in direct wage labour, many small farmers thus continued to lose a large proportion of their labour to the capitalist. Often, unable to make ends meet year after year, they resorted to a variety of sideline occupations to meet their commitments and to augment their income. The most common of these was carting produce in the off-season, but there were many others. Bowes gives an example of a farmer who "contracted to repair the roads and carry the mail,...reaped his neighbours' harvest on thirds,...cut and sold wood, erected fences and plastered the District Office".⁶⁷ Other small farmers might go shearing, leaving their wives and children behind to look after the family farm.
Over the years, the average size of farms increased. According to Bowes,

The average area under wheat per farmer at the beginning of the sixties was just over 40 acres, but by 1870 this had increased to 70 acres, five years later to 110 acres, and by 1880 to 140 acres.\(^6\)

In the 1870s, there occurred a spectacular agricultural expansion. The size of the farming population doubled,\(^6\) and the area under wheat increased from 532,135 acres in 1869 to 1,733,542 acres in 1880.\(^7\) But although the introduction of credit selection facilitated the purchase of land, most agricultural expansion was accounted for by farmers from the old settled districts, not emancipated labourers. According to Hirst,

Among a sample of 1,200 successful applicants for land in the early seventies, only 3% were Adelaide men, and some of these...were investors, not farmers. There was a slightly larger group of country labourers and tradesmen, but the largest group, constituting well over 80% of the total, were the farmers from the old settled districts.\(^7\)

Throughout the nineteenth century, as in the other colonies, the interests of small farmers conflicted with those of squatters and absentee landholders. These not only pushed the price of land up, but held much land that could be used for agricultural purposes. But although, especially during droughts, the land tenure system angered small farmers into political activity, the relatively strict legislation concerning squatters' land use preempted the rise of a popular land reform movement in South Australia. Only in the late 1860s, when bad seasons and shortage of good land drove farmers to demand radical changes in land legislation, did they become interested in payment of members of parliament and local representation. Good seasons and modest land reform quietened their dissatisfaction for a decade. But after the disastrous drought which began in 1884, they took up their claims again, this time in alliance with the urban working class. Payment for members of parliament, temporarily granted in 1888, became permanent for both houses from 1891.
After this time, the class of rural petite bourgeoisie came to dominate state parliamentary politics. With their considerable electoral strength (based increasingly on the inequalities of the electoral system rather than on their actual number), the small farmers formed political alliance neither with the "Establishment" nor, later, with organised labour. Indeed, "...the proclivity of farmers to return independents confused and hindered the development of party politics until the eve of second world war". But while farmers dominated parliament until the late 1930s, their economic and political power remained subordinate to that of the 'Establishment':

> Although farmers seemed to call the tune, they had their masters. Their earnings went to Adelaide merchants, money-lenders and land speculators. These men, already enriched by investments in cooper and wool, had no use for urban industry with its turbulent labour force. By maintaining the fiction of independent enterprise, they won the farmers' vote and held political power.73

This position only rarely led farmers to pursue common policy with workers. Instead, small farmers were the natural proponents and carriers of the petit bourgeois ideology that strongly limited the development of working class politics in South Australia.

**Pattern of educational change**

The class and economic system of South Australia was inextricably linked to the pattern of educational change. Later chapters deal with particular forms of this connection; here the aim is merely a brief chronological outline of the development of South Australia's education system. In the first years of white settlement the colony boasted a complex, imported educational scheme designed to supplement the expected haphazard private provision of schooling. Within a few years, however, the South Australian School Society wound down its operations. Between 1846 and
1851, the colonial government instituted two schemes of subsidy to the educational efforts of churches and individuals. In 1851, earlier than in any of the other colonies, state aid to denominational schools ceased. A new Education Act was passed which hoped, through selective subsidizing of 'efficient' schools, to eventually give all of the colony's children a moral and Christian rudimentary education. The government subsidy gradually took on more and more precise definition of desirable teaching until, in 1875, the system was formally transformed. Under the new Education Act, the government changed from the role of a discerning consumer in a free education market into one of producer of the type of schooling it saw as desirable. Compulsory clauses were passed in order to compel all children to take advantage of the new institution. In 1875, schooling was made compulsory for seventy days in each half year. In 1905, attendance provisions were tightened in the city, where children now had to attend school on four out of five school days. Only in 1915, forty years after the introduction of compulsory schooling, were children required to attend school on each day it was opened.

The curricula of the elementary schools, at first under scrutiny for their moral and religious content, became, from the 1870s, the target of a new concern with imparting technical education to children. The 1875 Education Act substantially increased government spending on education. Free elementary schooling, however, was only introduced in 1891. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the gradual expansion of the primary school system was regularised in the establishment of a system of government secondary schools.

In spite of many attempts to tailor the curricula of these schools closely to the future vocational needs of the students, little differentiation occurred and high schools remained tied to an academic curriculum. It was
only during the depression and subsequent industrialisation that a 
sharper emphasis on vocational education was implemented.

The following chapter examines the first period of this development — 
increasing government intervention in a free education market, leading up 
to the establishment of a mass schooling system in South Australia.
Notes


3. ibid., p.37.


5. ibid., p.766.

6. In the 1830s, for example, a clergymen intervened in a controversy about the appointment of a colonial chaplain. He 'had his own reasons for intervention. His son was planning to sail with the surveying expedition and he seemed fearful that the appointment of an improper person as chaplain might lower the tone of the colony and thereby diminish the rewards of land speculation." D. Pike: Paradise of dissent (Melbourne University Press, 1967), p.118.

7. ibid., p.114.

8. ibid., p.69.


12. Nevertheless, Wakefield neither integrated the linchpin of his analysis - the 'sufficient price of land', with the other two ingredients of his 'colonisation theory' - immigration and self-government - nor indicated how precisely was the 'sufficient price' to be calculated. On these grounds alone, J.D. Young argues that Wakefield's plan of colonisation should not be honoured with the name of theory at all. J.D. Young: "South Australian historians and Wakefield's 'scheme'" in Historical Studies (Vol.14, No.53, 1969).


14. ibid., p.318. "The employers' dislike of government aid to the unfortunate contrasted strangely with their readiness to invoke the aid of both legislation and the courts in their own favour." ibid., p.320.

15. ibid., p.151.

16. "The change in scale of the demand for food in the 1850s was the signal for a great increase in South Australian wheat production. This together with the results of the continued discovery and working of the copper deposits of the colony constituted a major increase in the total output of the region. This colony can be said to have caught the wave of the gold rush,
gathering a momentum which carried it through the period 1850-80."

17. Before the development of a rail network, transport costs were so substantial that they made the growing of wheat in outlying areas uneconomic. In South Australia, with most farms being only a short distance from the coast, farmers were able to keep the price of wheat down by using the relatively cheap sea transport. Even in 1910, the average distance from farm to port was only 60 miles in South Australia compared to 242 miles in New South Wales and 149 in Victoria. J.B. Hirst: *Adelaide and the country 1870-1917* (Melbourne University Press, 1973), p.64.


19. Many of these farmers produced for a capitalist market (and were exploited by Adelaide merchants and shipowners), but did not become involved, to any significant extent, in capitalist relations of production by employing labour. For dissenting migrants, see D. Pike, *op. cit.*

20. See table 1.


25. See table 1.

26. "In 1848 Wilkinson reported that 'the number of manufactories of different kinds shows a decided increase within the last three or four years...at present all kinds of articles of colonial manufacture are to be purchased in Adelaide cheaper than they can be obtained retail from England, when they have the expense of package, freight, cartage, and breakage added to them'." E.S. Richards: "The genesis of secondary industry in the South Australian economy to 1876", p.117.


29. "From the very earliest days...a public sector has been crucial in setting the pace, atmosphere and social investment 'infrastructure' essential to economic development." B. McFarlane, *op. cit.*, p.69.
30. "The need to develop an adequate infrastructure generated heavy investment in transport and communications in the late nineteenth century. This devolved upon the various colonial governments at the time, for the initial layouts were so prohibitive, and the opportunities for profit elsewhere in the economy so lucrative, that private enterprise soon abandoned the field." K. Rowley, op. cit., p.21.

31. See tables 3,4.

32. "The interval 1870-1914 transformed the country into a focal point of the United Kingdom's overseas interests...incomplete and conservative statistics indicate a growth in overseas investment in Australia from 32 millions to 298 millions, forty-five per cent of which was effected between 1875 and 1889...Between 1870 and 1914, British investors in the Australian economy poured about seventy per cent of their capital into the colonial governments." P. Cochrane, op. cit., pp.38-9.


34. Sinclair, op. cit., p.146. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century in South Australia, drought seemed to alternate with low prices for wheat. For example, "The wheat harvest of 1893 proved exceptionally fine, but the farmer obtained less than 2s. a bushel for his wheat; in 1894 the harvest was light, but the price of wheat on the farms was only about 2s. 6d. a bushel. In 1896 there was a large advance in price and wheat continued to be fairly high for the rest of the period, but the harvests of those years were abnormally small, so that few of the farmers obtained any benefit from the improved prices..." T.A. Coghlann: Labour and industry in Australia, p.2168. See also table 6.

35. ibid., p.1794.

36. The declining importance of South Australia as a wheat producer is shown in the following table:

Table 5
SOUTH AUSTRALIA — WHEAT AREA AND WHEAT PRODUCTION
AS PERCENTAGE OF AUSTRALIAN TOTAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Australian wheat area as % of Australian wheat area</th>
<th>South Australian wheat production as % of Australian wheat production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890-1</td>
<td>1889-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1</td>
<td>1899-1900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B.R. Chapman: "Depression in South Australia", p.29.

37. M.J. Walters, op. cit., p.47.
38. P. Cochrane, op. cit., p.10.


40. "The rapidity with which primary production actually increased... must be ascribed to a major technical breakthrough in the growing of wheat in Australia. The new technology of wheat growing adopted in the early twentieth century was a combination of new strains of wheat, new methods of fallowing and new fertilisers." W.A. Sinclair, op. cit., p.167.

41. "The prosperous condition of the farming industry is directly reflected in the flourishing conditions of many of the secondary industries of the state, notably the agricultural implement and machine works." South Australian Statistical Register, 1911, Production 1, p.xii.


43. Where it has stayed ever since.


45. For example, "[e]vidence taken in Melbourne showed that there was a big expansion in the [leather] industry there in order to cope with the overseas demand during the war and the immediate post-war period, the exports from the Commonwealth having reached as high as £860,000 worth of boots and shoes in 1920-21. Since then there has been a tremendous contraction in overseas trade, and it was stated that the whole of the capital and facilities for production had been thrown into a keen competition for the Australian market." SAPP, 1926, No.57: "First Progress Report of the Royal Commission on Manufacturing and Secondary Industries", p.vii.

46. As E.W. Holden said, "Our success is due to the fact that we put in early and obtained the big production, which meant that we were able to reduce prices to such an extent that the small man cannot compete with us." Quoted in T.J. Mitchell: "Industrialisation of South Australia, 1935-1940" (Unpub. BA thesis, University of Adelaide, 1957), p.1.

47. "It has also long been a common practice for men who had won their first wealth from trade or profession to take up land and run sheep without moving from their city homes...The most notable members of this group were the partners Thomas Elder and Robert Barr Smith, who financed their entry into the pastoral industry from the profits of their mercantile and mining ventures..." J.B. Hirst: Adelaide and the country, p.16.

48. ibid., p.15.

49. I. O'Shaughnessy: "Some recent conflicts in the ruling class".
50. When, in 1851, after the passage of the Australian Colonies Government Act, it became clear that South Australia was to be governed by a combined chamber of eight nominees and sixteen elected representatives, the Mining Journal went so far as to publish a list of members of the proposed Council, basing itself on the knowledge that few men in the colony possessed the required property qualification of £2,000 clear of all encumbrances. Seventy-five per cent of its prediction proved correct. D. Pike, op. cit., p.418.


52. Register, 6.12.1855.


54. Thus the conservative Thursday Review saw "the Upper House as a very useful check on the delegates of the unemployed, and as operating to retard in some measure the evil and retrograde tendencies of the worst provisions of our political system". Thursday Review, 26.9.1860, quoted in D. Jaensch, op. cit., p.266.

55. ibid., p.236.


58. Register, 3.9.1857.

59. SAPD, 1890, p.618.


However, it must be kept in mind that "The indexes suggest that there has only been one period of sustained increase in Australian per capita consumption. This was in the years from the beginning of the 1860s to the end of the 1880s, roughly spanning an entire generation." K. Hancock (ed.), The national income and social welfare (Cheshire, 1965), p.5.


64. See H. McQueen: A new Britannia, ch.2.

65. Register, 19.6.1847.

68. *ibid.*, p. 81.
70. See table 6.
71. J.B. Hirst, *op. cit.*, p. 19. A similar figure was arrived at by Bowes, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
CHAPTER 3

MASS SCHOOLING IN A NEW COLONY
Sir, I know not who is responsible for the scandalous neglect of the children in this part of the city, but it seems to me that the streets are thronged with regular little Arabs. Their language and manners are fearful, as every passer-by must know. I have resided in Adelaide nearly twenty years, but I never saw so much ignorance and profanity among children as now. Is there no law that will compel parents to send them to school? They are a complete nuisance, and steal wherever they find a chance. I am sure they will cost the state a great deal of trouble and money by-and-by, if nothing is done to change their vicious courses...

It is certainly not to be expected that the children themselves will voluntarily relinquish the sweets of gutter freedom for the, to them, dismal prospect of school restraint.

Theories about the origins of mass schooling

The introduction of mass schooling to South Australia dates back to the period from 1850 to 1875, when a new Education Act was passed by the colony's legislature. The process by which mass schooling developed parallels events in other parts of the world. These have been described by authors using a variety of theoretical approaches. Katz, Bowles and Gintis and Johnson, emphasizing various aspects of class conflict, have dealt with North America and England from a marxist perspective. Other hypotheses regarding the emergence of mass schooling can be roughly categorised as explanations which give major weight to urbanisation, relations between church and state, 'needs' of the education system, and imitation of other countries without much regard to local conditions.

Since so many explanations of a similar process exist, it is useful to preface the discussion of mass schooling in South Australia with an examination of the arguments advanced by other historians of education.
According to Johnson, mass schooling should be seen in the context of the massive social transformation without which the extension of capitalist mode of production would have been impossible. In this perspective, expansion of schooling was one aspect of the bourgeois cultural aggression organic to the industrialisation phase of capitalist development. But the contemporary social transformation had a two-edged impact. On the one hand, bourgeois reformers successfully challenged a range of existing social relations such as property laws and church privileges, and replaced them by capitalist ones. On the other hand, the same process of extending capitalism, by undermining older systems of authority, led to a protracted crisis of ruling class hegemony. For Johnson, one particular episode in this process, the radical working class challenge of the 1830s, accounts for the actual timing of the introduction of mass schooling.

Although Johnson's theory hinges on industrialisation, he distances himself from the orthodox pre-industrial-industrial society model in his critique of the 'need for skills' (or manpower) hypothesis. According to him, such theory is invalid on two counts. Firstly, industrialisation initially tended to lead to sharp falls in literacy and to 'deskilling' of the workforce, rather than to a new need for more technical skills. Second, characteristics of schools at the time did not support the 'need for skills' hypothesis either. Predominantly, literacy was a secondary concern of educational bureaucracies, who concentrated above all on eradicating the childrens' own habits and attitudes and on replacing them by more 'civilised' ones. If schooling was linked to industrialisation, it was not because of a greater 'need for skills', but because industrialisation led to a sharpening and intensification of the basic contradiction of capitalism, that between capital and labour. Accordingly, the
linchpin of Johnson's analysis is what he calls the concept of class-cultural control/transformation but which should perhaps be identified as class-cultural conflict.

One aspect of this class cultural conflict, the struggle between an independent working class and 'provided' forms of education, should be brought out more clearly, as it diverges sharply from most conventional accounts of mass schooling. According to Johnson, the various working class educational forms came under attack not so much because of their 'inefficiency', but because they conflicted with the major concerns of the bourgeoisie at the time; their desire to transform the psychological world of labour, and the fear of radicalism as culture. 'Dame' and private schools were an integral part of working class community, and were organised in such a way that they accommodated the supposedly vicious habits of children with regard to church attendance, speech, dress and behaviour. At the same time, educational concerns were organic to radical movements, especially Chartists and Owenites. In England, these not only criticised all forms of provided education, but improvised alternative educational institutions and content of their own.

For both these reasons, "private schooling... was one of those indigenous working class practices against which mass schooling was defined and which it was intended to replace".  

In spite of the different historical conditions of the country he deals with, Katz's account of the emergence of school systems is in many respects similar to that of Johnson. This is because, in both cases, the authors try to connect schooling with far-reaching changes in the social relations between classes in a capitalist society. Unlike in England, in North America and in Australia mass schooling predated industrialisation.
Katz is thus forced to reject a pre-industrial - industrial society theoretical model, marxist or otherwise. Instead, he locates his theory in a 'shift to capitalist mode of production', characterised above all by the 'emergence of a class of wage labourers'. In particular, mass schooling is connected with a transition between the first and second stage in a three-tier development of capitalist economy from mercantile peasant to mercantile capitalist to industrial capitalist.

From the point of view of contemporary reformers, schooling could help to solve five major problems which now appear to be products of this transition. These were: urban crime and poverty; increased cultural heterogeneity; the necessity to train and discipline an urban and industrial workforce; the crisis of youth in nineteenth century city; and the anxiety among the 'middle class' about their adolescent children.

Unlike Johnson, Katz does not specifically select those aspects of the transition to mercantile capitalism which were responsible for the immediate timing of the introduction of state schooling systems. Among the likely candidates - emergence of 'idle' youth and immigration, the relative strength of an organised labour movement, which constitutes the major thrust of Johnson's analysis, is conspicuous by its absence. This is either because of a marked divergence in historical development between England and North America, or (as argued in Chapter 1) a theoretically induced omission.

A similar point can be made with regard to 'dame schools'. Throughout the discussion, Katz, unlike Johnson, does not pay much attention to the indigenous forms of schooling that the new institutions were intended to replace. It is unclear whether his different theoretical perspective produced different 'historical facts', or whether there was a great
difference in historical experience, but in England, as in South Australia, the imposition of the capitalist model of 'efficient instruction' was by no means 'spontaneously' accepted by the great mass of the population. On the contrary, there was a significant amount of conflict between the 'efficient' and the 'inefficient' models of schooling. It is true that Katz discusses an initial conflict between four models of schooling, but the 'inefficient' institutions of the dame school type do not seem to have been included.

As he says, the different models were debated by 'sane and responsible people' 'concerned with social policy', a group presumably not including teenage working class girls, destitute widows, or males unable to find any other employment, from whom most teachers for these small private schools were drawn.

Bowles and Gintis summarise and bring out both approaches in their strongest form. According to them, the major turning points in United States' education history "all correspond to intense periods of struggle around the expansion of capitalist production relations". The first of these, for example, the 'era of the common school reform'

was a period of labour militancy associated with the rise of the factory system, growing economic inequality, and the creation and vast expansion of a permanent wage-labour force.

In spite of this recurring coincidence of events, however, the authors warn us that "no very simple or mechanistic relationship between economic structure and educational development is likely to fit the available historical evidence". Such warning applies even more strongly to the Australian case.
In explaining the rise of mass schooling in England, Johnson is able to point to a spectacular transformation of the mode of production. It is not possible to do this in South Australia. The state experienced several periods of major change of the capitalist mode of production, but the decade around 1875, which witnessed the major change in the colony's education system, was, in comparison, not one of them.

Katz associates the rise of mass schooling with a less spectacular trend — that of crisis of youth—a trend which was only firmly established after a detailed examination of manuscript census data. In South Australia, comparable research does not exist (and manuscript census data is not available). In addition, sketchy evidence indicates that a similar crisis occurred in South Australia only at the turn of the century.

In this situation, it is obvious that a careful examination of other hypotheses is required. Urbanisation is one of these. As in the case of industrialisation, however, a hypothesis revolving around urbanisation has to be used carefully. Like industrialisation, urbanisation is a secondary explanatory concept. In other words, it is necessary to know how both of these processes came about before we can use them to explain anything else. For example, urbanisation might be accounted for by the introduction of less labour intensive forms of agriculture and concentration of industry in the city, which in turn can be linked to the competition induced drive towards greater productivity of labour. It is to these developments, not to urbanisation or industrialisation as such, that we should attempt to trace some of the motive forces in the transformation of schooling.
With a similar distinction in mind, Rodney Gouttman argues that the severe drought which South Australia experienced in the mid-1860s, as well as the invention of the reaping machine, reversed the movement of population out of the city and led to an influx of unemployed into Adelaide. According to Gouttman, increasing urbanisation, occurring at a time of economic slump, led to a rise in the number of unemployed youth 'in the streets'. In turn, such a situation alarmed legislators into calling the 1868 Select Committee on Education, and finally into providing for compulsory schooling.

Whether it is used as a primary or secondary explanatory concept, a hypothesis based on urbanisation has people reacting to material changes in their social environment. The same is usually not true of explanations revolving around the relationship between church and state, a major hypothesis traditionally employed in educational history writing in Australia. Although the different churches of course have a dynamic, personnel and teaching of their own, these can, in most instances, be connected to the political and economic interests of the particular social groups the churches represent. Most conventional historians, however, counterpose not competing interests of different social groups, but ideas. An examination of the precise social location and function of these ideas is considered to be outside their brief.

The organisational approach is often used in conjunction with the 'church and state' explanation. Over time, this approach argues, the 'inefficiencies' involved in leaving education to the vagaries of denominational rivalry become so great that a group of state administrators decided to take education out of the hands of the church. Sometimes the church might be missing, but the structure of the argument remains the same.
In its simplest form, the argument depicts schoolmen accumulating small victories as they climb the long road towards the pinnacle of efficient schooling. The sophisticated version of the argument sees school administrators seeking efficiency within changing social, economic and political conditions.

In writing a history of education, it is of course necessary to take into consideration the initiating powers and independent action of school bureaucracies. Nevertheless, the conventional organisational approach has two major flaws: it does not take account of the changing social construction of the concept of efficiency, and it does not conceptualise schools as part of a wider social conflict.

The last, often forgotten approach, revolves around imitation of other countries without much regard to local economic conditions in formulating educational policy. Such an approach is essential to the analysis of non-metropolitan capitalist regions like South Australia, but has a wider theoretical significance. If Johnson's treatment of English schooling helps us to elaborate the connection between changes in the mode of production and struggles about the shape of institutions, the case of South Australia reminds us of a countervailing theoretical point: the relative autonomy of the state. In other words, it helps us to see that there is no simple correspondence between economy and schooling.

Almost without exception, the various hypotheses traditionally applied to the history of education in South Australia conceptualise the period up to 1875 as one of struggle between voluntaryist and state-supported models of schooling. The hypothesis I want to present rests on the same (inadequate) evidence, but substantially alters its meaning through the use of modern marxist theory of the state. In particular, it attempts to
situate the rise of mass schooling in the interplay between accumulation and social control functions of the capitalist state.\textsuperscript{14}

In allocating budgetary expenditure, the capitalist state is almost invariably faced with two contradictory yet mutually reinforcing claims. From one side, the state is called upon to underwrite the process of capital accumulation by socialising some of the costs of production. It is the politically dominant fraction of capital which can be expected to gain the greatest advantage from such transfer of resources. However, insofar as this process intensifies the exploitation of sections of the workforce (often those employed by weaker fractions of capital), it strengthens the possibility and intensity of social unrest. This gives urgency to redirecting state funds away from production to non-productive expenditure on social control. But it can also lead to a drop in the profitability of capitalist production, and thus to intensified calls for government support of the accumulation process...

In the rest of this chapter, I want to tentatively suggest that just such a dynamic was at work between the 1840s and 1870s in South Australia. Briefly, as argued in Chapter 2, government underwriting of profit accruing to landed capital significantly contributed to the growth of a rural workforce as well as to the growth of a manufacturing and trading urban centre. Sometimes on their own, sometimes as a coalition, the emerging class fractions of workers, urban bourgeoisie and small farmers attempted to redirect the flow of government finances towards themselves. At the same time, the organised and unorganised activity of workers assumed, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, an increasingly threatening character. The same process thus strengthened the fraction of the ruling class interested in and demanding money for social control of children
through schooling, and the 'problem' they were increasingly worried about and attempting to 'solve' — a working class strong enough to organise, and impoverished enough to lead 'immoral' life-styles.

Planning a system of education

The education, like the economic system of the new colony of South Australia, was devised in England, by men of modest property trying to recreate an English society without its faults. They wanted a capitalism without the constraints of aristocracy, church and other remains of feudalism. They also wished to avoid those excesses of capitalism which made the English working class unpleasant and dangerous to live with. But although the introduction of the modified Wakefield system firmly established capitalism in South Australia, life in the province was not only considerably different from that of contemporary England, but also from that envisaged by the colony's founders. Partly because of this, some of the institutions devised to operate in the new society proved inappropriate, or were abandoned as an unnecessary expense by those supposed to fund them.

The planning and settlement of the new colony of South Australia coincided with one of the most turbulent periods in English history. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the rising bourgeoisie, in its effort to establish social relations appropriate to its method of acquiring wealth, undermined the power and authority of the aristocracy and the church. Such process created problems. It allowed for the emergence of a vast army of landless labourers, sufficiently free of traditional bonds and rights to be able to enter into the wage contract and move into the cities in search of employment, but also alarmingly free of traditional morality and religion.
The 1832 Reform Bill extended franchise to workers’ landlords and employers, but excluded the mass of the working population itself. Followed by a series of similar legislation, it became the target of a number of radical campaigns, culminating in the highly organised and class-conscious Chartism.

In many regions, the quickening process of industrialisation seriously affected the family where, traditionally, much of the learning of socially acceptable behaviour took place. To the bourgeoisie, gradually creating a typical pattern of family life of their own, it appeared increasingly obvious that working people should follow their example. Yet

At the same time as the bourgeoisie was extolling the family of its creation as the moral imperative for all classes, its other creation – the capitalist system – made the idealised family institution an impossible attainment for the labouring class.¹⁶

Indeed, the bourgeois family depended, for many years, on subjecting the majority of population to living conditions in which an orderly family life of their own was all but impossible.¹⁷

Schooling began to be formulated as one of the answers to the increasingly threatening crisis of hegemony. According to Johnstone, "[i]n this period, schooling as public if not a state apparatus was actually forced into existence in England by the collapse of older systems of control".¹⁸ In the 1770s, a national Sunday School movement, attempting to 'return poor children to God', started emerging.

In 1785 the non-denominational Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain was set up and by 1795 there were nearly 250,000 children attending Sunday Schools. By 1803 the numbers had risen to 7,125 schools with 844,728 pupils.¹⁹

In the early nineteenth century, the organisational innovations of Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster made possible, because of their cheapness, the
mass conversion of these part-time ventures into day schools. In the turbulent 1830s, these day schools became part of an effort to 'civilise' a class as a whole through its children.²⁰

If, in England, there appeared to be a need for some solution to the perceived irreligion, lawlessness and immorality of the working class, the situation in South Australia could potentially be even worse. In the first place, the setting up of a church environment in the new colony was itself difficult. Many denominations, especially those which depended on paid ministers and permanent churches, needed large congregations to be able to operate, and often got hopelessly into debt after building fitting accommodation for their God. And the people themselves were not all that enthusiastic either.

The census of 1844 showed that only some 18 percent of those shown to belong to a denomination actually attended a place of worship. There was significant difference between attendance in Adelaide (36%) and country areas (4%).²¹

What was worse, those considered to be most in need of the 'civilising influence of the church' never came near it. In 1868, the chairman of the Destitute Board observed that "the children of the poorest class are still not reached by the local churches and local chapels, because they never attend the places of worship themselves".²²

Neither was it easy to establish a moral family environment. In England the working class family came under strong criticism, but in the Australian penal colonies it hardly existed. Many women undoubtedly tried hard to find a settled home for themselves and their children. But the massive imbalance of the sexes, the government's tacit recognition of prostitution as a way of solving the problems this presented, and the almost total lack of any provision, economic, administrative or legal,
for women who wanted to avoid becoming 'damned whores', combined to make marriage a very distant ambition.

The planners of the new colony of South Australia attempted, from the beginning, to overcome these obstacles. They tried to ensure—not altogether successfully—that equal numbers of men and women migrated, and passed comparatively liberal marriage laws. This made it easier for couples to marry and have children. But the founders of South Australia were more ambitious. "The plan for South Australia stressed that 'no woman would be without a protector, and no man would have an excuse for dissolute habits'—the 'protected' women policing the habits of their husbands and children. Nevertheless, anticipating the inadequacy of church and the family, the founders of South Australia, basing themselves on their disquieting experience of contemporary England, included schooling as a necessary ingredient in the setting up of the new colony. While adult migrants would be kept in line by the necessity to work for wages and the promise of economic independence, children of 'poorer neighbours' would be educated in schools "conducted on the soundest principles of moral and religious education, with a due regard for the necessity of subordination as the foundation of order and peace in society". In 1835, the South Australian School Society was set up in London to provide instruction for children who would otherwise be unable to attend schools. The Society was supposed to use public subscriptions to run an ambitious four-stage system which would "commence with infant schools" and end with "introducing the youth after sixteen years into suitable employment...as regularly indentured apprentice for five years". By comparison with the two major organisations concerned with education in England, the colonial Society was a tiny affair. As late as 1851, only 3,000 children attended public schools in South Australia while, in
the same year in England, there were 801,000 children on the Anglican National Society registers and 123,000 on those of the British and Foreign School Society. 

Like religion (or as an extension of religion), education was to be based on the voluntary principle, with different denominations and communities collecting enough money to erect or hire a school building and pay a teacher, the gaps in the provision of schooling being filled by the philanthropic efforts of the South Australian School Society. The 'sufficient price' of land provided for the cost of bringing immigrants out of Britain and surveying new land, more controversially for the cost of administration and the building of roads and bridges, but emphatically not for religion or education which, at the time, were seen as more or less the same thing.

Originally, the insistence on voluntary funding of education (and religion), was part of the liberal religious clauses of the South Australian constitution. These were designed to attract as migrants people wishing to escape religious discrimination and also to remove obstacles to the social supremacy of the rich dissenting founders of the new colony.

In this scheme of things, state funding of religion was seen as the first step towards the dominance of the Anglican Church (which was the Established Church in England), and towards the discrimination against other denominations. As the chairman of a meeting or promoters and friends of South Australia said in his address in 1834,

We do not contemplate anything that can partake of the character of an established church, convinced that what is called the voluntary principle will amply supply a sufficiency of means to give everyone in our colony proper moral and religious instruction.
But the voluntary principle involved more than the fear of an established church. It was an arrangement which complemented the double ransom migrants had to pay to South Australian capitalists under the Wakefield scheme, and which benefited the same social group; the alliance of land, finance and merchant capital. The voluntary principle strengthened the ideology of private property and free enterprise by insisting that individuals be responsible for their own religion, education and social welfare. If working people, impoverished by the vagaries of an emerging capitalist economy, failed in any of these respects, their wealthier neighbours had the discretionary power to grant them charity.

The other side of voluntaryism, the absence of government control over some crucial aspects of social reproduction, was initially appreciated as a virtue by the dissenting bourgeoisie. Over time, however, it came to be seen, by the same class, as a defect serious enough to warrant dismantling of the major parts of voluntaryism.

From 1856, when South Australia was granted responsible government, the land fund was abolished and the proceeds from land sales were paid directly to the Treasury. Together with import duties, they provided the major part of government revenue. Here again, the definition of what expenditure was necessary and what should be left to the 'voluntary principle' closely mirrored the actual interests of landed capital and its merchant and banking allies. Expenditure on country roads and bridges enhanced the value of land, made its produce more competitive, and made investment in land a lucrative proposition. Sound elementary and even higher education was essential for the performance of clerical and commercial jobs, while unemployment relief was a matter of life and death to many working class families. Yet the first interest gained an
undisputed call on government revenue, while the other two were confined to the vagaries of reluctant state subsidy and private charity. As long as government functions were restricted in this way, its revenue, which, proportionately, fell most heavily on small farmers and workers, did not have to be supplemented by any tax on property. The voluntary principle thus in effect sanctified a transfer of wealth to landed capital.

The voluntary principle in education came to a test in the first few years of the colony, when it appeared that the need for schools was especially urgent. In the disorganised and primitive conditions, when much of the small population was concentrated in Adelaide, schools could take on a similar 'quarantine' function they were expected to perform in the convict settlements:

Vice among us is more exposed owing in part to our at present partially organised state of society...vice... is open and bare; everywhere its voice is heard, its deformity is exhibited, its loathsomeness is sent around us. How shall we save the children from these sights and these sounds? Let us take them to the schools. For such a space in the day, at least, they are removed from these demoralising and polluting scenes. There also they are placed under a wise and wholesome discipline, and acquire the habit and spirit of subordination...they inhale the elements of truth, of purity, of kindness, and pity, and there also, conscience is excited, enlightened, fortified and braced for future temptation.32

Naked vice notwithstanding, by 1843, even the much simplified version of the South Australian School Society's scheme failed. Neither the children, nor the wealthy benefactors, nor the state were sufficiently interested. During the drought and economic downturn, pupils were withdrawn from school to follow their parents out of the city, to work, or simply because they were too poor to attend. The rich, who shortly afterwards contributed magnanimously to the endowment of an exclusive private college,33 did not see why they should spare the money, the more so since,
after the contributions from London dried up, they had to provide the bulk of the running expenses. And the administration of the colony, while verbally supporting the scheme, gladly used voluntaryist arguments and shortage of funds as reasons for not rescuing the Society. The poor might have been immoral, but, until the 1870s, their many vices seem to have produced no serious threat to the rich.

Meanwhile, almost immediately after the first settlers arrived in the province, a number of small private schools was set up in Adelaide. They were fee-paying institutions, providing employment for those who ran them and instruction to children of the wealthier inhabitants of the colony, as well as cheap childcare for those of the poorer ones.

If there were not an Eton or Harrow to cater for the education of the sons of the squires, there was at least a sufficiency of dames' schools for infants of all degrees and classes; and teachers, more or less trained, to instruct the older children.  

It was this kind of school which eventually attracted government subsidy and, in exchange, gradually came under state control.

When prosperity returned to South Australia in the late 1840s, Governor Robe, on instructions from the Colonial Office, revived official concern about the moral standing of the colony's working population. A devout Anglican and a High Church Tory, he favoured the idea of an established church. But although he would have liked to limit aid to the Anglican church, he realised that he had to compromise with the opinions of the colonists. The result were Ordinances 13 and 14 of 1846, which provided a limited amount of state aid to religion and through it, education. Only Anglicans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and Wesleyans applied for the grant based on a census return of their adherents.
The ordinances created such a furore among the colonists that, the following year, Robe replaced them by ones that separated aid to religion and to education, and changed the per capita funding to a subsidy paid to teachers.

Although the number of teachers receiving assistance under the new legislation increased, fierce criticism continued. To its opponents, the scheme not only violated the funding principles of the colony but was unjust and inefficient as well. Indeed, well organised opposition transformed this comparatively insignificant problem into one of the main issues of the elections for the first semi-elective Legislative Council in 1851.36

The new Council, containing a majority of anti-grant supporters, refused to reconfirm the current Education Act. New, far more comprehensive legislation was drafted to replace it, and was passed as a new Education Bill in January 1852.

The Act provided for a Board of Education, and a loose framework of powers and responsibilities within which it should operate. It permitted the Board of license teachers and schools, fix, within certain limits, stipend levels to teachers, subsidize the building of schoolhouses, establish a book depot and a normal school, and determine the 'kind, quality and extent' of instruction.

Except for the Model School (which was only opened in 1874), the Board had no power to initiate the setting up of schools. Here the initiative was left to individual teachers or local education boards. These boards would provide schoolrooms and appropriate furniture, find and recommend teachers for appointment, and be responsible for the upkeep of the schools. They or their deputies should visit, inspect and report on the schools but leave their actual running to the teachers.
The teachers themselves could apply for subsidy for schools they set up. Here, they were limited by the preferences of parents and pupils, local boards, as well as the central authority. Once granted a licence, however, they retained a considerable degree of autonomy.

While teachers were encouraged to use the books supplied by the government book depot, they had to keep their fees within certain limits and, from 1861, were themselves examined in the basic branches of instruction.

Control over the curricula and methods of teaching, beyond specifying that the 3 R's be taught, was not considered to be part of the Board's duty. Inspectors confined themselves to ensuring that instruction was carried out in suitable environment by acceptable teachers, and that the schools' registers were accurately kept, although they might offer advice on other matters as well.

In essence, then, the Board of Education was given limited finance in order to perform the role of a discerning consumer in a free education market. While it was unable to initiate the setting up of schools, train teachers, enforce any particular teaching methods or compel regular attendance of pupils, it could select schools considered to be worthy of government subsidy, and pay highest stipends to the best 'certified' teachers. In this way, it was hoped that the 'natural' demand for 'good' teachers, reinforced by the informed preferences of the government, would gradually bring forth the required supply of efficient instruction and in turn increase school attendance.

In order to understand the effects of this Education Act, it is first of all necessary to discuss the interplay between two processes — the gradual definition of a 'good school' worthy of government subsidy; and the way of life of the people for whom the schools were supposed to cater.
The definition of 'good schools' under the 1851 Education Act and everyday life

According to a recent study of this period, two basic kinds of school appear in the contemporary reports of the South Australian Education Board. The first, the 'good school', tended to be large, catering for about 100 pupils. It was housed in a specialised building and equipped with 'school' furniture and materials, such as desks, blackboards and school readers. It had facilities, both in terms of space and teaching staff, for 'simultaneous instruction' of children divided into classes. The teacher was often specially trained or at least self-educated, and keen to define himself or herself in opposition to the 'untrained charlatan'. These schools, organised on the assumption of regular attendance and often charging higher fees, tended to attract children from more settled families with stable incomes and often actively discouraged the attendance of poor ones.

The Act did not exclude any class of society from licenced schools...In actual fact, many...were attended almost exclusively by children from well-to-do families. Although they could not officially exclude children, teachers could in practice set their fees at a level to discourage poor parents sending their children.

On the other hand, the 'untrained charlatans' — people with basic literacy skills but no special training, tended to run small schools in casual accommodation and teach, through individual instruction, from a variety of reading matter provided by the parents. This form of teaching did not require punctuality or regular attendance, and tended to be patronised by poorer families whose children could only afford to go to school by 'bits and snatchers'.

The 'incompetent persons' who ran these schools were selected not with regard to their scholastic ability but to the traditional division of labour within a working class community. There,
...rewards had been distributed more on the basis of ascribed than achieved qualities. Social position devolved upon successive generations mainly as a result of heredity, and it would be considered not corrupt but correct to favour a kinsman over a more qualified stranger in the award of jobs or favours.  

As a letter to the Register complained, a formally unqualified woman could get a licence to teach merely by expressing 'a preference for teaching', and by arranging for friends to send their children to her school for a nominal fee. Such practice was condemned on the grounds that "these kind friends send their children merely...so that Miss A. can get a living. The mutual good feeling subsists upon a few presents of fancywork and needlework..."  

While some of these small schools sought and obtained (often temporarily) a government subsidy, many others continued to exist outside the licenced school system. In 1857, the Board of Education wrote:

Another prevalent evil is the injurious competition arising from the existence of numerous small private schools, constantly springing up and disappearing, which hold out to the unthinking parents the temptation of ridiculously low fees, ranging from twopence to sixpence per week. It is hardly possible to ascertain the full extent of this evil; but the returns made...by 52 licenced teachers, of 111 unlicenced schools in their respective neighbourhoods, with an estimated attendance of about 1,600 children, affords an approximate idea of the mischief thus inflicted upon the rising generation. No schools of established reputation are included in these returns...  

Writing about a similar situation in England, Johnson said:

'Dames' and private schoolmasters were simply people who had acquired some teachable and marketable skill, rarely more than a basic literacy, or who found in child-minding or teaching, full time or as by-employment, some support in old age, infirmity, unemployment or other times of need. Such people differed widely in their ability to teach anything of use. But it is clear that private schooling won and held the support of parents. It was remarkably persistent, expansive even, well into the nineteenth century, despite the unanimous censure of
the philanthropists. Private schooling, indeed, was one of those indigenous working-class educational practices against which schooling was defined and which it was intended to replace.3

The same concern was voiced in South Australia. Already in 1856, a letter writer from Hindmarsh, a traditional working class suburb, complained:

...how is it possible for the Board of Education to forward their meritorious intentions if every old woman can have the opportunity of drawing off, say 12 boys here and 12 there, from the established schoolmaster; and how any person with proper qualifications to teach can pretend to enter the arena, when no protection is given to him against the mere charlatan or empiric. Surely it is time this system was put to an end. You may rest assured that while this state of affairs lasts it is almost useless, except in a few persons, to undertake the education of youth. To teach is becoming the refuge of the destitute.4

But while their betters condemned the small 'inefficient' schools, the mode of life of most working class families did not allow for settled, sequential and orderly practices such as 'good' schooling.

In the first place, the school attendance of children conflicted with their own employment. It seems that for most working people, the help or earnings of their children were absolutely indispensable at least during some parts of the year. Several times, the Board of Education itself acknowledged that

...the labour of youths [was] too valuable to be sacrificed in some cases, and indispensable in others, as affording the only means by which the parent can hope to maintain his position in life.5

Indeed, Inspector Wyatt, in complaining about the

...irregularity of attendance on the part of the children, arising from the indifference of the parents or the supposed necessity of employing their children in domestic or farming occupations,6
identified as a moral failing the very same situation that Australian immigration agents held up as a way out of the desperate poverty of contemporary England. According to these, while in Britain,

Married men are congratulated by their friends when their wives prove childless... in Australia the working man, with a few acres of corn growing bushland, sees in every child the source of an income. They prove useful at seven and eight years old.  

Following this line of argument, the voluntaryist landowners, interested above all in cheap and abundant labour, felt that schools retarded agricultural settlement by taking children away from farms, 'where their labour was worth more than any book learning'.

In the second place, family budgets rarely allowed for the regular payment of school fees. While parents might be interested in educating their children, school attendance outside of the times when children needed some babysitting was often regarded as a luxury way down the list of priorities. Like new clothes or a trip to town, it could only be afforded in prosperous years. In 1848, for example, Wimshurst argued that after accounting for necessary expenditure, labourers' wages left the family one penny a week for clothing and education. By the late 1860s, the situation does not seem to have changed much. As J. Bath (secretary to the Board of Education) said in 1868,

I believe there are very large numbers of parents who cannot afford to send their children to school... the fee charged in many of them is too high... and even where it is not high... I still think that labourers, and small farmers also, with three or four children to send to school, are quite unable to pay 3 or 4 sixpences a week. Indeed, I have received statements of that kind from teachers over and over again.

In his 1871 report, Inspector Wyatt concluded that
There is much...to be said in extenuation of the charge of neglect on the part of the parents. It is impossible to go through the country extensively without becoming aware of the too general difficulty that parents labour under of finding school-fees, and suitable clothing for their children to appear in school.\textsuperscript{52}

Because of their lower income, such a situation most seriously affected labourers, who already found attendance difficult because of their lifestyle. Indeed, one of the witnesses to the 1868 Royal Commission was convinced that, in many cases, the setting of high fees was a deliberate policy aimed at the exclusion of poor children.\textsuperscript{53} Even in those schools where teachers attempted to reduce the burden of fees on poor families, a similar situation could result. This was because, in thinly populated districts, the school

...must embrace the children of the whole neighbourhood, to whom generally no other educational means is available. Thus the families of the employer and the labourer receive the same tuition at similar cost, which is easy to one, and burdensome to the other. It is in vain for teachers to attempt the adoption of a sliding scale to meet the different circumstances of the parents; the well-to-do people seldom consenting to pay more than their poorer neighbours.\textsuperscript{54}

The imbalance of school composition, however, reflected more than the unequal distribution of income. There was, so to speak, an additional weighting against poorer pupils which represented more than their inability to pay fees. Even if the parents swallowed their pride and declared themselves destitute,\textsuperscript{55} a "great unwillingness exist[ed] on the part of the masters to receive the destitute children".\textsuperscript{56} In 1868, the chairman of the Destitute Board found the schools "of a limited or private character, being composed principally of the children of tradesmen and shopkeepers; scarcely any poor or destitute children".\textsuperscript{57} As a result, one of the major problems of education, at least of this kind, was that it did not "reach the class that most needs it, the poorest class",\textsuperscript{58} at a time when the employment opportunities for their children were probably declining.
In the third place, the life experience of people in nineteenth century South Australia was dominated by the insecurity of employment and fluctuations of income endemic to a violently cyclical economy, and as such conflicted with regular attendance of 'good' schools. In 1856, for example, according to Inspector Wyatt,

Wherever pupils remain at school for a reasonably long period, and are punctual and regular in attendance, their progress is generally satisfactory, as is perceptible in those localities where the people are in easy circumstances, and duly appreciate education. But, from the migratory character of the population, and the temporary or permanent withdrawal of older children from school, for the sake of their services at home, there are both a constant change of pupils, and a preponderance of young children in almost every school. From returns sent in by a large number of teachers whose schools were in operation during October 1854 and 1855, it is shown that in that month of the last year, there was an average of 55% of pupils who were not in those schools in the same month of the previous year.59

Seven years later, the Board of Education reported that

...irregularity in itself has the further disadvantage of producing a state of mind very unfavourable to application. Under these circumstances, in a great many cases a mere rudimentary education is all that can possibly be acquired. For this serious evil the Board see no remedy likely to be effective for a long time to come...60

In a typical year, the beginning of the hay harvest in October drained off unemployed labourers from Adelaide, and government relief works were closed. If the harvest was good, Adelaide mechanics gained steady employment and were able to demand higher wages. But the government immediately set out to overcome the relative shortage of labour by immigration. If the boom continued for another year, the migrants prevented local workers from 'taking their full share of prosperity'. But more often, migrants arrived when the employment conditions started worsening with recession or simply with the approach of winter. Thus
In another such year, 1859, the wages of both mechanics and labourers were reduced. Nevertheless,

No great complaint was made in regard to the reduced wages; the great complaint of the working classes was that their employment was irregular and that a man was fortunate enough who could get work for five days a week.62

As wages fell and unemployment increased, seasonal workers started returning to Adelaide. After much pressure, the government would provide relief works, often in the country and always at starvation wages, less than one-half of that paid for the same work by private employers. The prospect of long or intermittent employment induced many mechanics to migrate to Melbourne or Sydney or try their luck at goldmining. A good harvest might improve conditions at the end of the year. But often there was drought. Towards the end of 1865, a particularly bad year, a squatter reported that "more than a thousand men have come to his station in search for work during the course of 14 weeks". 63

Farmers could seemingly lead a more settled existence. But most of them did not remain long in one place either. Before all the agricultural land in the colony was taken up and superphosphate came into general use, there was a continuous movement of farmers to areas where larger holdings could be purchased, and away from the exhausted soil of the old farms which could no longer support a growing family. Many farmers made this move several times during their lives.64
In summary, working people in mid-nineteenth century South Australia had usually neither money, time, nor the inclination to make much use of schools. In 1872, for example, the Board of Education reported that "[i]t is not unusual thing to hear persons say that they have themselves managed to get along well enough without education, and that their children must do the same". The Education Board strongly condemned the practice, but the persons they spoke of had a point. While it was essential for children to know how to look after younger brothers and sisters, help with the harvest or the Monday washing, literacy was often irrelevant to the performance of their work and where it was not, it could often be acquired in the family workshop, Sunday School, or from a literate relative instead of in a school.

Nevertheless, against the background of such conditions, we must differentiate between the experience of different class sections, and of men and women. First, there were the skilled craftsmen, often owning their own tools and residing permanently in one place. They not only received higher pay, but were able to maintain relatively steady, constant employment. Moreover, the house many of them owned made them eligible to vote in municipal elections. It was above all these workers that Coghlan refers to when he says that, in 1872, "[a] large proportion of [workers] were depositors in the savings banks; friendly societies were increasing their membership, and there was a great expansion of trade unionism". By the mid-1870s, both in order to win their privileged position from the employers and to preserve it from unskilled workers, many of them combined in small craft unions.

Second, there were the unskilled labourers, hired by the day or by the hour, and working long hours for low wages. They were, above all,
dominated by the uncertainty and irregularity of their income. In a predominantly rural economy, much of the employment available to them, such as harvesting and fruit picking, was of seasonal nature, and involved frequent shifts of residence. In addition, unlike the best craft workers, the families of unskilled labourers only rarely managed to save enough money to buy their own house. More than any other group in society, they were obliged to live from day to day, an exigency which often produced the 'deplorable mentality' the bourgeois reformers wished to eradicate.

In between these two sections was a large group of urban and rural skilled workers. Their trade earned them higher wages and markedly better conditions than ordinary labourers could hope for. Yet, unlike the 'best men', their working life involved a far greater degree of insecurity. While the best craftsmen were, to some extent, cushioned against the vagaries of the capitalist economy through the close, personalised ties between master and journeymen that were a traditional feature of craft workshops, these workers had neither security of employment nor detailed control over the labour process.

On the one hand, there was the large group of tradesmen who, not being the 'best men', were laid off during slack months or recessions, and received a lower rate of pay than their more fortunate comrades. Some indeed were itinerant, moving around the colony in search of work. On the other hand, skilled workers were employed in the handful of increasingly mechanised manufactories, where the choice of machines and work organisation gradually eroded the required levels of skill.

As the following table indicates, daily wages of the 'best men' could be twice as much as those of general labourers, who in addition were more affected by the irregularity of employment.68
Table 7
SOUTH AUSTRALIA - DAILY WAGE RATES IN SELECTED TRADES, 1856-1868

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1856</th>
<th>1863</th>
<th>1868</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>building trades</td>
<td>10s6d-11s6d</td>
<td>8s-10s</td>
<td>7s6d-9s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manufacturing industries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general labourers</td>
<td>6s-7s</td>
<td>5s</td>
<td>5s6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blacksmiths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ironfounders</td>
<td></td>
<td>8s-10s</td>
<td>8s-10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miners</td>
<td></td>
<td>13s-15s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labourers on unemployment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relief works</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factory women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2s-4s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5d-1s8d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This trend is confirmed by later data quoted by Kerry Wimshurst, who includes in his table the number of workers employed in each occupation in Hindmarsh, a manufacturing district of Adelaide.69

Table 8
OCCUPATIONS AND WAGES OF WORKERS IN HINDMARSH, 1881-4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>wages/day</th>
<th>no. employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plasterer</td>
<td>11/-</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plumber</td>
<td>10/-</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brickmaker</td>
<td>10/-</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>printer</td>
<td>9/2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bricklayer</td>
<td>9/-</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mason</td>
<td>9/-</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miller</td>
<td>9/-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheelwright</td>
<td>9/-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>8/-</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanner</td>
<td>8/-</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blacksmith</td>
<td>8/-</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baker</td>
<td>8/-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galvanized iron worker</td>
<td>8/-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoemaker</td>
<td>7/-</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labourer</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An adequate explanation of the major forces shaping people's lives in nineteenth century South Australia, however, must take into consideration not only the class section of adult males in the family, but divisions and conflicts based on age and the sexual division of labour. While the life of women was profoundly influenced by the conditions of employment of their husbands and fathers, their daily experience, mediated by the particular role women were assigned in colonial South Australia, was often significantly different from that of their menfolk.

While men predominantly worked for wages, the majority of women were engaged in production for use within the household economy. Many women performed essential tasks on family farms and workshops, but few obtained regular paid employment, and those that did were almost invariably single or widowed. Nevertheless, women took on a variety of casual jobs. For the wives of 'respectable tradesmen',

...taking in washing, needlework and other sorts of out-work was the least disruptive way of supplementing the family income when extra expenses were incurred, or during the seasonal or enforced unemployment...

In less financially secure households, the women, as well as the children, always had to contribute to the family income.

A mixture of washing, cleaning, charring as well as various sorts of home or slop-work, in addition to domestic labour, occupied most women throughout their working lives.

Thus, in comparison with men, the experience of women was more homogeneous. On the basis of a weekly cycle of household chores, they performed a variety of unskilled, casual and low-paid jobs. Even for those in regular employment, any experience of unionism was only secondhand, through the male members of the family — since, until 1890, there was no trade union containing women workers. The cycle of women's work and the pattern of
their employment in turn affected the ability of children, especially girls, to attend school. The best documented example of this was the necessity of girls to help with the 'Monday washing', and the need of older children to stay at home as babysitters when the mother 'went out to work'.

As a result, the school attendance of girls was, throughout the whole period, markedly lower than that of boys. However, it is reasonable to suppose that, as in Canada, this gap varied with the changing division of labour in different class sections, as well as with their assessment of the value of educating girls as against boys.

In summary, the conditions of life in South Australia gave rise to a different relationship between daily life and schooling for different sections of the working class. On the one hand, the skilled craftsmen often enjoyed pay and conditions that both allowed them to lead the kind of family life educators approved of and to have their children attend school. On the other hand, unskilled labourers not only found it hard to send their children to school (let alone a 'good' one), but coped with their poverty in ways directly condemned by moral reformers.

In this situation, Ian Davey's observation about Canada can be applied equally well to South Australia.

Plainly, the experience of most working class families militated against the formation in their children of the virtues of orderly, regular, punctual industry. The irregularity of their work patterns made it difficult for them to commit themselves (and their children) to regular activities for any length of time. The 'lack of discipline' that middle class observers considered to be the cause of working class poverty was rather, more of an accommodation to the insecurity of their economic reality...For, as Mayhew shrewdly noted of the casual labourers in London: 'Regularity of habits is incompatible with the irregularity of income; indeed, the
conditions necessary for the formation of any habit whatsoever are, that the act or thing should be repeated at frequent and regular intervals. It is a moral impossibility that the class of labourers who are only occasionally employed should be either generally industrious or temperate — both industry and temperance being habits produced by constancy of employment and uniformity of income. 75

How was this relationship between schooling and working class life-styles expressed in numerical terms? The number of schools and of children attending them gradually increased between 1852 and 1875. 76 In spite of the instability of life in early South Australia, many localities established and ran successful schools. By 1873 there were one hundred vested schools (whose building was subsidized on a pound-for-pound basis by the Central Board of Education). Sixty-three of these buildings included a residence for the teacher. 77 According to Hirst,

In old areas schools were closed as people moved away to new lands, but in many of the new areas committees were formed and buildings were begun not long after the first crops were reaped...In 1874, as a result of the increased interest in education, the House of Assembly passed a motion for the granting of money for repairs [of school-houses] and £1,500, to be distributed on a pound for pound basis, was placed on the estimates. Within less than 6 months trustees had raised enough money for nearly all this grant to have been allocated. 78

But although the increase in school accommodation on the whole kept pace with population growth, government schools by no means reached all of the colony's children.

In 1868, it was estimated that less than one-half of the children between 5 and 14 years of age were enrolled in school — 19,141 as against 23,093 who were not receiving instruction of any kind. 79 Five years later, the Board of Education, basing itself on the 1871 census, concluded that of the 44,107 children between the ages of 5 and 12, 19,862 attended public schools, 16,325 were taught in private schools, and 5,656 — or 12.8% —
neither attended schools nor received instruction at home. If the school age was extended to comprise children between 5 and 14 years of age, this number would rise to 14,663, or 27.6% of children. In 1868, when Mr. Rees, chairman of the Destitute Board, visited 1,438 houses of the poorest outward appearance in the smaller streets of the City of Adelaide, he found "518 children who were receiving no education at all, notwithstanding that they were of the right age for being at school".

Even for those children that went to school, schooling often consisted of a few months of broken attendance during periods when they could be spared from work at home, or needed some babysitting. According to Inspector Wyatt, in 1868 "[s]ome children's education does not extend over 12 months of their life, and two years is rather above the average". In 1872, for example, out of a school year of 230 days, children attended city and town schools for an average of 114 days, and country schools 122 days. At the same time, out of the 307 schools in the colony, 43 had an average attendance of 85 days or less.

Throughout the period, there were more boys than girls in school, the proportion moving around 55% of boys and 45% of girls. The girls, however, "...being less-adapted for the labours of the field than boys, [were] usually allowed to remain at school somewhat longer".

So far, I have established that a serious mismatch existed between many people's life-styles and 'good' schooling provided for their children. Although the proportion of population reached by educational institutions gradually increased, many children never went to school. Others were withdrawn as soon as this mismatch became acute.
Moreover, even within the slow increase in school attendance, there were fluctuations and contrary trends. These reflected, in the first place, the interplay between economic conditions and the voluntaryist, free market aspects of the 1851 Education Act.

If, at the best of times, it was hard for a working class family to spare the sixpence per child for the weekly school fee, during recessions, it was often simply not possible. But this was precisely the time when the need to 'civilise' and restrain workers appeared most pressing to their wealthier neighbours. Even if the moral lessons failed, children would at least be physically removed from the streets which were already uncomfortably crowded by the unemployed. As Saunders put it,

Under private enterprise education fluctuated according to the demands of the market, just like any other business venture...A bad harvest or depressed economic conditions brought many withdrawals from school...The question was whether this was for the good of the children of the state...  

The rise, during recessions, of the number of unschooled children, was aided by the frequent influx of population to Adelaide and large country towns in periods of economic downturn.

...destitution was a problem particular to the city and large towns like Kapunda, Moonta Mines and Wallaroo. In the country a farmer facing difficulties cut losses by keeping children home to help him. If his farm failed completely, he moved out of the district, either to try again elsewhere or to work in a town.  

Paradoxically, this situation was exacerbated by the activities of the Education Board itself. The Board strongly favoured the 'good' schools, and was keen to bring poor working class children under their salutary influence. As mentioned earlier, the strongest means at its disposal was a market-based system of selective licensing. A licence carried with it a monetary subsidy and various other benefits in exchange for a measure
of supervision; and the Board, in the role of consumer, could withdraw licences from 'charlatans' and grant them to 'good teachers'. The aim was to provide 'good' education for working class children — especially those from 'vicious' and 'immoral' families.

However, the Board was faced with two serious obstacles in the carrying out of this aim; the monetary stringency imposed on it by the legislature, and the preferences of teachers.

The first problem revolved around the reluctance of the legislature to see education funding as a budget priority. From the late 1850s, after an initial period of enthusiastic attention to the new Education Act wore off, the Board of Education continuously received less money than was necessary for licensing all teachers nominally eligible for government assistance. Although the voluntarist-dominated legislature reluctantly accepted the necessity of subsidizing education in the country, it opposed government grants to city schools on the grounds that, with greater concentration of population, they could be made more efficient, larger — and self-supporting. Not only were grants reduced, several times they were threatened with abolition. The $200 which was the maximum pound-for-pound subsidy for the erection of schoolhouses, was nowhere near sufficient for the purchase of land and construction of buildings in town — the more so since city schools had to be larger than country ones.

The second problem was that 'good' teachers were, on the whole, interested in setting up only in 'better' and more profitable neighbourhoods (such as North Adelaide or Kapunda). The 'charlatans', on the other hand, often offered themselves in the very places where the Board wanted schools, and no 'good' teachers would apply. In working class districts
and small country settlements, the Board was thus faced with the problem of delicensing schools and having no control over what went on in them at all (if they survived), or subsidizing ventures it disliked.

The Board's own preferences, combined with the limited education votes and the conditions attached to them, led it to opt for the former course of action; delicensing, in the city, and the latter course, tolerating 'inferior' schools, in the country. In 1854, for example,

The Board have considered it their duty...to withhold, and, in some cases, to withdraw licences from small inferior schools in the City and its suburbs, in order to lessen the causes of the low standard of education which has too evidently prevailed, and to be better able to assist in distant country localities. In these districts, even such schools must be tolerated, in the absence of better; for, in many instances, well qualified teachers would neither find scope for their exertions nor adequate remuneration.90

Similarly, in the stringent economic conditions around 1870, when the education vote was reduced several years in succession, the Board reported that

The most noticeable feature connected with the years' proceedings was the reduction made by the Legislature in the amount which had been voted during each of the preceding years for the payment of teachers' stipends. This reduction necessitated a corresponding decrease in the number of schools. In making the alteration, we were anxious not to withdraw aid from such schools as were largely attended by children of the working classes, or which were situated in isolated localities. In the performance of this somewhat difficult task, the course we first took was to withdraw licences from the female teachers who were conducting schools of an elementary character connected with other schools for which male teachers were licensed...

In the next place, wherever it was considered practicable, the licences were withdrawn from schools having a smaller attendance than 40 scholars, if such schools were situated within 2 miles from any other school. By these means, 7 were struck out from the number previously licensed in the City, 18 from country towns, and 25 from the country districts...91
As a result of the selective licensing system, the number of government schools and their pupils in the city of Adelaide showed a steady decline for most of the period the 1851 Education Act was in operation. From a peak of 40 schools with 1,979 pupils, it fell to 12 schools with 971 pupils by 1872. Similarly, the number of pupils in suburban schools, which by 1858 reached one and a half thousand, fluctuated much below this figure until it started rising again in 1873. In 1870, the monetary stringency usually reserved for city and town schools affected education throughout the colony, reducing the total number of schools from 330 to 300, and the number of pupils from 16,328 to 15,108.92

The Board of Education, in carrying out these reductions, was anxious not to close working class schools.93 The fact remained, however, that by delicensing small cheap establishments, it reduced school accommodation precisely for those children whom it was set up to educate, and who often had good reasons for not patronising the schools the Board favoured.

In the meantime, population steadily increased.

While, between 1857 and 1872 the number of licensed schools in the city was reduced to one-third and the number of their pupils by one-half, the population of Adelaide grew by 59%.94

By 1873, the Board of Education wrote: "In the city, indeed, the buildings in present use would scarcely contain one-half of the children who ought to be in the schools, and yet some of them are inconveniently crowded".95 When, in 1874, the first school building actually belonging to the Board of Education was opened in Adelaide with about 800 pupils, 300 applications for boys' and infants' department had to be rejected for want of accommodation.96
A similar situation existed in the suburbs. While the number of schools in the corporate towns declined and that of their pupils stagnated, the population of metropolitan Adelaide grew from 36,524 in 1856 to 54,251 in 1866 and 71,794 in 1876.\\n
Outside of Adelaide, according to the 1874 report of the Board of Education,

Many of the larger country towns [for example, Gawler, Kadina and Moonta] have no public school building whatever, and several have not even private school room accommodation of a suitable kind, and sufficient for the children whose parents desire to send them to school.\\n
In summary, the 'free market' and voluntaryist aspects of the badly funded 1851 Education Act conflicted, in practice, with the 'civilising' effects of schooling on poorer neighbours. Schooling, intended above all as a tool of social control, seems to have been used selectively by working people for their own purposes, while those whose life conditions made it most difficult and meaningless to maintain any semblance of respectability, and whose children were therefore most in need of 'civilising', remained, for the most part, outside the reach of subsidized state schools. Gradually, this situation became defined as a serious social problem.

From about 1868, when a Royal Commission on Education was called, concern about the lack of school accommodation started finding its way into official reports. By 1871, the Education Board, whose policy it had been "for the last several years, to decrease the number of licensed schools in Adelaide and other centres of population", came out in direct support of a radical change in the direction of government spending:

We are of the opinion that the government subsidy is required for the support of city and town schools quite as much as it is for those in country districts, and for this reason, that the proportion of children of parents who could not afford such fees as would make schools
self-supporting is as great, perhaps greater, in the city and in some of the country towns than it is in rural districts.\textsuperscript{100}

As they pointed out, the same concern had already induced some of the colony's wealthy citizens to provide charity schools for the poor. The number of free schools and schools charging only a small weekly fee which have been started in the city and suburbs in the last year or two, and supported chiefly by contributions from benevolent individuals or religious bodies, indicate that the public schools have failed to make so complete a provision for the instruction of the children of the poorer classes as is absolutely requisite.\textsuperscript{101}

A similar theme started appearing in some of the colony's newspapers and, in many instances, turned into a wholesale condemnation of the Education Board itself. In 1872, for example, the Register printed a letter from 'A Worker', who "[had] waited till tired hoping that some citizen would arouse attention to the fact that multitudes of our children are receiving no education...Only think, Sir, of Adelaide", he continued,

...with its beautiful churches and avowed intelligence, indifferent to the cry of the children of its poor! Adelaide, without a single public schoolroom that its citizens can call their own! Year after year has passed, and things instead of mending have grown worse and worse.\textsuperscript{102}

The paper devoted its editorial to endorsing Worker's sentiments, and supplemented them by a detailed exposition of what it alleged to be the Board's incompetence. The Board, the editorial said,

...have been content to work on in a sluggishly devised groove, and if the children of the city will not fall into this groove, so much the worse for them; it was too much to expect from a dignified Board that it should put itself out of the way to carry out any new ideas in the hope of gathering together the stray sheep.\textsuperscript{103}

Of the many possible ways of understanding and dealing with the perceived crisis in the provision of schooling, the one eventually adopted revolved
around a comprehensive new Education Act which made education compulsory  
(but not free), centralised the education system and sharply increased 
education spending. Under the new bill, teachers lost the power to  
determine curricula, teaching methods, the progress of their pupils, and 
even the administrative routines of their school. Parents lost the power 
to select and recommend teachers for appointment. The ownership and 
control of vested schoolhouses was transferred to the Central Council of 
Education and the power of local bodies to decide on educational matters 
was drastically curtailed. Children were now not only compelled to attend 
school but were subject to a much more rigid and thorough discipline.

A new Education Act

While a detailed consideration of the process which led to the passage of 
the 1875 Education Act is entirely beyond the scope of this chapter, it is  
possible to introduce some of the main ingredients of such an analysis. 
In particular, I have looked at the changes brought about by the working 
class; at the political balance of power at the time; the agreement reached 
on education by the various churches, the consequences of the particular 
method of funding adopted, and the influence of legislation elsewhere.

The first point concerns changes brought about by the working class. 
Briefly, as workers started to organise, they had a twofold effect. On 
the one hand, they helped to weaken the government's exclusive monetary 
emphasis on boosting the profitability of investment in land. They not 
only had some impact on immigration policies, but periodically forced the 
government to provide unemployment relief works. 
On the other hand, the workers' organised actions assumed, in the eyes of 
employers, a threatening character previously unknown in South Australia. 
They not only grumbled as individuals, but rioted and won strikes. To
deal with the stronger opponent, it appeared necessary to enlist, to a
greater degree, the assistance of the state, and redirect its finances
towards expenditure on social control.

The changing official attitude to unemployment relief, which can be seen
in two successive statements of the Register, is a good indicator of
workers' influence in the area of government finances. In 1867, when
unemployment was rising and workers demanded assistance from the govern-
ment, the paper stated:

As a rule, it is a dangerous policy for the government to
undertake to find labour for the people. The healthiest
lesson in social economy which any people can be taught
is self-reliance, and there is something wrong where
appeals are made to the government to do for people what
they ought to do for themselves. Its effect is demoral-
ising and calculated to destroy that healthy spirit of
self-dependence which has made the English nation what it
is. But this is an exceptional case...104

By 1870, the Register sorrowfully commented on the gains of the labour
movement in its struggle for better conditions:

It is to be regretted that any large body of South
Australian workmen should be ready to fly to the govern-
ment whenever a temporary difficulty presents itself;
but the habit has been learned and the only thing is to
make the best of it.105

The increasingly threatening and effective organisation of the workers is
well documented by Coghlan. According to him, whereas, up to 1862, "[t]he
working classes in South Australia were not so alert as in Victoria and
New South Wales and...their want of combination in trade unions made their
influence in politics almost negligible",106 now, during the late 1860s,
workers' organisations were making their presence felt more and more.
In 1866, the Political Association of Working Men was formed in Adelaide,
having as its object "the stoppage of immigration for the benefit of
labouring men, and to place the whole question concerning labour fairly
before the public, especially at the time of Municipal or Parliamentary elections".¹⁰⁷

During the five-year recession, there were many increasingly angry meetings of the unemployed, culminating in March 1870 in what the papers described as rioting of the unemployed, who demanded higher pay for relief work.¹⁰⁸

By 1874, Coghlan claims that

...the general revival of prosperity throughout the Province was accompanied by a marked development of trade unions, partly as a result of that prosperity and partly as a sympathetic consequence of the severe labour struggles which were at that time going on in England... The trade unions already in existence were reformed and strengthened, and new unions established in all important trades that had not hitherto possessed them...The first consequence of the formation of the unions was seen in a series of strikes, occurring between September and December 1872. In nearly all these the strikers gained their way.¹⁰⁹

In this situation, the 'voting argument' in favour of compulsory education¹¹⁰ changed from a piece of rhetoric to an urgently felt necessity. So much so, in fact, that it eventually overrode the everpresent concern with 'overeducating the passes'. As the Treasurer, L. Glyde, said,

Either they must educate the people and make them possibly a little discontented with their humble lot, or they would have to grapple with the danger of a large number of totally uneducated people wielding the whole political power of the colony.¹¹¹

In 1868 Frederick Basedow (a teacher from Germany who later became member of parliament and minister of education) noted that "in England as well as here, the feeling has changed very much in favour of compulsory education. It appears that people begin to think that a free constitution and an uneducated people is an anomaly."¹¹² Seven years later, shortly before the new act was passed, one of the inspectors, commenting on the workers' modest attempts at political organisation, ended his report with
the plea: 'you cannot give political power to the people, and allow them to remain ignorant. That would be a political suicide of a nation.'

The inspector's recipe for avoiding such suicide was straightforward. According to Dr. Jung,

...just as in proportion...as citizens desire to have the power of independently using the political rights conferred upon them — so should the state have the right to see that these powers are entrusted to none but those who are fitted by education to intelligently exercise them.

Obviously, the proportion of working people's participation in politics was getting too large to remain without further checks.

It is important to note, however, one striking feature of these arguments — they were conducted before the days of universal suffrage and therefore applied, strictly speaking, only to male children. And yet girls were never excluded from the proposed educational provisions. Obviously, there must have been some widely accepted implicit chain of reasoning that included women, as wives, mothers and teachers of male voters, in the scheme.

Not only the workers, but the farmers and manufacturers began to organise. Their gains, although small at this time, contributed to altering the political balance of power in the colony.

In 1869, the Chamber of Manufacturers was formed and, with a handful of members, shoestring budget, unpaid secretary and free rooms, started the lengthy process of encouraging the growth and diversification of South Australian industry. In alliance with many workers, the manufacturers advocated increased tariff protection of South Australian manufacturing industries, a policy which was likely to reduce import trade and raise costs for primary producers, and as such was vigorously opposed by the Chamber of Commerce. In 1870, 1885 and 1887, the tariff was indeed
increased, albeit because, as Hirst argues, "enough of the free traders chose to accept higher duties rather than face the alternative, the imposition or the increase of direct taxation on land and income". 118

Even though the 1870 tariff was slight and intended more for revenue than protection purposes, Richards concluded that it

...appears to have wrought a substantial benefit on local industry. In the five years that followed the tariff change the city of Adelaide developed two new breweries, nine clothing and boot and shoe factories, two confectionery, two cabinet, two carriage factories, and one each of the following portmanteau, biscuit, brush, harness, dyeing, tent, as well as a machinist. The manufacturing labour force in the city increased by 64 percent. The scale of operations altered. 119

The extension of primary industry exhausted the supply of good land within easy reach of Adelaide and, combined with several years' drought, produced a class of dissatisfied small farmers. Not content with the limited reforms of the 1869 Strangways Acts, they demanded substantial alterations in the availability, method of sale and payment for new land.120

Realising how radical these issues were (if demands for cheap land and cheap credit were met, the prospect of more taxation of the wealthy seemed almost imminent), the farmers frequently linked them with agitation for local representation and payment of members.

In the event, land legislation fell far short of the farmers' demands. But the election of a larger proportion of direct country representatives121 contributed to the complex realignment of political power which occurred in the 1870s.

The changes in the composition of government at this time are noted by most of the researchers dealing with the period. Pike, for example, wrote that the "fall of Blyth's ministry in 1875 marked the end of the
Congregationalists' power in Parliament but it increased the strength of the Wesleyans". Hirst draws attention to the relatively high proportion of country residents elected in 1870 and 1871 elections. Hawker remarks on the changes in top levels of politics and administration and 'fresh economic pressures' after 1874, and links them with rapid expansion of governmental functions and breaking down of the comfortable relationship between ministers and senior officials in the Civil Service.

Jaensch claims that, unlike the Victorian and New South Wales experience, squatters were never dominant in the South Australian Parliament, representatives being drawn from essentially urban interests, especially the commercial and industrial men of Adelaide. However, his analysis of occupations of members of parliament reveals that, around 1875, pastoral and agricultural representation decreased in the Legislative Council and increased in the House of Assembly.

Bowes, in his thesis on land settlement, argues that the "tenor of the House began to alter during the late seventies, but the extent should not be overemphasized". The most visible aspect of this change was the fact that during this period, "[o]ne by one the men who had dominated the politics of the sixties vacated their seats in the House".

There is, however, no serious attempt, comparable to Lonie's thesis on the 1930s, to establish with what changes in class organisation the political developments were linked. In particular, there is no research on the question of whether the dominant fraction of capital was reorganised, or whether political power was in fact seized by a different fraction of capital. And yet understanding of these changes is essential for writing a serious history of schooling in this period.
If, as a whole, the study of changes in the political organisation of the bourgeoisie has been badly neglected, the same is not true with regard to one aspect of the question, the agreement reached on education questions by the various churches. This issue, indeed, being part of the traditional church-state explanation of educational change, has received abundant attention from historians of education.

In essence, it is argued that the gradual withdrawal of Catholics from the state school system made it easier for the protestant denominations to reach agreement about the form of education they were willing to support. Throughout the period, the various churches wanted to reproduce their congregations, not lose them to irreligion or other denominations. But the competition for parishioners conflicted with the effort to provide cheap schooling for as many children as possible. The majority of country settlements were hardly large enough to support a single one-class school, yet frequently each of the different congregations tried to set up their own. But while the protestant denominations found it relatively easy to reach a compromise and attend each others' schools, the Catholics saw the 1851 Education Act in direct conflict with the teaching of their church. By the late 1860s, the issue was so important to them that they...

...would never consent, as a clergyman, to parents allowing their children to go to school not taught by a person of our own denomination...we should prefer that a Catholic child should grow up in ignorance rather than be exposed to the danger of losing its faith. 129

The protestant churches, hoping to avoid any form of aid to the Catholics, reciprocated by a steadfast opposition to the funding of denominational schools. Eventually, state-provided secular education appeared to them as the lesser of two evils. To the Catholic church, religion was inseparable from a church hierarchy which interpreted the Bible and acted as a custodian of faith. The way to a protestant God was more direct. It
would be the logical outcome of 'moral education', literacy, and a Bible in every home. As a result, 'secular education' confirmed the faith of the protestant denominations; it often contradicted that of the Catholics.

In 1869, the Baptist Union voted in favour of secular and compulsory system of education. In 1870, they were followed by the Congregational Union who decided to support 'entirely secular' education. The Primitive Methodists went beyond this scheme by advocating a decentralised secular system which children would have to attend for five years. The Wesleyan Methodists and an influential fraction of the Anglican church, although in favour of bible reading outside of school hours, adopted, by 1871, a basically similar position.\(^\text{130}\)

The financial reasons for the introduction of the 1875 Education Act can be found in the economic fluctuations of the South Australian economy, and the resultant state of the government exchequer. These are relevant because, although compulsory schooling came to be favoured by many members of the bourgeoisie, educational legislation had to be passed by the Legislative Council which vigorously opposed any tax on property. During the economic downturn, when government finances were low, such a tax appeared to have been the only way to finance the expansion of education facilities. According to Hirst,

Landed property was very well represented in the South Australian parliament during the colonial period. To men of property the attractiveness of assigning responsibilities to central government was that they continued to avoid direct taxation. While the central government could raise money readily without taxing land or income, parliament was unlikely to remit responsibilities to local government whose only source of income was a rate upon land. Local government was synonymous with direct taxation. The aim of many large property owners was to have no local government bodies at all...\(^\text{131}\)
If poor 'idle' children were a city problem, the legislature that tried to solve it was composed of city men, with the absentee rural members often speaking as if the Adelaide suburb in which they lived was their constituency. And yet, until the 1870s, the pain many of them would have felt at seeing government money spent on education was stronger than the concern with unschooled city children, and drove them to outvote their more generous or worried colleagues.

The sudden prosperity of the colony, however, made possible a painless solution to the education question.

The revenue collected at Customs House first reflected the return to prosperity after the lull of the late 1860s: between 1871 and 1876 it almost doubled. Then, while it remained steady at a high level for the rest of the decade, the receipts from land sales rose rapidly, swollen by payments for the huge areas taken up under the Selection Acts in the early 1870s. By 1873 the government was able to announce that it could provide education for all the colony's children without any increase in taxation.\(^{132}\)

The source of money in turn had a bearing on the structure of schooling. If education was funded from central revenue, it became, as a logical corollary and without much opposition, centrally controlled. As in other matters, there was to be no local representation without taxation.

Indeed, Hirst argues that, without the sudden prosperity of the 1870s, it would have been necessary to raise finance through local taxation, and local taxation could not have been instituted without a significant degree of local control.\(^{133}\)

The case for introduction of mass compulsory schooling in South Australia would not be complete without taking into consideration the imitation of legislative developments elsewhere. As Saunders points out, the Prussian education system, which had caught people's imagination around the time
of the Franco-Prussian war, was nationalised in 1872, and made free in 1888. Compulsory education was introduced in Switzerland in 1874, in Italy in 1877, in the Netherlands in 1878, in Belgium in 1879 and in England in 1880. By 1885 France had a free, compulsory and secular system of primary education.\textsuperscript{134}

In Australia, by the mid-1880s, the colonies had set up education departments staffed by permanent and full-time officials and controlled by a minister who was responsible to Parliament. The Victorian Act was passed in 1872, the South Australian and the Queensland Act in 1875, the New South Wales Act in 1880, and the Tasmanian Act in 1885. Only Western Australia did not have an education department until 1893.\textsuperscript{135}

And indeed, much of the debate on a new Education Act was conducted in terms of the proven efficiency of a similar system of schooling elsewhere. In 1871, for example, the South Australian Board of Education wrote in its annual report

\begin{quote}
In the event of any alteration being made, with a view of obtaining a larger and more general attendance of the children of a school-going age, and particularly of those belonging to the poorer classes, we are of opinion that the carefully prepared Act, recently brought into operation in England, would, in some respects, form an excellent model for imitation.\textsuperscript{136}
\end{quote}

At the same time, the centralisation and bureaucratisation which accompanied the introduction of compulsory schooling in South Australia was not limited to the Education Department. As Hawker points out in his thesis, the entire civil service underwent far-reaching changes at this time.\textsuperscript{137}

To sum up the argument advanced to this point, I have suggested that, starting from the recession of the mid-sixties, there was an increase in the number of children who neither held a full-time job nor attended school. By itself, this need not have led to any changes in educational
legislation. But there were other factors at work. The wealthy citizens of Adelaide and other large towns not only saw large numbers of unschooled poor children, but were more sharply aware of the threat posed by the local working class as sections of it began to organise. Thorough schooling, often advocated on the basis of Prussian or English experience, came to be seen as a solution to both problems. It would not only remove potential larrikins from the streets but form them into more predictable, respectful and conventionally moral citizens. The solution was legislated on when, in the favourable economic conditions of the 1870s, the combined pressure of land-hungry farmers, workers and city liberals contributed to changing the balance of political power in the colony.\textsuperscript{138}

It is now possible to deal with the last problem, conceptualising the nature of educational change in the period under discussion. According to officials in the Education Department, the case for amending the 1851 Education Act was quite straightforward. Because of changing economic conditions, the old Act, previously quite adequate, had ceased to fulfil its function, and had to be brought up to date. As the 1875 report of the Board of Education said,

\textit{...the colony has for a long time outgrown the school system provided by the present Act, which has not been amended since the date of its coming into operation, in 1851, when the number of children attending public schools was only 3,050.\textsuperscript{139}}

To a large extent, this is the conceptualisation taken over by historians of Australian education. Some, like Thiele, argue that the 1875 Education Act was a simple updating of the older one, ensuring extension, adequate funding and efficiency of basically the same system:
...as the schools started to go up Hartley turned his attention to what was going to happen inside them. Sloppy methods had to change, poor teaching had to improve, standards had to rise. A state department had to function efficiently; recalcitrant and ineffective teachers had to conform or go.¹⁴⁰

Others, for example, Hyams and Bessant and Gouttman, emphasize the profound transformation of the education system at this time.¹⁴¹

According to them, the new Education Department crystallised the long process of centralisation and uniformity within the education system, and brought in a remarkable measure of bureaucratisation.

But these additions to the official case amount to a substantial shift in interpretation. It was not only that education ceased to be able to deal with its own problem, it was gradually transformed to such an extent that we can speak of a qualitative change in the task it was assigned. More precisely, in matters like compulsory attendance, schools began dealing with problems which previously neither 'existed' nor 'belonged' to education.¹⁴²

Using these concepts, my hypothesis is that, with the 1875 Act, schooling in South Australia was not only updated, but transformed to be able to cope with the massive new task allocated to it — the cultural remoulding of an entire generation of working class youth. In the process, schooling was transformed from a comparatively insignificant semi-private concern into an extremely powerful bureaucracy, or, to use a more technical term, state apparatus.¹⁴³
1. Register, 13.7.1872, letter from 'M.B.', Wright-Street.


3. R. Johnson: "Notes on the schooling of the English working class, 1780-1850".

4. ibid., p. 44. This line of argument is further developed and documented by T.W. Laqueur in his "Working class demand and the growth of English elementary education, 1750-1850". According to him, "[p]ublicly provided schooling... grew up in large part to meet the demand for education which might otherwise have been satisfied in politically less reputable private schools". ibid., p. 198.

5. S. Bowles and H. Gintis take some account of these schools in their Schooling in capitalist America, p. 153.

6. One of the major differences is that in South Australia, unlike in many parts of North America, schooling was made compulsory fifteen years before it became free.


8. loc. cit.

9. ibid., p. 179.

10. Such as, for example, the concentration of capital around the 1890s, and industrialisation in late 1930s.

11. "...the depression of 1864-1866, directly caused by the rural drought, was the major factor in the creation of the 1868 Select Committee. It is suggested that rural difficulties forced many people to the city of Adelaide in search of work in its small manufacturing sector. The general effect was to increase unemployment and destitution in the city. This destitution was reflected in the large number of youngsters roaming the streets of Adelaide... The invention of the reaping machine also contributed to this flight from the land." R. Goutman: "The relationship between politics and education in South Australia, 1834-1875" (Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, 1979), pp. 244, 266.

See note 97 for my reservations about the applicability of the urbanisation thesis to South Australia at this time.

12. Many of the accounts of church-state conflict are written as if the different churches each catered for a random selection of the population, and had no distinctive class base. This is not the way they were seen by their contemporaries. For example, it was admitted that the Catholics provided schooling for a large proportion of the
colony's destitute children: "...our Roman Catholic fellow colonists...are spending very considerable sums in supporting schools and orphan establishments, without any assistance from the state". South Australian Advertiser, 8.2.1969. A minister of the Unitarian Church, on the other hand, confidently asserted that "[t]he majority of the members of my congregation are people who can afford to send their children to St. Peter's or Prince Alfred Colleges, and private schools". SAPP, 1883-4, No.27A, 77/8461.

13. Hyams and Bessant, for example, argue that, in the 1870s, "[t]he liberal-democratic ethos of Australia in that age ensured that [the state] would be more than a competitor [of a denominational system]. The liberal sentiment had regarded the state as a significant provider for the individual, but the democratic sentiment went further by demanding that the state should provide equal treatment for all individuals, irrespective of occupation, income or location. The consequence was that the great majority of elementary school pupils were to be educated in public schools and those institutions were to be the instruments of equalisation..." B.K. Hyams and B. Bessant: Schools for the people? (Longman, 1972), p.50.


15. See, for example, E.P. Thompson: The making of the English working class.


17. As Engels concluded about contemporary England, "the social order makes family life almost impossible for the worker. In a comfortless, filthy house, hardly rain tight nor warm, a foul atmosphere filling room overcrowded with human beings, no domestic comfort is possible. The husband works the whole day through, perhaps the wife also and the older children, all in different places; they meet at night and in morning only, all under perpetual temptation to drink; what family life is possible under such conditions? Yet the working-man cannot escape from the family, must live in the family, and the consequence is perpetual succession of family troubles, domestic quarrels, most demoralising for parents and children alike. Neglect of all domestic duties, neglect of the children, especially, is only too common among the English working people, and only too vigorously fostered by the existing institutions of society. And children growing up in this savage way, amongst these demoralising influences, are expected to turn out goody-goody and moral in the end! Verily the requirements are naive, which the self-satisfied bourgeoisie makes upon the working man." F. Engels: The condition of the working class in England (Panther Books, 1969), p.159.

18. R. Johnson, op. cit., p.50.

20. R. Johnson, op. cit., p.45.


23. In the form of employment, accommodation, marriage licences and police protection.


25. In the words of Caroline Chisholm (an influential contemporary social reformer), "If her Majesty's Government be really desirous of seeing a well conducted community spring up in these colonies, the social wants of the people must be considered. If the paternal government wish to entitle itself to that honoured appellation, it must look to the materials it may send as a nucleus for the formation of a good and great people. For all the clergy you can dispatch, all the schoolmasters you can appoint, all the churches you can build, and all the books you can export, you will never do much good, without what a gentleman in that colony very appropriately called 'God's police' - wives and little children - good and virtuous women". Quoted in A. Summers, op. cit., p.291.


27. Ibid., pp.21-2.


29. In England at the time, various laws prevented the rich non-conformist bourgeoisie from entering the 'upper class'. Although most of this legislation was repealed throughout the nineteenth century, the British aristocracy continued to use religion as a social means of preserving their privileged position. See G.E. Saunders, op. cit., pp.30-1.


31. As argued earlier, the modified Wakefield scheme disadvantaged small farmers by setting the price of land artificially high, while the proceeds from land sales, when used for assisted immigration, acted against the interests of workers by creating a frequent surplus of labour. The scheme, however, was essential to the interests of large employers, since it firmly established the conditions necessary for capitalist exploitation.

32. South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register, 4.5.1839, quoted in G.E. Saunders, op. cit., p.120.
33. The setting up of the Church of England Collegiate School in 1847, later incorporated as the Church of England Collegiate School of St. Peters, was the second attempt to establish a proprietary school in South Australia. In 1839, advertisements to set such a school up brought £3,825 in subscriptions, but the venture lapsed with the depression.

34. T.H. Smeaton, op. cit., p.41.

35. The grant was £2,221 and, according to G.E. Saunders, worked out at two shillings a head. G.E. Saunders, op. cit., p.40.


37. When parents or children took a dislike to the character or teaching methods of a particular person, they simply stopped attending the school: "...the residents combined to starve the teacher out". C. Thiele, op. cit., p.8.


40. M. Katz, op. cit., p.395. For a description of 'dame schools' in Manchester, see Appendix 1.

41. Register, 25.3.1861.

42. SAGG, 12.2.1857, pp.149-50. From 1861, the selection procedures for teachers employed by the Board of Education were tightened.

43. R. Johnson, op. cit., p.44.

44. Register, 19.1.1856.

45. SAPP, 1863, No.35, p.3.

46. W. Wyatt's Report for June quarter, 1851, published in Register, 9.8.1851.

47. Quoted in A. Summers, op. cit., p.304.


49. The 1861 Report of the Board of Education, for example, attributes the 2% increase in the attendance of scholars over thirteen years to the exceptionally good harvest of 1860. SAGG, 1.5.1862, p.374.


51. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.27/473.
And thus had a mountain of deliberately fostered prejudice descend on their heads. This maintained that any request for assistance removed people from the ranks of the 'honest poor'. Destitution was seen not so much as an integral part of a particular economic system, but as a sole consequence of the individual's own intemperance and dissolute habits.

56. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.35/610.

57. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.35/608. In 1869, 16.5% of the children in city schools were registered as destitute. Register, 17.5.1869.

58. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.35/605.

59. SAGG, 21.2.1856, p.123. The comparable figure for 1855 and 1856 was 41% and for 1857, 57%.

60. SAPP, 1863, No.35, p.3.


62. ibid., p.756.

63. ibid., p.1067.

64. J.B. Hirst: Adelaide and the country, pp.19-23.

65. SAPP, 1872, No.73, p.8.

66. T.A. Coghlan, op. cit., pp.1076-7. Since this discussion refers to overall distinctions between skilled and unskilled workers rather than workers in different sectors of production, it uses the term 'sections' rather than 'fractions' of the working class.

67. Among the first unions formed in South Australia were, however, several associations of unskilled workers such as wharf labourers. See appendix 2 for the date of formation of different unions.

68. The table is based on T.A. Coghlan, op. cit., pp.753,1065-6,1071.


71. S. Alexander: "Women's work in nineteenth century London: a study of the years 1820-1850" in J. Mitchell and A. Oakley: The rights and wrongs of women (Harmondsworth, 1976), p.65. Although the article deals with women in London, it is applicable to urban Australia where production was often organised in a similar way.

72. loc. cit.

73. See table 9 for comparison of boys' and girls' school attendance.

74. I. Davey: "Trends in female school attendance in mid-19th century Ontario" in Social History (Vol.8, No.16, 1975), p.224. See also Chapter 4, n.107. For similar data on South Australia in the 1890s, see Chapter 5, p.251 and table 22.


76. See table 10.

77. J.B. Hirst: Adelaide and the country, p.136.

78. ibid., p.137.

79. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.29/507.

80. SAGG, 8.5.1873, pp.696-7.

81. Register, 21.7.1868. See also Register, 15.7.1868.

82. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p. 2/21.

83. SAGG, 8.5.1873. The attendance in this year seems to have been lower than average.

84. SAGG, 1.5.1862, p.373. See also table 9.

85. G.E. Saunders: "The state and education in South Australia, 1836-1875" in E.L. French (ed.): Melbourne studies in education, 1966 (MUP, 1967), p.208. According to a contemporary observer, "unfortunately for those in the profession, the more they are wanted, the less they are in demand. Thus mental economy differs from political. The denser the ignorance, the more difficult to penetrate it." Register, 28.1.1850, quoted in G.E. Saunders: "Public education in South Australia in the nineteenth century", p.79.

In 1869, for example, the Board of Education reported that "The year now reported on can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as an unfavourable one, so far as the interests of the schools, and the progress of public education are concerned. The almost general failure of the wheat crops by rust, and the consequent losses sustained by those in agricultural pursuits, very seriously interfered with the attendance in the country schools. During the early part of the year, the scholars in many of them were reduced to less than one-half the usual number. The elder children were employed at home in the place of paid labourers, while, for those that were sent to
school, the usual fees in many cases could with difficulty be afforded. Towards the close of the year, however, the effects of a more favourable season became apparent, the children were again sent to school, and the returns showed a considerable increase on the number that attended during the corresponding period of the previous year."
SAPP, 1869-70, No.19, p.1.

Since, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, one of the main aims of schooling was to cater for 'idle' poor children, the statistics on school attendance would be far more meaningful if we had, at the same time, some indication of children's work patterns. In the absence of statistics on juvenile employment, however, it is possible only to make guesses whether the number of children in regular employment increased or decreased during a particular period — especially since much of the work children performed was of a casual nature — running messages, carrying luggage, selling matches and sweets at race meetings and, most importantly, helping with the work of adult men and women in the family. For more discussion of these issues, see K. Wimshurst: "Street children and school attendance in South Australia, 1890-1915" (Unpub. MEd thesis, Flinders University, 1979).

87. In 1861, for example, an Education Amendment Bill containing a drastic reduction in the scope of public education was presented to parliament. Under the proposed Bill, the Education Board would be restricted to licensing schools in thinly populated areas, or those catering for poorer destitute children.

88. The Bill was defeated but, in the same year, a motion was passed to the effect "That in towns consisting of more than one thousand inhabitants an average of 40 scholars [instead of 20] should be deemed essential to constitute a school eligible to receive such government aid". SAPD, 1861, p.838. See also table 10.

89. In these places, it was admitted that, "[u]pon the whole, when it is considered that the remuneration received scarcely exceeds the wages of an ordinary labourer, the qualifications of the lowest class of teachers are quite as good as can be reasonably expected". SAGG, 2.5.1861, p.360.

90. SAGG, 16.11.1854, p.815.

91. SAPP, 1871, No.22, p.1.

92. See table 10.

93. See, for example, SAPP, 1871, No.22, p.1.

94. See table 11.

95. SAGG, 8.5.1873, p.700.

97. It is not true, however, that, as Goutman argues, the period under discussion was one of increasing urbanisation. Quite the contrary. While the population of the capital grew between 1866 and 1871, the proportion of people living in metropolitan Adelaide remained steady at the lowest point it has ever reached in the state's history. See table 11.

98. SAGG, 11.3.1875, p.460.

99. SAGG, 8.6.1865, p.496.

100. SAGG, 4.5.1871, p.624.

101. SAGG, 25.4.1872, p.539. In 1870, for example, the Register reported on the Halifax St. Free School (1.1.1870), Free Evening School in Currie Street (5.3.1870), Franklin St. Boys' and Girls' Free School (5.3.1870) and Free Industrial School at Port Adelaide (28.11.1870).

102. Register, 22.7.1872.

103. loc. cit.

104. Register, 29.7.1867.

105. Register, 4.3.1870. Emphasis supplied.


107. ibid., p.1069.

108. "On...1st March, a crowd of men assembled at noon outside the Treasury Buildings and a score of them rushed in, 'shouting, howling and vowing vengeance on the Government'. So ran the account in the newspapers. The mounted police were summoned and drove the crowd from the Treasury, but it reassembled before the Town Hall and held a meeting at which the men declared that they would not accept less than 5s.6d. per day - the rate paid to labourers on government railways. They marched back to the Treasury and tried to beat in the door, which had been locked against them. The place was cleared by mounted troopers and the men then went to the Post Office, whence they were driven by the troopers with the flat of their swords." ibid., p.1073.

109. ibid., p.1076. See Appendix 2 for a list of trade unions formed during this period.

110. "Neglect the education of the people, and the democratic principle, now in unrestricted (i) operation, will speedily become a gross delusion, the instrument of anarchy, and the parent of despotism." Register, 14.1.1857.

111. SAPD, 1873, p.315.

112. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.75/1414.


115. As mentioned in Chapter 2, women gained the vote in South Australia in 1894, and were among the first in the world to do so.

116. See *Annual Reports* of the South Australian Chamber of Manufacturers.

117. The *Register*, for example, wrote that "A better antidote to protectionist dyspepsia could not be recommended than the infusion of... private enterprise... While the Hotel Europeans have been expounding to us what might be done with a discriminating tariff, business men like Messrs. Robin and Le Messurier [milers at Port Adelaide] have shown us what can be done with the tariff as it is. They have demonstrated that the encouragement of native industry is less a fiscal question than a labour question. Workmen, instead of asking for protective duties to bolster antiquated and cumbrous forms of labour, should say, 'Give us the machinery with which these American doors or this English ironwork is made, and we will do our best to produce as cheap an article.'" Quoted in E.S. Richards: "Secondary industry in the South Australian economy to 1876", pp.130-1.


120. See J.B. Hirst, *op. cit.*, pp.78-95.

121. See table 12.


126. *ibid.*, pp.216-7; see also table 14.


128. J. Lonie: "Conservatism and class in South Australia during the Depression, 1929-1934".


133. *ibid.*, ch.3.


138. While the evidence is pitifully inadequate, I hope it will encourage research along different lines from the ones traditionally followed in studies of the 1875 Education Act. But there are areas which, although essential to the explanation, have not been researched in South Australia at all. In England, Laqueur suggests that working class demand was crucial in determining the shape that schooling eventually took. In South Australia, however, we know virtually nothing about the explicit preference of the organised working class at the time, nor about the alternative educational arrangements at their disposal.

139. *SAPP*, 1875, No.26, p.5.

140. C. Thiele: *Grains of mustard seed* (Education Department, South Australia, 1975), p.21.


142. The 'existence' refers here either to empirical existence, existence as a social construct, or both. Empirical existence involves things such as increase in the numbers of unemployed children or changes in their behaviour patterns. Existence as a social construct refers to a process whereby a particular group of events, previously unproblematically subsumed under several commonsense categories, suddenly attracts people's attention, and in the course of discussion comes to be gradually conceived under a new concept. Susan Eade gives a good example of such process. According to her, juvenile delinquency was 'invented' in England in the early nineteenth century, when changed laws defined many previously quite acceptable and casually regulated aspects of life of working class youth, including their games and amusements, as criminal acts: "Both the Metropolitan Police Acts made a wholesale onslaught on the leisure occupations of the poor and labouring classes" — and, as a consequence, many more people were convicted of 'criminal activities', causing concern to contemporary social observers. S. Eade: "The invention of juvenile delinquency in early nineteenth century England" (Paper presented to the 1977 ANZAAS Conference), p.15.

143. Hirst regards the 1875 Education Act as the "greatest increase in the power of the central government in the period 1870-1917". J.B. Hirst: *Adelaide and the country*, pp.135-6.
CHAPTER 4

EFFICIENCY, STUPIDITY AND CLASS CONFLICT
IN SOUTH AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS
The daily habits of the children are stronger than any rules unless the latter are constantly impressed and applied.¹

I do not think it desirable to allow individuality in the case of children. I think in their training there ought to be a certain amount of suppression and repression as well as encouragement....²

The previous chapters dealt with two interconnected processes — the shaping of the life patterns of various class fractions, and the gradual definition of a 'good school'. It was argued that the expansion of capitalism in nineteenth century South Australia depended, to a great extent, on subjecting a substantial part of the population to low wages, irregular employment, and harsh working conditions. Indeed, bourgeois families could only afford to lead the family life of their choice if the cost of labour, including that of domestic servants, remained very low. But this in turn meant that, on their inadequate wages and intermittent incomes, labouring families found the bourgeois ideals of settled, planned and 'respectable' existence distant and impracticable. Only one section of the working class, the skilled tradesmen, with more regular employment, shorter hours, and wages of up to twice the amount paid to unskilled labourers, found 'respectable' family life a feasible proposition.

Against considerable odds, many labouring families nevertheless favoured some form of education for their children. The trouble was that the model of a 'good' and 'efficient' school, gradually established under the selective licensing system of the 1851 Education Act, in many respects conflicted with the exigencies of working class life. Children who could
only attend school irregularly, would obviously benefit by some form of what we have become accustomed to call 'individual progression' — a type of instruction which was present, in primitive form, in many small private establishments. The 'efficient' schools, however, took their point of departure elsewhere, and developed around cost efficient satisfaction of the needs of regular attenders. Partly for this reason, 'good' schools for a long time did not reach the class considered to be most in need of their salutary influence — the poorest class.

This chapter deals with some aspects of the wholesale transformation of school routines which occurred in South Australia from the mid-1870s until the turn of the century. Many of these changes, although couched in terms of morality and efficiency, represented a direct assault on the life-styles and culture of labouring people in South Australia. After much struggle, they not only codified, in the form of hidden curricula, practices foreign and disadvantageous to many working class families, but made substantial opposition to them a punishable offence. As I have attempted to show, this process tended both to undercut the subsistence patterns of many labouring families and to prepare the ground for a 'scientific' identification of their children as less 'intelligent' than their wealthier neighbours.

Combating inefficiency

The educational changes of the 1870s affected all levels of the schooling hierarchy. In 1874 the Education Board itself was replaced. While previously, its members were drawn almost exclusively from the Adelaide 'Establishment', the new Board, as well as the Council of Education which succeeded it, was selected from among career public servants, professional men and manufacturers favouring a more 'interventionist' approach to
schooling. J.A. Hartley joined the Education Board in 1871; by 1875 he became what he was to remain for twenty years – the foremost educational decision-maker in the colony. He epitomised the changed way of seeing the world. Like Wyatt, the previous head of the education department, Hartley was born and educated in England – but two generations later, and in a different religion. Unlike his Anglican predecessor, he was a Wesleyan, a section of the Methodist church active predominantly among the English petite bourgeoisie. Wishing to differentiate itself from the labouring poor and yet perpetually threatened by a reduction to working class status, it had the strictest and most detailed programme for its moral transformation.

From the mid-1870s, the reconstructed Education Department, armed with a new Education Act, started an ambitious programme of getting all children to regularly attend 'good' schools. During its crusade, the content, processes and structures of even 'efficient' schools were substantially altered. Perhaps the most important changes occurred in the process of schooling. As argued earlier, this refers to the raw material of school experience, which during this period emerged from the obscurity of common-sense behaviour and became the focus of educationists' explicit concern. In 1868, somewhat to the surprise of the Education Commission, T.S. Reed, the chairman of the Destitute Board, outlined his criticism of school curricula. In brief, schoolmasters were taking their task too literally. Instead of paying attention to training, they concentrated on teaching, "teaching the intellect rather than training the child". A proper system of education would be "something very different from what exists now". Instead of starting with teaching pupils to read and write, teachers should see as their first and most important task the training of children through
physical activity — "drilling, marching, singing — all these tending to inculcate subordination and obedience". 

Seven years later, in 1875, an inspector was thundering against the lack of these very features in the South Australian education system. From a curiosity, they had become the norm from which, regrettably, schoolmasters still deviated. Many teachers had a...

...misconception of their duties and responsibilities. Too many imagine that their office is to teach simply, leaving out of sight the moral training of the children under their care — forgetting that it is of far greater importance to teach them habits of honesty, self-denial, and perseverance, than to drill them in the prescribed subjects. 

Put even more bluntly,

Considering the class of life to which most of the scholars belong...too much stress can hardly be laid upon the necessity of maintaining in our public schools the most thoroughly good discipline, order and moral tone; and, personally, I would much rather make concessions in the matter of scholarly attainments among the teachers, in order to secure, in their place, these all important essentials. 

But the inspectors were not worried for long. Over the next ten years, school routines were thoroughly transformed. The overriding concern with morality and discipline, as well as the perceived needs of the new examination system, changed the very content of the 3 R's. No longer was it the aim to teach pupils to read and write intelligibly and with ease; now they were to be trained to follow, as closely as possible, the departmental standard of excellence. In the newly introduced writing tests, for example, the faithful following of the authorised copybook, rather than the ability to write, was assessed. Because the inspectors took the copybook as their standard in judging what was better and what was inferior, "it was quite possible for a child to be failed in writing, even though he wrote better comparatively than another child who was not failed in the
same class". When one of the members of the 1881 Royal Commission of Education naively asked "But after all, does it matter what style of writing children are put to do, so that they can write?", Inspector Stanton reaffirmed the department's preoccupation with hidden curricula:

I think it matters considerably in every branch of education, whether you study the means as well as the end...I am afraid that we shall become so practical and utilitarian as to look only at the end, without any regard to the discipline or the means.

How was this discipline defined and secured among the children? Here, it is important to realise that, contrary to the conventional understanding of such process, what was at stake was not instilling 'good manners' into children who previously had none at all, but an attempt to replace one way of doing things by another. An essential and well documented part of this process was the transfer of school knowledge into the realm of private property. In 1875, the co-operation of children during exams was identified as one of the most serious consequences of the schools' alleged overemphasis on teaching:

The effect of this most serious mistake is only too evident. The children hardly seemed to know that to copy from each other, or from books, which in many cases they placed openly on the desks, were acts of dishonesty.

In fact, the children's attitude was not surprising. While the new Education Act depended, to a great extent, on disciplining teachers through the result system; until 1873, most children "were not examined individually as to their attainment when they left school". Indeed, the only experience most of them had of exams was the yearly local public examination, which more resembled a festival than a rigorous test of the pupil's attainment. Even more importantly, keeping ideas to oneself did not make sense from the point of view of traditional working class educational practices such as apprenticeship, pamphlets, political speeches,
newspapers or sermons. But with diligent inspection and supervision and frequent exams, an extremely important transformation was accomplished. Gradually, children were schooled into giving the label of 'cheating' to many aspects of learning through example and co-operation, and to add school knowledge to the growing list of things which could be conceptualised as private property. In their reports, the inspectors were able to clearly identify this change:

Under the old system children were very dishonest in their work. They would steal right and left the work of other children. I do not say that they would take money from the pockets of their schoolmates, but they thought it no wrong to appropriate the work of another...In not one school out of twenty do we find that disposition now, the fact showing that the moral tone has greatly improved.

Such improvement in the 'moral tone' carried with it a most important corollary. In the years after the passage of the 1875 Education Act, the public schools started producing an unambiguously identifiable category of 'successful children'. As argued later, the pupil's own ability, however defined, accounted for school success only in exceptional circumstances. In the majority of cases, failure or success were overwhelmingly predetermined by extraneous factors such as residential mobility, regularity of attendance and parents' employment. And yet the school routines, organised around the needs of regular attenders, gave causal status to the link between intelligence and school success. At first, the 'successful children' were not sharply identified in the everyday life of the school, but selected out in the yearly inspectorial examinations. Later, as regular exams and ranking children in order of merit were gradually introduced into the schools, the identification of failure and success became a feature of their everyday life.
By 1896, Inspector Smyth was able to comment that.

Where a systematic plan has been adopted of testing each class every week in arithmetic, spelling and other important branches, the increased progress made fully compensates the teacher for the extra labour involved. In this way defects and shortcomings are noticed at once and steps taken to effect remedies, while the friendly rivalry excited by pitting class against class in each subject serves as a stimulus to excel...

The quarterly examinations by the teachers are now as a general rule fairly well carried out in accordance with instructions.¹⁸

Not only the frequency of exams, but the arbitration of their results changed. The manifestly alien inspector, belonging to a different social class and enforcing criteria which even the teachers often did not understand, was now joined by the more familiar local teacher. To this gradation, a handful of bursaries and exhibitions added a symbolic nomenclature. The successful children were firmly identified as intellectually brilliant and deserving further attention.

As soon as pupils learnt to respect exams,¹⁹ these became one of the means towards further transformations. One of them, essential to the eventual definition of 'successful children', was the enforced standardisation of school language. Such a crusade was in no sense socially neutral — it represented one aspect of attack on working class patterns of life — the 'daily habits of the children', and could only be conducted as such.

As nineteenth century labour activists were never tired of repeating, workers could only improve their lot if they thoroughly understood the conditions of their own exploitation. In this process, education was essential. According to an editorial in the South Australian labour weekly, the Herald,

The death knell of monopoly was sounded that moment the first righteous demand of labour received concession in the shape of free education. Gradually the light of
reason is being applied by workers to problems which he before never had the temerity to grapple with, and the consequence is the mask is being dragged off the rotten and inhuman system which afflicts all communities of the so-called civilized world...20

And yet, instead of drawing on and enriching the language in which ordinary people did their everyday thinking, and thus helping them to name and analyse the conditions of their everyday life, workers' children were taught to manipulate a dialect based on the cultural world of a different class.21

Thus, when the inspectors said that "[f]luency, freedom from provincialisms and clear enunciation are perseveringly sought",22 they aimed further than teaching children to speak clearly and distinctly. If, in the case of writing, the aim was to make pupils closely imitate the set copybook, rather than simply teach them to write, here the goal was the suppression and eventual elimination of local dialect, rather than the thorough understanding of grammatical rules:

Grammar appears, as a rule, to be taught in an intelligent way, but the children do not always speak correctly, even when they understand the ordinary rules of grammar...the daily habits of the children are stronger than any rules unless the latter are constantly impressed and applied....23

Only through such constant enforcement could a dialect, unfamiliar to most working people, change from the social attribute of a particular class to Correct English; an official standard to which the children had to adhere if they wanted to pass exams, and which teachers had to enforce if they wanted to maintain their reputation and get their payment for results.24

As the headmasters of schools in working class districts realised, this host of innovations more or less involved teaching the children a new language: "[the teachers] have to begin at the very beginning to teach
them to aspire their 'h's', to sound their final consonants, and correct mistakes in grammar'. The necessity to teach children a new language could, however, be understood in several different ways. Some headmasters simply assumed that their poorer pupils had no language at all. According to one,

The children of respectable parents with good home influences can always be taught more easily to understand the language and the teaching than the lower classes, where you have to give them a language before you can teach them anything at all.

Such an approach can be designated as cultural domination — the culture of the dominant class is considered to be so unmistakably superior that there is no need to stoop down and consider anything which is not a part of it.

Most headmasters, however, adopted a more enlightened — and workable — view, which we can call cultural assimilation. The children had both culture and language, but these, as well as different from the dominant standard, were faulty and deficient. To reform the children, however, one should start from where they were — on their familiar ground. Thus Clark, the most perceptive of these headmasters, suggested that the language standard should be lower for working class children, and that, instead of abstract rules, grammar should concentrate on correcting "errors of common speech". It did not occur to him that the children's own language, with its rules and regularities and regional variations in pronunciation, could be respected. As regards the subject of composition, however, the class bias was less entrenched and invisible, lacking the seeming neutrality of grammatical rules. Noting indignantly that, in a test in composition, working class boys (many of them with hardly enough to eat) "were asked to reply to the advertisement — 'wanted to purchase, a pleasure boat, for use on the Torrens Lake, capable of carrying 8 persons in comfort and
safety..." he strongly advocated the setting of topics which were
closer to the children's experience.

Here, Clark came close to a position similar to that advocated by some
contemporary proponents of sociology of knowledge. According to this
interpretation, different classes have in some respects different, but not
necessarily inferior or superior, cultural attributes. They do, however,
possess different powers of designating particular aspects of culture as
superior. After the introduction of the 1875 Education Act in South
Australia, the power of working people to designate their everyday speech
as 'school language' was drastically reduced but not entirely obliterated.

In 1886, an inspector complained:

In one school, under an experienced teacher, who assured
me that composition had been most carefully taught, the
exercises, almost without exception, were in the district
patois. He declared it impossible to get the children to
write otherwise. I failed to see it, and I do so still....

Although such victories were rare, the crusaders for Correct English were
gradually forced to modify their ambitions. If, in 1887, an inspector
hoped that rigorous school routines would "soon make the common speech of
children free from the vulgarisms and mistakes that now mar it", in 1898
his colleague commented that "there is an evil in pronunciation which is
making headway in some localities. This evil is sometimes called the
Australian twang, and is most unpleasant." And, by the first decade of
the twentieth century, Alfred Williams, the new Director of Education,
officially washed his hands of the whole affair. Schools were simply not
powerful enough to counter the 'daily habits' of the people, and make
everybody talk the same 'correct' way. The teachers' influence could,
with some effect, be extended into the playground, but hardly any further:
It is necessary...that the teacher's influence be felt in the playground as well as in the school, for it is no unusual thing in some parts of my district to hear children that speak fairly well while in the school, to drop into a style of speaking that is neither correct nor pleasant to hear as soon as they get into the playground.33

If it was next to impossible to control the out-of-school language of the children34 the school lost its authority entirely in the workplace:

Teachers in the mining districts assure me that lads who have by persistent training, been led to drop the peculiarities of the Cornish pronunciation, and to write and speak really sound English, adopt in toto the patois of the miner as soon as they are employed underground....35

But precisely this failure to enforce the general usage of 'Correct English' made possible the continued use of language as a class-biased sorting device for 'successful children'.

Next to inspection and exams, a variety of new and imaginative techniques was introduced in order to remould the pupils' daily habits. Observing that, in 1874, the "want of order in some schools is very great", an inspector supported the introduction of drill "to accustom children to prompt obedience and regularity".36 Singing was to be used to a similar purpose: "School singing, says an eminent authority, is as necessary to moral teaching as instrumental music is to military discipline..."37 It was Alexander Clark, the headmaster of the Model Schools, loud in praise of military drill (which was 'strictly carried out in all departments of the school', and with a cadet corps of fifty which could perform 'all ordinary drill with arms, including skirmishing'), who was a fervent advocate of the tonic sol-fa method for the teaching of singing, and who had a wide influence over the development of choral work for three decades.38 All the teachers had to understand and practise class drill.39

In many schools, the orders 'eyes front', 'eyes on the ground', 'eyes
right' and 'eyes on the ceiling' were followed out so strictly that fifty or one hundred lines were given for disobedience in this respect since "it is just as much as act of disobedience if, when a child receive the order 'eyes right' during the exercise, he looks some other way, as if he had committed a far more serious offence".

An important aspect of teaching children prompt obedience and regularity was breaking up their conception of time and replacing it by a strict mechanical division of the day into hours and minutes. Such process was not confined to the classroom, and indeed constituted one of the most significant common features of contemporary schools and workplaces. As E.P. Thompson argued, the close attention to mechanical time which characterises advanced industrial countries had its roots in the rationality of wage labour and machine production. It was preceded by more 'natural', task-oriented conception of time, where life was governed not by the clock or the pace of the machine, but by the season and the task to be done. More particularly, the problem of employers anxious to utilise every moment of the labour time they bought, was how to eradicate practices such as 'Saint Monday', and the irregularities in work patterns brought on by the worker's private concerns or local festivals.

Before complex machinery was employed in production, the working day might be shortened or lengthened and intensity of work might vary in order to finish a given task. With mechanisation and a more detailed division of labour, such as was slowly occurring in South Australia from the 1870s, punctuality and regularity changed from a virtue to an attribute which had to be enforced if the enterprise was to remain profitable.
For many working people, the reformed public schools were their first encounter with rigorous mechanical division of time.\textsuperscript{43} By the late 1870s, in the typical public school, "At 9.15 the bell rings or the whistle is blown, and the children fall in. At 9.30 there is an inspection for cleanliness. The children march into school, and the roll is called..."\textsuperscript{44}

In each day there were four roll calls: complete ones at the beginning of morning and afternoon with cleanliness inspection,

...the second callings in the morning and afternoon are simply the blank spaces, to record the attendance of those who come late...The reason for this is...to get an idea of the punctuality of the school, so that [the inspector] can see whether unpunctuality spreads through the whole school, or is confined to one particular family.\textsuperscript{45}

This precaution was taken because, to many families, the new system of timekeeping came by no means naturally. In 1887, the East Torrens Board of Advice wrote

...it is but just to the parents to say that they are in many instances in sympathy with the Board in their desire not only for the children to be sent to school, but to see that they are in time for roll call. Ignorance of this practice hitherto has lost the pupils many an attendance mark.\textsuperscript{46}

In its attempt to discipline both pupils and teachers, the education department did not stop at enforcing a strict division of time within a day. Gradually, set timetables were introduced to regularise the division of tasks within a week. As in the matter of timekeeping, the introduction of timetables which catered neither for the irregularity of attendance caused by some children's work patterns, nor for pupils' absences through illness or other unforeseen circumstances, was an ambitious affair. In the late 1860s, Inspector Wyatt observed resignedly that the majority of schools were of a
...modicum character, whose teachers find their timetables and other methodical arrangements rendered almost nugatory by irregular and unpunctual attendance, which necessitates the substitution of individual for class teaching.⁴⁷

Even in 1874, of the 112 public schools inspected, only 18 were considered to have a 'good' timetable, while 37 had none at all, and usually there was no programme.⁴⁶ It was only in 1884 that Inspector Burgan was able to report a modest victory in the matter of 'methodical teaching':

The mode in which the records have been kept is now generally very satisfactory. Much more care and neatness are shown now than formerly. In fact a badly kept book is the exception. Timetables and programmes are, as a rule, carefully prepared, and except in a few schools, they are systematically worked from. There are still a few teachers who seem to have no liking for order or method, and I have constantly to remind them that their arrangement for work should be clear and precise, and carried out with the utmost regularity.⁴⁹

To appreciate the difference the new school processes made to the children's experience, we can compare the new regime with private establishments, which retained much of the former conditions of public schools.

By 1881, these establishments were seen by headmaster Young to be doing a positive injury to the children. They are allowed to attend school when they please, and are not compelled to keep clean, and no habits of cleanliness, neatness, or propriety of conduct are inculcated. There is no discipline carried out. I see the children running in the street for half an hour at a time after those at the public school are in.⁵⁰

Inspector Hosking, who was invited to examine one of the small private schools in the working class suburb of Hindmarsh, so it could be certified as efficient ("The teacher desired that he should be informed of the time when I would visit him, but I thought it better to take him unawares"), testified in disgust:

On entering the school I found the place in thorough disorder; children calling out to each other from all parts of the room, and loud talking going on.—No discipline in fact.—No discipline at all. After being
there for a minute or two, I found a number walking away from their seats, without permission, to look for slates and books, and the whole place was in disorder. When I asked for the copybooks, I found they were blotted and written very carelessly, and it seemed as if no proper attention had been given to the books.\textsuperscript{51}

It was no easy matter to subjugate children to such an extent that they did not dare move their eyes without permission. Griffiths, head of the Franklin Street Model School, recounted proudly that

\textit{I had to punish a great deal when the school was first opened to reduce the children to obedience. They were like a lot of wild young colts, jumping over the desks, laughing, talking and throwing books at each other. I had to use in many cases very severe methods, but since I have established a character for determination, I have had very little punishing to do.}\textsuperscript{52}

Most other teachers and inspectors seem to have had a very similar experience. In 1883, Inspector Dewhirst wrote:

\textit{...the discipline maintained in all the public schools is now very good...In all, the pupils are taught that obedience is the foundation of order, and the effect produced is just what was anticipated...}\textsuperscript{53}

(As another inspector noted, part of the effect was that "there is very little attempt made to draw out and increase the mental powers [of the children]".\textsuperscript{54}) But, as order improved, the inspectors became more ambitious. The ideal was more than a busy, quiet classroom; it was "utter subservience of the scholars to rule"\textsuperscript{55}; a well-oiled machine, a regiment of soldiers on parade. In 1886, Inspector Clark wrote:

\textit{Of order in itself it is almost impossible to complain. Discipline, as I understand it in its technical sense, is not so good. Movements are not carried out with uniformity, regularity, quietness, promptitude and exactness, and discipline without all these cannot be satisfactory...}\textsuperscript{56}

It seemed to follow logically that "[i]ndeed a school is better without a playground unless that playground be superintended".\textsuperscript{57} The schools kept
trying. In 1896, Inspector Clark reported with approval having heard "a large school marched in to the rhythmical recitation of the extended multiplication table forwards and backwards..."58 Towards the end of the century, many teachers could boast of perfect discipline — at least when the inspectors were around. The fulfilment of the schools' civilizing mission seemed to be at hand. According to Inspector Burgan,

No more gratifying sight is to be witnessed by a lover of order than the daily assembly in our schools...The children readily and promptly respond to orders, they march into and from the schools to the stirring sounds of a drum and fife band...59

To his colleague, Inspector McNamara, the transformation seemed almost miraculous:

A large number of children in different classes are taught at the same time in the large rooms of our schools, and the quiet, orderly way in which their work proceeds, the methodical way in which material for that work is distributed, and the absence of all noises and confusion would seem, to all those unacquainted with our system, a marvellous exhibition.60

Looking at the suppressed, repressed and regulated children, people eventually started realising that the new perfect discipline amounted to an overkill. Indeed, reading the exasperated comments about children's lifelessness in classroom, one gets the impression that many pupils' opposition to school discipline did not disappear, but went underground to turn into passive resistance: "We have developed a style of teaching", lamented Inspector Neale,

...in which the teacher unnecessarily exhausts himself while the children are comparatively passive. So much to seed has this type run that it is not uncommon to find a teacher answering the questions as well as asking; and still more numerous are those who find it necessary to repeat everything the child says to save him the energy of speaking so clearly that his classmates can hear...61

Gradually, many educationists became convinced that to maintain both discipline and the pupils' interest in schoolwork, a new approach was
needed. The children themselves had to be enlisted in the schooling effort. Inspector Burgan, inspired by reading accounts of New Education, became convinced that,

If proper arrangements were made the children could, under supervision only, do with ease and pleasure much more than they do now...The necessity for the adoption of ingenious plans of working is apparent. It is by these that many teachers get a large quantity of excellent work done. They enlist the sympathies of the children in their work, give them something to do which they are proud of doing, and which, when accomplished, makes them feel that they have power within themselves..."62

By 1903, a new critical orthodoxy was firmly established. Teachers still erred if they concentrated merely on instruction. But the remedy no longer lay in 'suppression and repression' of the children's individuality. Quite the contrary. As Inspector Burgan put it,

...the belief is forced on me that too many of our teachers make the initial mistake of assuming that instruction — not cultivation of the native powers of children's minds — is the chief thing to be aimed at. In any system of education it is of course essential that both shall go, as it were hand in hand, but the first place should be given to cultivation — the eliciting of the native powers of the mind in the way that nature herself points out.63

More bluntly and concretely, 'nature herself' seemed to have pointed out a less counterproductive, but no less ambitious and comprehensive, mode of discipline. As Inspector Maughaan said in 1903,

I do not regard as entirely good that management which makes it impossible for the child to disobey, where everything is done by rule, and there is little or no opportunity for the learning of self-control. Admireable as this perfect government may seem, we may well dread the time when the youth is freed from its restraint...Trust, then, should be freely given; but with judgement and tact. Supervision should indeed be constant, but not only not intrusive, but so little in evidence that the child should scarcely be conscious of it.64

In South Australia as elsewhere, this changed way of understanding the learning process became known as 'New Education'. Composed of many, often conflicting strands of thought, New Education emphasized not only different
modes of teaching — especially 'learning by doing' — but prolonged
dependence of adolescents on adults.

Teachers and the 'structures of schooling'

To be able to put this whole system into operation, not only pupils but
teachers had to be disciplined into a different way of doing things. The
effort to accomplish this led to a profound transformation of what I have
called the 'structures of schooling', and in turn affected hidden and
overt curricula of schools. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to see
the 1875 Education Act as a sudden introduction of previously unknown
practices. Rather, it presented another, substantial step in selecting
'suitable' teachers and whittling away their autonomy.

Before 1875, this process went from the requirement of testimony to the
good moral character of the teacher — and the practical approval, through
attendance, of parents and pupils, to an ever more precise definition of
the kind of morality that licensed teachers were supposed to have. As in
the case of their pupils, this diverged further and further from the everyday
behaviour of the local community. Outside of schools, teachers were
prohibited from engaging in political activity or holding any part-time
jobs, could not get drunk, and had to observe the utmost chastity in their
relations with the opposite sex. Beyond this, the old Education Board set
up literary qualifications which teachers had to pass (though many did not),
and suggested a standard timetable, Course of Instruction and list of
suitable books that some teachers made use of.

Nevertheless, many far-reaching innovations can be attributed to Hartley's
administration. The most prosaic of these was a substantial change in
personnel. As in the case of their superiors on the Board of Education, teachers who would not accept the new definition of schooling were either dismissed outright or slowly eased out of the department, while, with the help of the newly-opened training college, young teachers were trained in the one correct method.66

The change in personnel facilitated the introduction of many innovations. Some of the most significant of these are linked with Hartley's attempt to transform his own and brother inspectors' ideas about the administration of the department into detailed, impersonal, clear-cut and comprehensive rules to which henceforth everybody, including the Inspector-General of schools himself, had to submit.67 While this way of doing things seemed strange to many of his contemporaries, the new head of the education department hardly knew any other.

The son of a Wesleyan minister...he was very much a product of his upbringing — that strict code of morality, uprightness, integrity and service which his religion epitomised, his family revered and his school instilled.68

A follower of Matthew Arnold, he subscribed to the dictum that "a man in public office acquired abilities and judgements which placed him above his subordinates and allowed him to decide what was best for them".69 To this way of seeing the world was now added the ability to issue circulars and regulations under an Act which left great scope to such executive discretion.

This fortunate combination started producing its own logical progeny, which the inspectorate upheld and tended with fatherly care. While, in the first instance, regulations were made to rationalise and facilitate teachers' work, now teachers often had to work in order to facilitate the continued existence of the regulations. A most significant interchange
between Hartley and one of the Commissioners illustrates this inversion of purpose:

Do you think it necessary to exercise such a direct control over the schoolmasters to ascertain whether they keep regular hours, and whether the timetable is duly observed? — Yes, indeed I do. — Do you mean to say that, from your experience of teachers, it is necessary to keep a look-out over them in this way? — I don't say that, but in a department like ours we cannot make rules to apply to one teacher and not another.  

In a similar way Inspector Stanton, stating that "we take the copybook as our standard in judging what is better and what is inferior", answered the question "Do you think it is desirable to alter that standpoint, and to judge more by the excellence in writing than by any particular standard?" by "I don't think it would be advisable in a large department to do that, as every teacher's idea of excellent writing would most probably be the imitation of his own". And indeed, as the carefully enforced regulations prospered, the teachers' intellect seemed to decline, at least in the eyes of the Education Department. By 1891, one of the inspectors expressed "alarm and misgiving [at] the proposal to allow poetry learned to be selected by the teachers themselves"..."I am not, as a rule, an advocate for cramping any teacher's individuality...", he stated, but allowing teachers freedom in "a subject of so much importance to the rising generation" would allow "the unblesed and untrained blind...[to] lead the far greater portion [of children] into some doggerel ditch".

Within the various regulations issued by the Hartley administration, the powerful 'payment for results' scheme proved to be particularly fertile in unintended consequences. Officially introduced in the 1875 Act, it was modelled on the English Revised Code of 1862. In South Australia, it was first put forward as a solution to the old problem of denominational
schools, which would be paid so much per pupil for imparting examinable secular instruction.\textsuperscript{73}

In the form in which it was eventually adopted in South Australia, the scheme involved a yearly inspectorial 'result examination' of each pupil in each government school in a list of prescribed subjects, as well as assessment of discipline and drill. The school percentages gained in the 'result examination' became the basis on which depended a proportion of teachers' pay (except for those in the model schools), their reputation and that of their school, and their promotion possibilities. In this way, the department could 'make its wishes known by examination' and expect them to be promptly obeyed. And indeed, as one teacher testified, "I believe 'result' is present with the teacher everywhere — at his meals, when he rests at night, and in church".\textsuperscript{74} The payment for results scheme lasted until 1892. By then, curricula and school practices had been standardised to such an extent that, in view of mounting criticism of the scheme, the added incentive to conformity — direct dependence of pay on exam percentages, could safely be dropped. Nevertheless, the result exam itself was retained for classification purposes — and thus indirectly linked with wages, well into the twentieth century. While it lasted, the scheme had a profound influence on both the process and content of schooling. Not only were discipline, drill and a range of other subjects included in the examination; the method of inspection and grading contained lessons of its own — some undoubtedly intentional, some probably not.

I have already discussed the deliberate transfer of school knowledge into the realm of private property and the effort to standardise the children's language. But the result system had some unintended consequences as well. One of the most widely discussed and criticised was 'cram'. Although
exceptional teachers of well-schooled pupils might not resort to this mindless memorisation of examinable facts, most of them had little choice in the matter. A lower exam percentage carried with it loss of pay, reduced promotion possibilities, and the constant threat of transfer to a smaller school or of loss of employment because of 'inefficiency'.

Many teachers, realising that the result system forced them into a style of teaching they disapproved of, were bitter in their condemnation of it. The system, they argued, made teachers regard the children as so many things to get a high percentage from. The necessity of getting a high percentage is so impressed upon the teachers that in many cases everything else than that is disregarded.

And yet it was contrary to the dignity of human nature that human energy, and the care and anxiety of a master, and the application of his pupils, should be attempted to be gauged in a similar manner as you can find the cubic contents of geometrical bodies.

As one of the old teachers (whose principled opposition to the new methods was explained away contemptuously by Hartley as old age and inability to cope with innovation) said bitterly,

while trying to strengthen the powers [children] have, I feel that I am doing what is against my own interest, my status, and against myself financially; but I cannot on these grounds do what I think is not so well for the children. I think education consists of two parts: education proper and instruction – the one drawing out the faculties of the child, and the other the mere imparting of knowledge.

Payment by results, he believed, forced teachers to pay undue attention to the latter.

If, at the time, such complaints were often identified as the inconsequential grumbles of inefficient teachers, twenty years later they became, with the advantage of hindsight, part of the accepted wisdom of some of
the inspectors themselves. According to the 1902 report of Inspector Whillas,

...the result examination...has done more to stamp out the individuality of the teacher than anything else. Instead of following out his own lofty aspirations as to the best means of promoting the interests of his pupils, he has had to conform to the system of examination in all its harassing details, and to sink his own ideals to the necessity of obtaining a certain number of marks. The consequence has been that the teacher has generally become mechanical in his work — his enthusiasm has been quenched and his ideals lowered. As his advancement depended very much upon the results of his annual examination, it was only natural that he should devote his most strenuous endeavours to gaining a high percentage. Competition became so keen that the employment of very questionable methods for this purpose have not been unknown, and the moral training of the pupils has suffered in consequence.\(^9\)

Hartley himself believed that meticulous observance of the department's regulations was worth far more than teachers' individuality in bringing about the desired state of educational affairs. Accordingly, he argued that "...payment by results...has been one of the most efficient factors in our system".\(^8\) Yet, at the same time, he disapproved of cramming, which many people saw as the logical corollary of the result system. The Teachers' Association, for example, pointed out that:

The reason some teachers teach geography in the minute manner complained of by the Inspector-General is not too far to seek. They do not know but that the examining inspector will question their pupils on the lines so strongly condemned by Mr. Hartley, whose ideas of teaching the subject would be gladly adopted by teachers were they assured inspectors would examine on the lines laid down therein.\(^8^1\)

Hartley, however, understood the problem differently. It was not the system the Education Department adopted, but the teachers who were at fault. To improve their inefficient teaching methods, curricula had to be further standardised.
Although by 1880 the curriculum was made uniform throughout the colony, there was still some latitude. In 1881, the teachers "were not limited in their course, except that they must take up certain subjects and present the children for examination in them". They had a set programme, although "[t]hey can take any method they please and devote as much time as they like to any subject". But the following year, Hartley mused: "...it was only the other day that I saw my way clear to make this alteration [in teaching arithmetic]; and I think it can be done by a carefully prepared and elaborate syllabus of a plan of teaching to be followed in each case".

Next to cram, the payment for results scheme seemed to have produced another, partly unintended consequence — a self-perpetuating spiral of higher achievements and higher standards. In the nineteenth century (as well as now), schooling involved a contradiction. While it was considered to be essential for 'civilising' working-class children, too much education might "unfit them for the calling God has been pleased to place them in" or, more to the point, allow working-class boys to compete with the sons of petite bourgeoisie for clerical jobs. Thus the 'compulsory standard' was approved of by wealthy colonists as a means of keeping children in school only as long as was necessary to teach them their lesson: long enough to reach their modest proficiency in the 3 R's and become disciplined. In the first instance, the education department concurred with the leading citizens' aim of 'keeping the standard of education in State schools pretty low'. As the years went by, however, this aim not only came under increasing political attack, but started conflicting with the dynamics of the bureaucratically administered department.
In their effort to discipline teachers through payment for results, inspectors did not like giving much over 75% in exams:

...they consider that obtaining 89, 92 and 93% is undesirable — In what way? Is it not desirable that all children should pass? — It is thought that they ought not to pass to such an extent as that. It is considered much better that the schools should get 70 and 80 than 91 and 92%. 87

But the teachers did try to get more — knowing full well that low results could mean a demotion as well as loss of pay.

Indeed, during Hartley's lifetime "The average percentage gained in a programme fully twice the value of 1876 had risen from the 'very satisfactory' average of 61.11 of that year to 77.17" in 1896. 88 To achieve higher percentages, teachers could work themselves and the children harder — or become more 'efficient' in the sense of leaving any unproductive (of percentages) aspects of knowledge out of the curricula. In the inspectors' reports, the first 'percentage grinding' method received much attention in the decade after 1875. Thus Inspector Dewhirst reported in 1879

...instances have come to my knowledge during the past year of children having been found at night by their parents in a muttering delirium of schoolwork. And not a few teachers, especially females, have very much injured their health by extra, and what I may designate as extravagant, efforts to bring the younger and less gifted of their scholars up to the standard of proficiency. 89

Many, like the head of the Norwood school, did this by keeping the children in school two hours a day longer. 90

Towards the turn of the century, the second group of 'percentage grinding' strategies began to receive more attention — although it is unclear whether teaching children out of school hours became standard practice, ceased, or stopped being 'productive'. One of these strategies was the
construction of timetables in such a way that the subjects awarded the most marks in the result exams received the most attention. As one inspector said,

I have been frequently asked how it is that some teachers obtain such high results, while others with apparently as much energy and ability do not succeed. The success and failure are due in a great measure to the timetables and programmes. The following remarks of a very successful teacher may be read with benefit: 'As the department has fixed the values of the subjects by marks, I apportion my time to them in the same ratio; for example, Arithmetic (slate and mental) is worth about one-third of the marks, and I give nearly one-third of the time to that subject'.

At first the inspectorate, noting "that the only way in which a large department can make its wishes known is by examination", approved of this practice. But, as teachers perfected their statistical percentage-grinding techniques, the inspectors became alarmed at the increasing neglect of subjects such as reading, history and geography, which it was not 'profitable' to teach. According to Inspector Smyth,

So long as teachers give 11 or 12 lessons a week to arithmetic and only 4 or 5 lessons a week to reading it will be impossible to secure anything beyond mediocrity in this most important branch...When our department will decide upon awarding only the same marks to arithmetic as is done to reading, then probably a more rational arrangement of lessons will take place.

And again, in 1905, the fact that "the marks assigned to the subjects taught have been badly graded in the past" is given as one of the many reasons "for this failure in intelligent teaching".

Both strategies — out-of-school work and greater 'efficiency' of teaching — increased the percentages. A persistent trend in this direction would have lessened the effectiveness of the result system. As it was, however, it enabled the inspectorate, through frequent curricular changes, to raise the 'standards' still higher, keep the teachers working hard — and upset
the leading citizens who, noting that "there is a sort of spirit of independence getting abroad", did not know "what is to act as a counter to it except keeping the standard of education in State schools pretty low". In other words, the increasingly ambitious disciplinary aspects of schooling could only be grafted onto a steadily expanding curriculum which, while it might have been adverse to the interests of workers as a class, equipped many more individuals with skills essential for the performance of white collar jobs. One of the results of this creeping increase in exam requirements was that the 'compulsory standard' did not work as it was supposed to — to enable poor parents to take children out of school, irrespective of age, as soon as they passed an exam in elementary education. As the Teachers' Association said,

An exceptionally smart child of ten and a half years of age, who attends the school regularly, and who has the help of parents at home, may be able to pass the standard, but no instance of this kind has come to our knowledge; and we submit that the standard was not constructed to meet the needs of exceptionally smart children...

After Hartley's death, curricular changes became less frequent, and the trend towards increasing standards slowed down. The new Board of Inspectors, composed of his former subordinates, saw their duty as preserving, in every detail, the system established by the late Inspector-General. In this climate, the teachers' statistical expertise and efficiency in getting exam passes flowered unhindered. In 1898, Inspector Plummer reported that "[t]he general organisation and instruction continue to improve, and the examination results are higher...I attribute this great improvement to the rest and quiet that have obtained during the past year".
Within a few years, however, opinions started to differ, even within the inspectorate itself, as to the real value of this improvement. On the one hand, the Board of Inspectors believed themselves to be within reach of the best of all possible worlds. In 1902, they reported that:

The work of the schools this year has differed but little from that done in the past. We are extremely pleased with the general condition of the schools, which, we believe, was never better than it is now.\textsuperscript{100}

On the other hand, the Board's critics attributed the increasing percentages more to the teachers' expertise in getting children to pass exams than to any increase in educational standards. In the same yearly report that contained the self-congratulatory remarks of the Board of Inspectors, Inspector Neale, the outspoken future Director of Education in Tasmania, condemned the present system.

The tabulated results of the annual examination show that percentages higher than ever before have been gained. This follows a decrease in the difficulty of the test and a knowledge of the limitations of the examination, rather than any increase in the efficiency of the schools; indeed it is clear that the very ease with which a good percentage may now be gained has prevented many teachers showing any interest in the modern attitude of mind to the child and the subject, and has tended with them to produce a mechanical and perfunctory method of working.\textsuperscript{101}

In spite of this eventual slowing down, the year's programme had become so full that only regular attenders had an even chance of successfully passing the exams:

...both children and parents frequently keep tally of the days actually attended, so that the bare minimum of 35 days a quarter may not be exceeded. As a natural consequence such children are unable to complete the year's programme in the limited attendance, and are a drag on the teacher throughout the year.\textsuperscript{102}

By the same token, through the payment for results scheme, teachers were enlisted in the battle against such irregular attenders:
The greatest source of annoyance and inconvenience which the teachers had to put up with was the irregular attendance of scholars... The irregular and truant pupils always brought down the percentage of marks at the examination, and every teacher was anxious to avoid that result.  

If some teachers tried to make their programme more flexible in order to accommodate these children, they found themselves penalised for breaking the regulations:

The teachers prepared at the beginning of each quarter a programme of lessons for the whole quarter, and if any of the pupils were absent they missed the lessons of the day, or the teachers often stayed behind and broke the regulations, so as to teach the lessons that had been missed.

Not only irregular attenders, but children of residentially mobile families found it harder to succeed at school because of the payment for results scheme. Unless pupils had been in school for a substantial part of the year, they could be withdrawn from the yearly result exams.

Since any failures depressed the teachers' final percentage, this was the course usually adopted. No exam meant to promotion into the next class— and several non-promotions or failures meant that the child reached the leaving age of thirteen years without ever getting to grade 4 or sitting for the compulsory certificate which was awarded in this grade.

The payment for results system, based on identical exams for boys and girls in most subjects, had another, rather controversial, effect—considerable lessening of the sex-differentiation of curricula and of teaching methods. Such standardisation did not pass without opposition. Girls, it was frequently argued, not only had less need to master subjects such as arithmetic, but less ability to do so. As one influential headmaster put it,
I would make the arithmetic in the higher classes easier for the girls. In the lower classes...There should be no thinking there, but rather accuracy, and therefore I would not modify the standard for the girls' second and third classes, but I would in the higher classes.\textsuperscript{106}

And indeed, the observations regarding girls' ability seemed to be confirmed under the new regime. On the whole, girls did perform worse in arithmetic than boys. The catch was that the standardisation of exams changed little in the division of labour within families, or the different values that different social groups put on girls' education.\textsuperscript{107} For example, in 1884 Inspector Dewhirst reported that boys attended school more often than girls (in the ratio of 11 to 9), and added: "Considering how much more serviceable the help of girls in home life is than that of boys, this relative difference in attendance can occasion no surprise..."\textsuperscript{108}

At the same time, while exams were formally standardised, the instruction given to boys and girls was not. Thus "[t]he difference in mental arithmetic of boys and girls taught together is generally attributed to the time lost (?)...by the girls while sewing, the boys generally devoting that time to arithmetic".\textsuperscript{109}

Girls not only tended to spend less time in school and to spend less of that time learning arithmetic, they usually received worse instruction than boys in the subject, at least in schools divided into boys' and girls' departments. Thus, if girls performed worse than boys in arithmetic, Hartley insisted that it was because "...for generations girls have been so badly taught arithmetic that the average girl is not equal to the average boy in this subject",\textsuperscript{110} not because of any innate difference in ability. For the same reasons, the Inspector-General resisted moves by the headmaster of the teacher training school who wanted to lower the standard in arithmetic, physics and chemistry for women trainee teachers.
Women had equal ability to men in these subjects, he argued. Problems were only likely to arise if women, in addition to the demanding full-time work or study programme, took on the additional arduous job of housekeeping for their family. In a private letter, he mentioned the

...great difference between men and women. Many of the latter earn their bread during the day, and spend the evenings and early morning, which would be a time of comparative rest, in the discharge of women's special function as the ministering angel of life, or else in domestic duties. This is not expected nor intended. All honour to those who do it. The stern stress of life is too much for them — and they give way: but we must not blame one part of their life.111

Compulsory schooling and patterns of working class life

Up till now, I have been describing the redefinition of education in terms of the profound changes which occurred in the process, content and structure of schooling. But to come under the influence of the new civilising machine, children actually had to regularly attend 'efficient schools'. By 1875, it became accepted that the most effective way of getting them there was to make schooling compulsory.112

The 1875 Act proclaimed and the 1878 Act perfected the government's intention to extend compulsion to all. The following section examines some of the social effects of this legislation. In summary, it argues that, as soon as non-attendance became defined not merely as a moral failing but as infringement of the law, many families, in their efforts to earn a living, were seen by wealthy educators not only as indulging in 'immorality' and 'vice', but in a variety of more or less illegal devices to dodge compulsion. Henceforth, what for many working class people was a day-to-day struggle for survival, appeared to the educators as a double obstacle to enforcing the legal requirements of an education act. Firstly,
they had to confront the difficulty of policing compulsory attendance among people whose life-style often made such a practice alien and impracticable. Secondly, they were faced with the existence of small private schools more congenial to the needs of working class families, but 'inefficient' as far as the new functions of schooling were concerned.

Before discussing the impact of compulsory attendance, however, it is necessary to remind ourselves that even for children who submitted themselves to it, the meaning of compulsion was very different from what it is now for most children, or from what it was then for those attending expensive private schools. The immorality of non-attendance notwithstanding, the legislators were forced to be realistic. In the prevailing economic conditions, child labour was quite essential, at least during some parts of the year, for both employers and parents. Without substantial social change, it would have been quite unrealistic to try to prevent children helping with the harvest, fruit picking, hay, minding cows, driving bullocks, sorting ore, stripping bark, running messages, helping in the family workshop during a busy time, minding younger brothers and sisters, or doing the Monday washing. Accordingly, under the provisions of the 1875 Act, education was compulsory for only 70 days in each half year of about 110 school days. When it turned out that children chalked up their 70 days as fast as they could and then stayed away from school for several months, it was changed to 35 days a quarter — to which some pupils kept with an arithmetic precision that should have been some small source of consolation to Hartley the mathematician.

As might be expected, the passage of a new Education Act had no effect on wage and unemployment rates, or the amount of work that had to be done around the house. It did, however, seriously affect the ability of many
working class families to cope with the problems these presented — and eventually contributed to shifts in the household division of labour.

Even with the low legal attendance requirement, school attendance for many children meant an addition to work, not a substitute for leisure. Thus, for example,

Miles Franklin's bitter description...of the 15-year old Sybylla milking 30 calves and washing the breakfast dishes before walking the 2 miles to school; then, after the walk back in the blazing sun, completing the same round of duties again as well as blacking boots and preparing home lessons, suggests that school attendance was for many an addition rather than an alternative to home duties.  

Where such doubling of work was not possible, compulsory attendance could undercut the subsistence patterns of low income and single parent families.

In 1887, for example, the Adelaide Board of Advice reported that "[t]here is now little or no prejudice against compulsory attendance, except where the parents are very poor, and it must be confessed that in such cases hardship is involved".

To the educators' dismay, even after 1878 many children continued to slip through the tightening knot of compulsory schooling. Apart from restricting attendance to the legal minimum, some parents calculated that it was cheaper to obtain false medical certificates, or use a part of the child's earnings to pay the quarterly fine for non-attendance, than to dispense with their labour. Some children simply did not register with the school when they moved to a new locality — a simple practice which five 'school visitors' were appointed to eradicate in 1878. But they did not have time to police the whole of the state. In 1893, the Port Augusta Board com-
...strange families come to our town, and unless they notify their existence to the head teacher at the state school, there is no means of enforcing the compulsory clause unless a visitor went through the town periodically.\textsuperscript{116}

Similarly, the Naracoorte Board wanted a truant inspector appointed to the South-East because

there are a number of children of school-going age whose names have never been entered upon any school register, and who have never received any instruction, and the board have no means by which they can force the parents of such children to send them to school.\textsuperscript{117}

Even when the children did register, the country school boards were in many cases not over enthusiastic in enforcing compulsory attendance. In 1884 Inspector Whitham complained that

In the country districts the compulsory clauses of the Education Act are very rarely enforced with anything like effective rigour. Whenever an official visitor has been sent round to the houses of absentees, a more regular attendance has been the result, but where the responsibility of enforcing attendance has been left to the local boards of advice it has generally only been half done. As a rule the country boards are most unwilling to prosecute delinquent parents who are their near neighbours, and not unfrequently their trade customers, and the parents take little or no notice of the ordinary intimations sent to them...\textsuperscript{118}

To make the same point, Vockings, the superintendent of school visitors, presented the statistics which appear on the following page.

But there was a limit even on the efficacy of truant inspectors and enthusiastic boards of advice. Many 'children of the labouring classes' avoided compulsion — or at least 'efficient instruction', through enrolling in cheap private schools. In 1879, Inspector Dewhirst complained in a way which was to be echoed again and again during the following fifteen years:

No sooner are the school visitors withdrawn from a given neighbourhood than the increased attendance gradually dwindles down, although it never perhaps entirely dies away. Many of these forced scholars, feeling the
It is hard to estimate the number of children who actually went to such schools, but an indication can be gained from figures submitted by the headmaster of Hindmarsh school. The building had accommodation for 1000 pupils, but only 600-700 were enrolled, since the public school was competing with eight or nine small private schools attended by 400-500 pupils.

Only in rare cases did the children's attendance of these schools constitute anything approaching conscious opposition to 'efficient' state schooling. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that many working class children and their parents traded the class bias of public school curricula with regard to attendance, modes of behaviour, dress, expression and morality for the often inferior scholastic ability and accommodation of private school teachers. Similarly, the parents' desire for safe child-

<table>
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<th>Table 15</th>
<th>&quot;PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN MADE TIMES TO NUMBER OF COMPULSORY AGE EACH QUARTER&quot;</th>
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<td>13.89</td>
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minding and care frequently conflicted with the programme of centralisation of schools. The public school might have been better or cheaper than the private school round the corner, but many young children would have had to walk long distances, or cross busy thoroughfares, to get to it. In Hindmarsh, for example, the state school headmaster gave the following reasons for the children's preference of the small private schools: in a manufacturing district, child labour was valued at home, and the private schools did not police attendance; the private schools were cheaper; children did not like the discipline of the government school and "the inconvenience and danger to children in the winter time crossing the Port Road" or the railway line.

Of these reasons, the ability of children to work and their opposition to school discipline received particular attention from the official educators. According to Hartley,

...the children go to the private schools because the discipline is less strict than at the public schools... These schools are really even helped by the action of the school visitors, as the parents do not care for the trouble and send the children where inquiries will not be so closely made.  

Pike, summarising some of the available evidence, concluded that a few of the 'inefficient schools' "openly conspired with parents to defeat the compulsion clause of the Education Act".  

With regard to discipline, the educators complained that

...there are a number of little schools in the colony which charge so much per week, and being kept by incompetent persons, are simple havens of refuge for children who wish to escape the discipline of the government schools.  

A particular example, pointed out by Inspector Burgan, referred to an incident when
...one private school was opened at Port Pirie...and the children went to the private school from the public school because they would not stand the discipline at the latter.\textsuperscript{126}

As was the case before the passage of the 1875 Act, parents tended to be guided by criteria considered to be corrupt and uninformed in selecting teachers for their children, giving preference to friends and people in need, and methods that were familiar and readily understandable. According to the critics,

...the ladies and others who conduct these cheap private schools have never had any special training for school work. Generally their parents have two or three little ones to teach, and they form a nucleus, and they get children from other families to come and be taught with them.\textsuperscript{127}

Some were "kept by girls who could not pass a pupil teacher's examination",\textsuperscript{128} or "daughters of working men, who I thought should be engaged in some other work, but still the parents would send the children to them".\textsuperscript{129} In addition, as Johnson noted in the case of England, "[t]he common philanthropic distrust of the intelligent but unsupervised teacher of working class loyalties undoubtedly had a basis in fact. Schoolmaster was quite a common occupation among prominent radicals."\textsuperscript{130}

Faced with irregular attendance, truancy and other forms of resistance to state schooling, educationists moved beyond attempts to tighten school discipline: they tried to get rid of the cheap private schools, and attacked parents for failing to bring up their children 'properly'. This attack, as Richard Johnson has noted, was a specific assault on the work patterns, habits, customs and attitudes – the culture, that is, of unskilled working people, even though it used the apparently neutral language of morality.\textsuperscript{131} Thus, for example, in evidence to the 1881-4 Commission on Education, Griffiths, head of a large Hindmarsh school
attended mainly by working class children, suggested that the city mission should 'get hold of the parents', because their position was 'a very deplorable one indeed'. When Mr. Tomkinson, one of the commissioners, asked in dismay "Is there no legal control over them?", Griffiths replied "No, but if the parents were brought to a better frame of mind something might be done. I know that amongst the children attending my school there is a great deal of depravity..."\textsuperscript{132}

Five years later, the Board of Advice in the same working class suburb sent out a letter suggesting that a conference of Boards throughout the state should prepare a booklet for poor parents on how to bring up their children. The booklet would contain "[s]imple and concise form of suggestions regarding the treatment, discipline and encouragement in the home" and be sent "to each parent or guardian, with a strong recommendation to carry out the suggestions given". Like Headmaster Griffiths, the Hindmarsh Board of Advice reasoned that "a large proportion of the truancy from school is due to the want of salutary influence and discipline in the home, and can only be cured by reaching that sphere".\textsuperscript{133}

With the passage of the compulsory education clauses, however, the assault on the working class family could — and did — proceed further. Now, it was not only the 'morality' of child-rearing practices which came under attack, but patterns of family subsistence. The educationists were not slow to realise that in many households, child labour made an essential contribution to the family budget. The North Adelaide Board of Advice, for example, acknowledged that:

In most cases poverty has been the cause of non-attendance, necessitating the detention of the children at home to mind the younger ones whilst the mother went out to work, or from the want of necessary boots and clothing.\textsuperscript{134}
Yet throughout their reports, child labour is presented as a problem for the school to suppress, rather than a necessity for the working class family. According to a typical statement, "[t]he parents are to blame, and do not attach the importance to strict punctuality which it deserves". As the Hindmarsh Board put it,

The district is the chief manufacturing one of the colony, and, owing to the comparatively low rate of cottage rents, a considerable number of widows, invalids, poor families and immigrants reside here. Great trouble has been experienced in dealing with the compulsory clause in the case of children who, in a great measure, are the support of the family. This has had to be remedied, and only in special cases is the practice allowed to be continued.

Similarly, after hearing Inspector Stanton testify before the Commission on education that 'the labouring classes and small farmers' were not over-enthusiastic about sending their children to school ("It might be that if they were in easier circumstances they would see matters a little differently, but in the struggle for bread they are only too glad to get their children's aid"), the commissioners smugly concluded that law enforcement was the only answer: "...unless the law is put in force, parents in numerous cases would not allow their children to attend school."

Nevertheless, as the inspectors realised, stringent law enforcement with regard to compulsory attendance tended to provide more customers for the small private schools. And these schools proved remarkably hard to get rid of. The education Acts of 1875 and 1878 established a clear, but virtually unenforceable, legal position.

Schools could not be compelled to have themselves declared efficient, nor could action be taken against the proprietors of inefficient schools. But proceedings could be taken against parents for sending their children to such schools, as the law required that children attend a public school or an 'efficient' private school.
In 1879, this legal position was tested in the Mt. Muirhead Court. The local Board of Advice, confronted with resistance to the enforcement of the compulsory clauses, took legal action to 'combat' those who 'sent their children to private school not certified efficient'. 139 In its crusade, the Board felt

confident that it has only done its duty to the State in ascertaining this question, without the slightest wish to restrict private schools when duly efficient. The Board is quite alive to the fear lest inefficient schools degenerate into little more than places for child-farming. 140

But although the result of the court action was 'favourable and decisive', the enthusiasts found themselves 'not a popular Board of Advice'... 'The result is most unpopular, and considered harsh and stringent.' The opposition of parents was such that the chairman was forced to resign, and the Board to reverse its position.

During the 1880s, several unsuccessful bills containing proposed solutions to the 'problem' of private schools were introduced. On the one hand, to ensure that the small private schools became 'efficient', the Education Department wanted them inspected by its officers. But independent school-masters flatly refused what they saw as a drastic reduction of their autonomy. The supporters of denominational schools, on the other hand, proposed to convert them to the idea of inspection and 'efficiency' by a capitation grant to private schools. Again, the proposal failed - not least because such a scheme would have provided direct monetary support for the Catholics, who were then practically excluded from the provision of public schooling, and whose influence the protestant denominations would have been loath to increase.
In the end, although 'personally and theoretically' in favour of payment for education,141 the Inspector-General and his supporters opted for the lesser of two evils. Free education might be full of 'communistic principles', but it seemed to be the only way to solve a much more immediate problem – discipline the private schoolmasters. Since

...if there were no fees we should not have the private-school difficulty...because the private schools cannot support themselves against an open and free government system,142

the best way to enlarge the department and enforce efficiency was to join forces with radical and Labor parliamentarians, and make public schools free.143

The introduction of free education coincided with the onset of the 1890s depression. In the harsh economic conditions, private schooling became a luxury most working families could no longer afford. Between 1890 and 1892, public school enrolments jumped by 8,653.144 By the same token, children's casual earnings or help at home became more important than ever. Many of the new reluctant scholars thus probably joined the ranks of 'street children' – children who attended school for the minimum legal period only, and often spent the remainder of the time seeking casual jobs or helping their parents.145

The independent activities of such children sharpened their wits and self-reliance, especially in comparison with their increasingly repressed well-schooled fellows. But while they were often accused of 'unnatural precocity' on this count, the handicap these children experienced with regard to observing school routines increasingly led to their identification as less able and intelligent.
The social construction of the concept of intelligence

In his paper "Class structure and the concept of intelligence", Paul Henderson points out that most debates on education and intelligence have been conducted in terms of the heredity-environment controversy. But these differences,

...sharp as they appear, nevertheless share a common frame of reference. Under the domination of this framework, focus is directed to the acquisition of intelligence, rather than towards the social basis of the concept of intelligence and the functions performed by this concept in class society.146

In my chapter, I have attempted to go some way towards charting this latter research project. As I have argued, the implementation of the 1875 Education Act helped to create an unambiguously defined category of 'successful children'.

Long before the child's capacity, however defined, came into question, rigidly enforced school routines, such as timetables and exams, acted to select out certain categories of pupils as successful. Residential mobility, regularity of attendance, health,147 willingness and ability to master a different dialect and amenability to school discipline and time-keeping were some of the most important variables. Above all, these depended on the different life and work patterns of various sections of the working population, city residence,148 ownership of a house and regular work which did not require substantial children's assistance, being especially significant. Over time, these practices helped to create a new general commonsense category of intelligent children, which came to figure prominently in the education policies of the different political groupings.

Kerry Wimshurst, in his analysis of 480 boys who enrolled at Hindmarsh Primary School between January 1898 and June 1900, confirms these
conclusions. According to him, there was high statistical probability for a 'successful child' to be

The son of a shopkeeper or white collar worker but more likely the son of a skilled tradesman, especially the 'labour aristocracy', an ironworker, plasterer, carpenter...

...his attendance rate was high, certainly within the requirements of the 1905 Act and probably over 90%. He did not repeat a grade and his attainment was at least compulsory certificate, probably higher. He had the best chance of moving into the lower middle class — often by way of the teaching profession.149

The unsuccessful child, on the other hand,

...was probably from the unskilled labouring groups — the carters' life-style and need for help from their sons particularly clashed with school requirements. His attendance rate was poor, probably less than that demanded by the 1875 Act (65% of the school year). Attainment was low, class 3 or less, leaving him close to semi-illiteracy. He probably repeated two years in addition to any he repeated in the junior primary division.150

Intelligence could, of course, be defined quite differently. English working class radicals in the first half of the nineteenth century could put a high value on literacy, yet perceive the fallacy of equating it with intelligence. According to Johnson,

This was startlingly expressed in a defence of the illiterate. 'Men are not to be called ignorant because they cannot make upon paper certain marks with a pen, or because they do not know the meaning of such marks when made by others.' By the same rule, those whom the world called wise were often very stupid. Of the editor of Morning Chronicle and of others with a facility for words [Cobbett] wrote 'they were extremely enlightened, but they had no knowledge'.151

In South Australia, an exam-oriented 'smartness' was similarly challenged. In the same year that public elementary schooling was made free, W. Catton Grasby, a former teacher and outspoken critic of Hartley's administration, poured scorn on the schools' definition of intelligence.

Do our schools fulfill to the greatest extent those purposes for which the state undertakes the purpose of education? For an answer, we may ask the teacher who
feels his noble aims and purposes stifled, and his best energies cramped and prostituted by the curse of a mechanical examination. Question the thoughtful parent whose child is placed under the control of a boy or girl pupil teacher unable to understand the objects or means of education to be crammed with undigested facts, taught to admire smartness instead of thoroughness, led to work in order to pass a paltry examination instead of for the love of knowledge, prompted to adopt dishonest tricks in order to ensure a pass, and finally is turned out with no conception of the dignity and independence of work, and no power to make the hand the instrument for executing the conceptions of the mind.\textsuperscript{152}

Yet the schools' conception of intelligence was aided by other processes. As argued in Chapter 7, one arena where the new sorting out of successful and unsuccessful — and therefore 'intelligent' and 'stupid' — children was immediately useful was technical education. In the 1870s and early 1880s, proponents of technical education in South Australia advocated a general increase in the skill of the whole working population. The \textit{Register}, for example, argued that "In proportion...to the intelligence of its operatives as a whole the working power of a nation is largely determined".\textsuperscript{153}

With the onset of the 1890s depression, however, the proposals for technical education came to reflect, much more closely, the emerging division of labour within capitalist enterprises. Here, a large-scale process of 'de-skilling' was taking place. While most workers were progressively relegated to simple, unskilled work, production knowledge was concentrated in an ever-smaller proportion of specially trained employees.\textsuperscript{154}

Accordingly, manufacturers' demands for technical education no longer specified education for all, but called for special training of a handful of leaders of industry. As the \textit{Register} put it,

\begin{quote}
What we contend for is a candid recognition of the truth that technical instruction, if it is to be worth the money expended upon it, must not be forced upon those who do not seek it, but should be offered to those whose brains and zeal and industry warrant the outlay involved in providing it.\textsuperscript{155}
\end{quote}
And it is here that the new commonsense concept of intelligence became significant. The changed demands had a ring of 'natural law' about them.

Some young folk may be exactly suited to educational equipment as the future 'captains of industry', but this remark does not apply to the majority...The chances of heredity cause the big brains and large capacities for work and leadership to occur sporadically...Numerous young men have no taste or aptitude for special technical studies. These may have their useful places in the economy of industry, but they will never act as leaders.  

Fortunately, by now, almost everybody knew that some children were too stupid to succeed in school...
Notes

1. SAPP, 1887, No.44, p.18.
2. Inspector Stanton in SAPP, 1883-4, No.27a, p.31/7367.
3. Wyatt was born in 1804, Hartley in 1844.
4. "At the two extremes of the social scale—among the aristocracy and the non-respectable labouring poor, Methodism had little influence, but among the middle class and some sections of the working class it secured a firm hold. While the Wesleyan Methodists in most places were predominantly a middle class body, the Primitive Methodists had a pronounced working class flavour." J.F.C. Harrison: The early Victorians, 1832-51 (Panther, 1973).
5. The account which follows is based primarily on two sources—the three lengthy transcripts of evidence given to the 1880s Royal Commission on Education (which began, in 1881, as the Select Committee of the House of Assembly on Education), and the yearly Reports of the Education Department. Although, during Hartley's lifetime, these reports do not show any serious differences in approach to educational matters between the different inspectors, such agreement probably owed far more to the Inspector-General's censorship than to real consensus. Hartley's sharp criticisms of various inspectors in his confidential letters, as well as the divergence of opinions within the inspectorate which marked the department's yearly reports after Hartley's death, seem to confirm this. See The confidential letterbook of the South Australian Inspector-General of Schools 1880-1914 reproduced as Murray Park sources in the history of S.A. education, No.8.
6. As late as 1871, the Education Board wrote that "We consider the chief aim of the instruction imparted in public schools should be to secure to the children attending them, as generally as possible, the ability to read intelligibly, and write, and compute with a fair degree of neatness and accuracy; and that it is desirable these important elementary branches should be thoroughly taught, even if it should be at the risk of the children's inability to run off the conjugation of verbs, or long lists of the capital cities of foreign countries, with their rivers and mountains." SACC, 4.5.1871, p.631.
7. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.36/626,628. The thorough grounding in hidden curricula before children are allowed to start learning to read and write is clearly explained in a widely used mid-nineteenth century working class reader: "First, then, you were taught to come to school, with clean hands, face and hair...Next, you were taught order, to put away your things...in their proper places, to be civil and respectful in your behaviour towards your teachers, and gentle to each other; to be silent during lessons; and to conform to all the other rules of your school. This was the first part of your education; and these things are taught, not because they are important, but because they are necessary to the peace and comfort of others, and therefore to the order of the school...It was necessary, then, that you should first learn to be civil, gentle and orderly; for this is
part of your duty to your neighbour." Irish Commissioners: Sequel to the 2nd book of lessons for the use of schools, p.7, quoted in J.M. Goldstrom: The social content of education 1808-1870, p.81.

8. SAPP, 1875, No.26, p.12.

9. SAPP, 1878, No.40, p.22.

10. During the Royal Commission into education, Inspector Stanton was asked: "Do I understand you to say that it would be more difficult to carry out a result system if you allowed more individuality?" "Yes", he replied, "I think it would be more difficult to carry out any fair system of inspection under the result system or any other system...[The inspectors] would not be able to get a true comparison, and therefore [the teachers] would lose the spirit of emulation which is very important." SAPP, 1883-4, No.27a, p.32/7375.

11. SAPP, 1883-4, No.27a, p.31/7363. The same conception of excellence as uniformity afflicted drawing as well. In 1883 Inspector Burgan complained that although "Drawing is improving...there are too many methods employed in teaching it, and the results are not uniform". SAPP, 1883, No.44, p.23.

12. SAPP, 1883-4, No.27a, p.32/7371.


14. SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.78/1488-9. In 1871, the Board of Education wrote: "The absence of any system of examination in set standards prevents us from making a comparison as to the progress and efficiency of the scholars in one district with those in another..." SAPP, 1871, No.22, p.7. Two years later, they brought into operation the following regulation: "Annual exams: The reports of such examination must be supplied on printed forms supplied to the teachers for the purpose. Besides a statement of the number of classes examined, the branches taught, and the proficiency attained, particulars are also to be given as to the order and discipline of the school, the appearance and behaviour of the scholars, and the state of the schoolroom." SAGG, 8.5.1875, p.693.

15. According to Inspector Wyatt, "Though such examinations are but very incomplete tests either of the efficiency of the preceptor or the general usefulness of the school, they are of considerable importance in their tendency to create a kindly feeling between all the parties interested, and may frequently give rise to combined efforts on the part of the residents of any neighbourhood thus occasionally brought together". SAGG, 3.3.1859, p.201. This form of examination survived until the early 1870s. In 1872, the annual report of the Board of Education stated that: "In many country places these examinations form a sort of annual festival, being followed by some kind of entertainment or soirée, generally including a lecture on a popular or instructive subject, and attended by most of the residents in the neighbourhood". SAPP, 1872, No.73, p.11.

16. While these traditional working class educational practices depended on co-operation, close link with people's everyday experiences in
terms of subject matter, concepts and language and, to a large extent, on spoken word; the new examinable knowledge elaborated alien subject matter with the aid of unfamiliar concepts and grammar, and emphasized individuality and written expression.

17. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.58/1265-6. In 1878, "The moral tone of the school has already undergone a marvellous alteration for the better. Not only has the miserable habit of 'copying' (so general among schoolboys a short time ago) lessened considerably, but the increased attention and respectful conduct of the lads while under examination afford proof that higher ground has been taken. The change has been affected by the teachers showing them the dishonesty of such practices, keeping them well occupied, and exercising a stricter oversight while they have been at work." SAPP, 1878, No.40, p.15.

18. SAPP, 1896, No.44, p.15.

19. If, in the early 1870s, pupils were chided for ignoring the purpose of exams, by the 1890s they seemed to have got the message. According to Inspector Clark, "Although the characteristic errors in the speech of young Australia still exist, when the scholar is reading for his teacher or the inspector he is very particular to mind his aspirates, to be careful of his vowels and final consonants, and does his best to earn and deserve that 'mark' to gain which affords him such infinite gratification. How cleverly he gets a glimpse of the pass sheet, or failing that how innocently and pleadingly he propounds the query, 'Have I passed, sir?' and on receiving an affirmative reply marches proudly to his place. When outside his pent-up feelings are vented in an exultant cry of 'I've passed!'" SAPP, 1897, No.44, p.13.


21. If, in Latin American countries, the suppression of literacy in the peasants' own language could produce a politically impotent 'culture of silence', the enforcement of Correct English in the Australian conditions could be seen as one of the factors impeding the formation of radical working class consciousness. See P. Freire: Pedagogy of the oppressed (Penguin, 1972).

22. SAPP, 1875, No.26, p.8.

23. SAPP, 1887, No.44, p.18 (my emphasis).

24. In the 4th class, for example, the reading test allowed for only one slip in eight lines of the 4th Royal Reader, and the dictation test was "8 lines from the 4th Royal Reader, with one mistake allowed. That may be the misplacement of a letter, or a capital letter being put out of its place, or the omission of the apostrophe. If a child from nervosness makes one slip of that character, and spells one word wrong, he would have to fail." SAPP, 1882, No.27, p.29. Nevertheless, many teachers appreciated that a less idiosyncratic mode of spelling would have made their task much easier. The 1888 London School Board Commission, for example, was in favour of a revolution in spelling since "...teaching the spelling of irregular verbs weakens the children's sense of the invariable nature of scientific laws". Register, 15.6.1888.
25. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.93/2100.

26. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.102/2283 (my emphasis). In view of the constant preoccupation of teachers with keeping working class children quiet, it is a strange (although common) assumption that they have no language.

27. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.83/2097. Similarly, Hartley, in canvassing schools for lists of misspelt words so that locally produced sheets could be prepared, did his bit in the battle against the emergence of local dialects or 'provincialisms'. "As settlement increases and gets more fixed, each locality will develop some peculiarity. Our teachers should endeavour to stem these tendencies..." SAPP, 1886, No.44, p.15. See also C. Thiele: Grains of mustard seed, p.152.


29. See, for example, M.F.D. Young: Knowledge and control.

30. SAPP, 1886, No.44, p.15.

31. SAPP, 1887, No.44, p.18.

32. SAPP, 1898-9, No.44, p.17.

33. SAPP, 1887, No.44, p.18.

34. "The children when in school are careful to avoid errors, or if they commit them can, without prompting, supply the correct rendering. Out of school they, of course, hear 'English as she is spoke', and the boys at any rate are ever imbued with the idea that if they attempt to talk better than their companions they will be accused or suspected of 'putting on side'; and so to avoid remark they speak as their fellows do...There is a good deal in the story of the gentleman who was invited by one of those persistent newsvendors to buy his wares. 'Want a 'awk, sir? Want a 'awk?' 'Why don't you say Hawk, my lad?' 'Oh, I know all about your blessed aspirates. Do you want a 'awk?'" SAPP, 1899, No.44, p.14.

35. loc. cit.

36. SAPP, 1875, No.26, p.12. Drill was introduced officially into schools in July 1878. In 1879, 500 breech-loading carbines were issued to South Australian primary schools. C. Thiele, op. cit., p.24.


38. C. Thiele, op. cit., pp.24-5. Clark was not alone in his admiration for the military. L.G. Madley, Principal of the Teacher Training College from 1876 to 1896, was renowned for his active involvement with the militia. Appropriately, he left teaching to become Commissioner of Police. J.E. Saunders: "Public education in South Australia", p.301.

39. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.113/2418.
40. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.114/2427.

41. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.39/831.


43. As M. Katz remarked: "It is no accident that the mass production of clocks and watches began at about the same time as the mass production of public schools". M. Katz: "The origins of public education: a reassessment", p.395.

44. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.22/394.

45. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.24/454.

46. SAPP, 1887, No.44, p.39.

47. SAGG, 11.6.1867, p.651.

48. SAPP, 1875, No.27, p.11.

49. SAPP, 1884, No.44, p.19.

50. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.98/2217.

51. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.59/1283.

52. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.156/3237.

53. SAPP, 1883-4, No.44, p.5.


55. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.82/1845.

56. SAPP, 1884, No.44, p.17.

57. SAPP, 1888, No.44, p.5.


59. SAPP, 1904, No.44, p.16.

60. SAPP, 1899, No.44, p.20. Some aspects of the new discipline could be linked with the process of centralisation of schools. In the opinion of some contemporary observers, the large rooms and high teacher-pupil ratio logically required military discipline and impersonal teacher-pupil relations.

61. SAPP, 1902, No.44, p.18. And again, "Both in large and in small schools the teachers are exhausting their energies in the effort to stimulate the children to take part in the lesson. The eager look, the alert mind, and the pupil's own question are the comparatively rare exception. Very often even the physical attitude of attention and work is wanting. In the absence of the real desire to know, the
teachers in their haste are forced to the use of all the extrinsic motives, such as love of approbation and fear of detention after school hours..." SAPP, 1903, No.44, p.19.


63. SAPP, 1903, No.44, p.15.

64. SAPP, 1903, No.44, p.25.

65. Or more precisely, the appointment of the new Board of Education in 1874. For a more detailed treatment of this question, see B.K. Hyams: "The teacher in South Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century" in Australian Journal of Education (Vol.15, No.3, 1971).

66. In this process, by an unexplained coincidence, many Anglican school-masters were replaced by Wesleyan ones. Often, it is assumed that those who were forced to leave were simply incompetents and dissolute drunkards. In some cases, this might have been true, but evidence to the 1881 Commission on Education shows that more was involved than a 'weeding out of inefficient teachers'. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.45/946. Throughout, there is a strong impression that Hartley attempted to remove those who had serious objections to the departments' particular understanding of pedagogy as well. Although it is difficult to substantiate the allegations of some head teachers that grossly unfair practices - such as sending them a string of 'failed' assistants and removing their capable ones, was used to demote them and generally make their life difficult, the evidence of Inspector Dewhirst is more substantial. Accused by Hartley (and his biographers), of being lax in his duty, taking days off, and generally, being accustomed to the more easygoing previous regime, working less hard than the other inspectors (with Hartley tolerating this weakness because of the senior inspector's advancing years), Dewhirst produced detailed records which showed exactly the reverse. He had a larger workload than the other inspectors; the allegations about days off were untrue; and his already disproportionate workload was actually increased in the preceding year, while that of the other inspectors remained more or less stable or was reduced. SAPP, 1882, No.27, pp.230-1.

67. According to G.N. Hawker, this process of bureaucratisation occurred, from the mid-1870s, throughout the South Australian civil service. G.N. Hawker: "The development of the South Australian civil service 1836-1936". Besides bureaucratisation, the process can be conceptualised as reification of personal relations in the department. Reification is a process whereby aspects of social intercourse assume a thing-like quality, which suddenly makes them seem to be independent of human action and design, conceals their human authorship, and puts them over and above the people who created them and who perpetuate them in their actions. (Thus, for example, cheating is a construct which robs the participants in a particular situation of the power to decide whether or not they want to or should co-operate on a certain project.) Similarly, the payment by results system, discussed in more detail below, transformed a human process into a thing: 'measuring the care and application of the master as one would the cubic contents of geometric bodies'.
68. C. Thiele: *op. cit.*, p.16.

69. *SAPP.*, p.17. As he wrote in a confidential letter, "We are responsible for the morality of the schools, and the very highest standard must be maintained at whatever cost of pain and suffering to individuals". Letter from J.A. Hartley to P.W. Jones, No.22, in *The confidential letterbook*.


71. *SAPP*, 1883-4, No.27a, p.31/7366.

72. *SAPP*, 1891, No.43, p.xvi.

73. In 1869 the Anglican Synod decided in favour of the system of payment by results, which the Catholics would also have accepted. J.E. Saunders, "The state and education in South Australia 1836-1875", p.227.

74. *SAPP*, 1882, No.27, p.74/4533.

75. And some have succeeded uncommonly well in teaching their pupils to pass exams: the head of Prince Alfred College, speaking of exhibition boys from public schools made the point: "...I must say that they have learned to pass examinations. There is no denying that; and I think there must be a little too much examinations in the public school system to produce boys who can pass examinations so well, and yet some of whom off the line of their immediate subjects seem to possess very little information." *SAPP*, 1883-4, No.27a, p.35/7418. It would be interesting to speculate whether the boys' lack of information should not in fact read 'little information considered important by the usual clientele of private colleges'.


77. *SAPP*, 1883-4, No.27a, p.98/9074.

78. *SAPP*, 1881, No.122, p.141/2883. Notice that the same terminology is used, twenty years later, by inspectors converted to New Education.


80. *SAPP*, 1881, No.122, p.27/528.


82. D. Pike: "Education in an agricultural state", p.78.


88. *SAPP*, 1897, No.44, p.11.


90. *SAPP*, 1882, No.27, p.31/4017. In his book, W.C. Grasby claimed that "Teachers who gain high percentages almost without exception keep their children in after school to cram them up for the examination". W.C. Grasby: *Our public schools* (Hussey and Gillingham, 1891), p.23.

91. *SAPP*, 1896, No.44, p.16.


95. *SAPP*, 1883-4, No.27a, p.59/7941.

96. *SAPP*, 1882, No.27a, p.82/7418.

97. *SAPP*, 1883-4, No.27a, p.107/a6299. Seven years later, the situation had not changed much: "Of the 593 children from the four Adelaide schools who passed the compulsory standard in the 3 years 1890 to 1892 one was aged 9, 38 were 10, 129 were 11, and 201 were 12". B.K. Hyams and B. Bessant: *Schools for the people*, p.145.

98. In 1898, the Board of Inspectors proclaimed: "Our aim has been to follow the lines so strongly defined and adhered to by the late lamented head of the Department, Mr. J.A. Hartley, and in all cases we have endeavoured to have the rules and regulations strictly and conscientiously observed and acted on". *SAPP*, 1898-9, No.44, p.10.


101. *SAPP*, 1902, No.44, p.18. By 1905, Inspector Maughan concluded "Knibbs and Turner emphatically state that the system of New South Wales needs to be radically reformed...What is true of New South Wales is true of our own State, and no amount of self-complacency, if we are weak enough to indulge in it, will alter the fact. The State is not getting the best possible return for its expenditure." *SAPP*, 1905, No.44, p.25.

102. *SAPP*, 1904, No.44, p.17 (my emphasis). According to Wimshurst, there was a marked positive correlation between socio-economic status and achievement among boys enrolled in the Hindmarsh Primary School between 1895 and 1910: "The table below shows the proportions of each group with good (80%) and poor (less than 65%) attendances. Perhaps the figure for the sons of shopkeepers with poor attendance seems high but when compared with their attainment it is obvious that they could help their grocer/drapers fathers and still gain valuable 'academic' experience and a bourgeois code of values, however the
Table 16
HINDMARSH PRIMARY SCHOOL - OCCUPATION AND ATTENDANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Good attendance</th>
<th>Poor attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>petit bourgeois</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skilled</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-skilled</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

carter's son who helped his father during school hours acquired skills and a life view not measured by formal schooling. Again whereas only 24% of the labourers' sons attended more than 90% of the time, 45% of the labour elite iron workers' sons did so."


103. SAPP, 1905, No.44, p.20 (my emphasis).

104. loc. cit. (my emphasis). Indeed, teachers took observance of the regulations so much to heart that, instead of attempting to fit schools to the needs of children, they passed, at their 1904 conference, a resolution calling for the tightening of attendance requirements: "That this meeting of teachers desires to place on record its opinion that the compulsory clauses of the Education Act should be amended, because at present they are not calculated to serve the best interests of the State". Quoted in SAPP, 1905, No.44, p.20.

105. See Education Regulations, SAPP, 1876, No.21, pp. 6-7.

106. SAPP, 1882, No.27, p.37/4114. The reason presumably was that girls should not be taught to think.

107. Research on the second question has not yet been completed in Australia. However, we can assume that something similar happened as has been reported by Davey in his research in Canada (although his data refer to the period of free education before compulsion was introduced). "The analysis of the occupational background of the male and female students reveals that girls from some occupational backgrounds were much less likely to attend school than their brothers. If you were the daughter of a merchant or professional, a shopkeeper or clerk or a skilled artisan you were more likely to attend school than if your father was a semi-skilled worker or labourer or if your mother was a widow. However, unless you were the daughter of a labourer or, perhaps a skilled artisan or widow, your chance of attending school was nowhere as good as your brother's...The two groups with proportionately greatest divergence between male and female attendance, the 'petite bourgeoisie' and the semi-skilled workers, may have harboured ambitions for their sons, ambitions they attempted to fulfil at the expense of their daughters."

I.E. Davey: "Educational reform and the working class", p.224. See also ch.5, p.251.

108. SAPP, 1884, No.44, p.2.


110. SAPP, 1882, No.27, p.189.
111. Confidential letter from J.A. Hartley to Mrs. Dowdy, reproduced as letter No.225 in The confidential letterbook.

112. Before the 1875 Act, the first steps towards this were made by the Destitute Board and the Catholic Church. The Destitute Board made education effectively compulsory for a small section of the population when it insisted that, to be eligible for government relief, destitute parents must send their children to school. And, as Reverend Tenison-Woods said for the Catholics in 1863, "Amongst our own denomination, we have a very efficient system of house to house visitation, and I do not think there are many children who don't attend school. If they cannot pay for schooling, we take them for nothing." SAPP, 1868, No.56, p.9/140. Many of the Catholic schools, however, came to be considered an 'inefficient' by Hartley's administration.

113. In 1881, it was said: "...everyone knows that the attendance at St. Peters' College or Prince Alfred College does not bear any comparison with the attendance at the government schools. The children go to the former everyday and all day, unless some particular occurrence detains them at home, which is a rare thing." SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.4/51.


115. SAPP, 1887, No.44, p.28.

116. SAPP, 1893, No.44, p.34.

117. SAPP, 1893, No.44, p.28.

118. SAPP, 1884, No.44, p.15.

119. SAPP, 1884, No.44, p.70.

120. SAPP, 1879, No.35, p.18.

121. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.96/2166. In England, according to T.W. Lacqueur, a similar situation was very common. For example, in the 1840s members of Parliament were puzzled as to "Why there should be so large a number as 4,000 boys in Manchester in attendance upon those private day schools, where you state the instruction afforded to be of a very ordinary and inferior description, whilst it appears that at the Lancastrian day school, where it is of a superior kind and where the instruction is gratuitous, there are 280 boys at attendance. Can you state the reason why parents give preference to the worst kind of education, for which they are obliged to pay." Indeed, while the National School in question stood half empty, at least seven private venture schools flourished within a 500-yard radius of its doors. T.W. Lacqueur: "Working class demand and the growth of English elementary education", pp.196-7, quoting Report from the Select Committee on the Education of the Poorer Classes in England and Wales, 1837-38 (589), vii, q.114.
122. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.98. "Parents would rather send their children to the small schools in winter than have them incur danger in crossing the road."

123. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.2/22.

124. "Several private schools, run by 15-year olds, kept attendance rolls which pupils could mark on their way to work. Other compulsion dodging devices were used by independent teachers whose inefficient schools were beyond the range of truancy inspectors." D. Pike: "Education in an agricultural state", p.79. For example, in Port Pirie, "In dealing with cases of irregular attendance a difficulty has been experienced owing to the refusal of one private school to give information to the truant inspector. This opens a loophole for negligent parents to evade the Education Act with impunity..." SAPP, 1893, No.44, p.35.

125. SAPP, 1882, No.27, p.115/5463.

126. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.46/956.

127. SAPP, 1881, No.27, p.100/2266.

128. SAPP, 1881, No.27, p.98/2212.

129. SAPP, 1881, No.27, p.53/1143.

130. R. Johnson: "'Really useful knowledge': radical education and working class culture, 1790-1848" in J. Clarke et al. (eds.): Working class culture (Hutchinson, 1979).

131. R. Johnson: "Notes on the education of the English working class", p.49.

132. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.161/3375.

133. SAPP, 1886, No.44, p.22.

134. SAPP, 1886, No.44, p.23. G. Stedman Jones notes that, in London, a forcible disruption of such patterns of subsistence led to a shift in the division of labour within working class families. "This stricter division of roles between man and wife was to an increasing extent generalised throughout the working class by the 1870 Education Act. Once children, especially girl children, were forced into the school, it became more difficult for the wife to go out to work and leave the household cleaning and care of infants to the older children." G. Stedman Jones: "Working class culture and working class politics in London, 1870-1900" in Journal of Social History (Vol.7, No.4, 1974), p.486.

135. SAPP, 1906, No.44, p.16.

136. SAPP, 1880, No.44, p.29.

137. SAPP, 1883-4, No.27a, p.29/7318-21.
138. J.L. Cleland: "Compulsory and secular education in South Australia, 1875-1891" (incomplete manuscript, History Department, University of Adelaide), p.72.

139. "The Board consulted the school register and quarterly returns, ascertaining the defaulting parents. Mr. Madison assisted us greatly by taking a school census of the district. First and second notices were sent where required, and had an admirable effect, with few exceptions, from those who sent their children to private school not certified efficient. To combat these exceptions the Board tested the question of 'efficiency' in our local Court." SAPP, 1880, No.44, p.32.

140. loc. cit.

141. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.17/274.

142. SAPP, 1881, No.122, p.17/275.

143. Some proof of Hartley's intentions with regard to private schools can be gauged from the fact that in 1884, he calculated the cost of introducing free education to be nearly £62,000. The Register, which checked his estimate, came to the conclusion that it was based on the hopeful assumption that "the abolition of fees would close every private establishment in the colony excepting...higher schools". Quoted in J.L. Cleland: "Introduction to free education in South Australia, 1873-1891" (Unpub. BA thesis, University of Adelaide, 1954), p.13.

144. SAPP, 1910, No.44, p.17.

145. See K. Wimshurst, "Street children and school attendance in South Australia, 1890-1915".


147. Before basic health care became more generally accessible, many poorer children could be disadvantaged for life because of simple medical defects. As late as 1907, Inspector Burgan stated that he was convinced that "many children looked upon as dull and almost hopeless as far as mental development is concerned are often labouring under great disability through eye and ear troubles which are unsuspected, but which simple tests would readily discover..." SAPP, 1907, No.44, p.20.

148. As one of the inspectors stationed in the country wrote: "I have again to report irregularity of attendance as one of the chief obstacles in the way of successful results...In the farming districts, especially at certain seasons of the year...The claims of the labour market at 'sowing' and 'reaping' times are so great and the selfishness of so many farmers is so much greater..." SAPP, 1878, No.40, pp.26-7.

150. *ibid.*, p.22. The statistical material presented in Chapter 5 confirms Wimshurst's conclusions.

151. R. Johnson: "'Really useful knowledge': radical education and working class culture, 1790-1843", p.89.


154. For an elaboration of this argument, see H. Braverman: *Labour and monopoly capital* (Monthly Review Press, 1974).


156. *loc. cit.*
CHAPTER 5

THE USES OF SCHOOLING
The position of Sir John Downer might perhaps be expressed in the following lines:

The drudgery I could not do
O Lord, assign to others!
There's much to do of dirty work,
It will not hurt my brothers.
It's healthful for them, Lord, to dig
And delve in grimy soil.
The sweetest rest they are sure to win
With unremitting toil.

Towards the turn of the century, a worldwide transformation of capitalism profoundly affected Australia. As in other countries, it produced several major problems which various social groups tried to solve in the education system. The 1890s witnessed a profound economic crisis, a transformation of the ways individuals maintained and enhanced their class position, and marked changes in youth employment patterns.

In describing these events, this chapter will indirectly challenge several conventional approaches to educational history. The first concerns the almost automatic connection of schooling with social mobility by contemporary historians of Australian education. Chapter 1 situated the concept of social mobility in a wider theoretical framework, and began to examine the class bias of schooling. This chapter looks at the conditions under which the two notions, both of which are ideological in character, became connected.

The second theoretical issue, closely connected with the previous one, is the equally unproblematic relationship often assumed between industrial development, 'demand for more skills', and expansion of the education system. The argument which follows reexamines some of the constituent
parts of such an equation. In particular, it looks at the way different class fractions contributed to the process of displacing some of their problems and conflicts from the workplace to the education system.

**A crisis of capitalism**

Throughout the nineteenth century, more and more aspects of life were brought into direct connection with the increasingly dominant capitalist mode of production. In the sphere of production, the movement of capital in search for profit incessantly altered and recreated the balance between different sectors of production and of the industries which comprise them. The same process also fundamentally transformed the division of labour within the various branches of industry.

Internationally, the closing decades of the nineteenth century, a period of increasing inter-imperialist rivalry, saw a sharp decrease in the profitability of British industry. The crisis, originating in the joint pressure of international competition, militant working class and excess capacity in the capital goods industries (overproduction crisis), reduced Britain's share of the world's industrial production by more than one-half.⁴

In order to escape the decreasing profitability of domestic economy, British capitalists began to divert their funds to overseas investment. As a result, while Britain's total credit abroad rose from £195 to £685 million between 1860 and 1890, domestic capital formation declined and capital equipment per worker was virtually stagnant — at a time when this rate grew rapidly in both Germany and the United States.⁵
By its nature, the option of avoiding the consequences of Britain's industrial decline through foreign investment was only available to a small fraction of the country's population. In addition, it exacerbated the internal problems of the British economy. In the last half of the nineteenth century, other options began to be formulated. One of the most pervasive of these was a concern with technical education. After several international exhibitions, British manufacturers became aware of the inferiority of many English products compared to continental and American ones. In the ensuing public debates, one of the major causes of this deficiency was located in the continued domination of the English education system by the interests of the aristocracy:

England was a land of manufacturers, without the means of instruction as to a single manufacturing process; a land of artisans, where nothing could be learnt of a trade unless by practising it...Speculative science had monopolised all the accumulated funds of the Universities till not a scholarship, much less a professorship, remained for applied science.  

But while technical education of artisans and their employers was believed to have the power to enhance the profitability of English industry, it remained irrelevant to the strata below them. And yet the casual poor, hit hard by Britain's industrial decline, came to be seen as another possible cause of the country's economic problems. In the crisis-ridden 1880s, a group of social imperialists began formulating a policy which called for social expenditure to eradicate what they saw as the degeneration of the poor and unemployed, a degeneration which threatened the welfare of the whole society and, if left unchecked, could lead to revolution. In this 'social hygiene' approach they sharply diverged from the official orthodoxy, which understood both poverty and its alleviation in strictly individual terms, seeing them instead as personal 'demoralisation' that could be cured by judiciously
administered charity. Under the impact of the London housing crisis, this latter analysis appeared increasingly inadequate. Although the proposals of the social imperialists were not acted on at the time, they helped shift the attention of government from 'demoralisation' to 'degeneration'.

By 1900, the defeats which the British army suffered in the Boer war, together with revelations about the poor physical state of recruits, brought back the spectre of physical deterioration and racial degeneration. The casual residuum once again became the topic of anxious debate, provoked this time not by fears of revolution but by intimations of impending imperial decline. As Stedman-Jones remarked,

"The freedom of the casual labourer to live out his degenerate existence and reproduce his kind in filthy overcrowded slums was now seen as a lethal menace to 'national efficiency'. Draconic measures would be necessary if the empire was not to be dragged down by its unfit. Overcrowding and casual living conditions were not a misfortune but a crime..."

Both of these solutions — technical education and 'reclaiming' the casual poor, came to be joined in a social efficiency movement, which was profoundly to influence educational rhetoric and development in both Britain and Australia. As I have argued in the section on labour education policy, the United Labor Party (ULP) in South Australia developed in such a way that the policies outlined in Britain by proponents of 'national efficiency' became increasingly attractive as formulations of its own position.

While 'national hygiene' would deal with the results of declining industrial production in the form of poverty and unemployment, technical education and personal 'efficiency' of the strata above them would improve the competitiveness of British industry. In other words, the
ground lost through shifting investment priorities, which left the capital per worker ratio in British industry stagnant for many years, would be corrected by 'school power'.

In Australia, exhaustion of investment opportunities in traditional primary industry, droughts combined with poor prices for agricultural products, and heavy debt commitments adversely affected all sectors of the economy. At the same time, there occurred an appreciable concentration of both industry and agriculture.

On the one hand,

From 1870 to 1886, the changes in size of individual holdings show clearly the movement towards larger farms and, by 1890, one-half of the total value of alienated land in South Australia was held by 703 people.

On the other, while South Australia remained, in 1890, a predominantly agricultural colony, its manufacturing was quickly increasing in importance. The number of factories and of the people working in them doubled in the space of fifteen years, and increased proportionately to the total workforce. Of the three distinct trends comprising this process, one involved marked concentration of industry.

Firstly, small industrial concerns, such as forges and printing presses, developed in the country towns, and other crafts, carried on a small scale, expanded in Adelaide as well.

Secondly, during the latter half of the 1880s, new types of manufactures, such as bicycle and paint factories, for example, or electroplating and galvanised iron works, were begun on a modest scale.

Thirdly, in most of the larger traditional trades, such as bootmaking, there was a tendency for concentration of business into fewer factories in the principal towns. Although the number of such factories decreased,
the numbers employed in them rose, sometimes quite dramatically. By 1890, there were in Adelaide nine factories employing 200 or more workers.\textsuperscript{16}

In this year, although the majority of factories had fewer than twenty employees, the greater part of the industrial labour force worked in concerns employing twenty or more people.\textsuperscript{17}

Both processes of concentration led to a tightening of class boundaries between workers and the petite bourgeoisie. At the same time, it is possible to speculate that the class of petite bourgeoisie itself began to contract during this period.

If skilled workers found it increasingly difficult to become small employers in their own right, the institution of apprenticeship, which traditionally constituted the path towards economic security for their sons, received a severe shock. Not only were apprenticeship provisions disrupted during the economic crisis,\textsuperscript{18} in many trades employers began or intensified the long process of dilution of skills.

To explain these trends, it is necessary to examine more closely the second aspect of the contemporary transformation of capital; the changing division of labour within various branches of industry.

During the early period of capitalist development, while employers of wage labour gained increasing economic and political power, they had little detailed control over the actual work process. Until the last decades of the nineteenth century, this area of productive activity remained the province of craft workers, who held an effective monopoly of skills and production knowledge. It was above all the apprenticeship system, a jealously-guarded prerogative of the craft workers, which allowed them to maintain this monopoly from one generation to the next.

According to Brecher,
That control was perpetuated and made effective by their refusal to let work be subdivided into smaller components that did not require 'all-round craftsmen'. By regulating the use of helpers and labourers, they were able to limit the labour market, maintain skill requirements, and keep up pay scales. The skilled workers set 'stints' which determined the amount of work to be done, and established their own rules about the methods and equipment with which it was to be done. The employer could not tell them how to do a job; indeed, the craftsmen generally supervised the unskilled majority of the workforce themselves.19

In a period of sharpening competition between different firms, such lack of control over the work process increasingly appeared to employers as a double obstacle to the most profitable use of their capital. The traditional division of labour, with its insistence on all-round tradesmen and its opposition to subdividing work, meant a higher wage bill than it was, theoretically, necessary to pay. This was because the craft workers not only performed a wide variety of complex tasks, but spent a fair proportion of their time on simple ones.

By subdividing work, employers aimed to bring about a situation where the best and most skilled workers could be occupied full-time on the most skilled aspects of work, and leave all the less demanding tasks to others who did not need as much training, and could be employed for less. In addition, the subdivision of work meant that even the best workers only needed to be familiar with one part of the craft. In other words, "subdividing the craft cheapens its individual parts".20

At this time, the craft workers retained a substantial degree of control over output. Because of this, the possibility of increasing profits by increasing the speed and intensity of work remained, for the most part, closed to the employers. As Braverman noted,

Workers who are controlled only by general orders or discipline are not adequately controlled, because they retain their grip on the actual process of labour. So
long as they control the labour process itself, they will thwart efforts to realise to the full the potential inherent in their labour power. To change the situation, control of the labour process must pass into the hands of management, not only in the formal sense but by the control and dictation of each step in the process, including its mode of performance.21

Here again, the fragmentation of craft skills proved useful. As the Register put it, "[t]he division of labour saves time, and time is money these days".22

To 'cheapen the craft' and gain more detailed control over the work process, employers used a variety of techniques. The introduction of new technology usually went hand in hand with a redistribution of work within an enterprise towards jobs requiring a lower degree of skill. Such a process not only cheapened the total wage bill, but gave employers increased power over their workers. It was widely recognised at the time that

The universal application of machinery has wrought a complete revolution in mechanical employments...men skilled in only one part of a job, necessarily become more dependent on employers.23

At the same time, there was a trend towards employing unindentured helpers or 'improvers' instead of apprentices. In most cases, these changes met strong opposition from the craft unions and could be implemented only after a concerted assault on them by the employers.

No systematic research on this topic has been done in Australia. However, there is abundant evidence that the process was taking place, and was the object of heated debate among many sections of the community. In 1890, for example, it became evident that employers in the Adelaide leather industry were trying to compensate for the introduction of the eight-hour day, not by a reduction in wages, but by the employment of a higher proportion of unskilled workers. The Tanners' and Curriers' Union,
then in dispute with the employers, took three weeks to realise the implications of this move. After that, it began strongly to oppose it. According to its secretary, the employers

...would not stop when their first demands were granted, for he was of opinion that fresh unskilled workers would be introduced at every available opportunity until a heavy blow would ultimately be dealt at skilled labour.\(^24\)

A similar process occurred in the boot and shoe industry. In 1898, the leader of the ULP argued that

Machinery had also been introduced in...boot factories, and the result had been to knock out half the men and to reduce the wages of those who handled the machines to half of what they used to get. The men were now working like slaves and only got 30s a week and ten men were waiting at the door to take their places.\(^25\)

The apprenticeship system was undermined — not only through the explicit intentions of the employers but indirectly, through the changing organisation of work within an enterprise.

With the progressive fragmentation of work, skilled workers increasingly came into contact with only a small area of their trade, and were no longer able to teach all of its aspects. As tradesmen testified in 1888 to an inquiry into technical education in South Australia, "It is found that when one man is qualified to carry out one section of a trade better than another he is kept pretty well to that particular section".\(^26\) In the boot trade, "[t]he upshot of the whole thing is that the majority concerned in the making of a boot don't know the whole process, and are not competent to take a business in the country".\(^27\) At the same time, the speed-up of production meant that tradesmen and employers had less time in which to instruct apprentices: "[t]he maximum amount of work for the minimum amount of attention is the rule".\(^28\)
To compensate for such 'degradation' of skilled labour, the jobs of foremen and managers were redefined to include those aspects of production knowledge which were expropriated from the craft workers. In this way, insofar as employers were successful in 'deskilling' the workforce, they created a problem: how to train the remaining skilled workers, as well as the managers and technicians whose positions suddenly required a thorough knowledge of the production process.

By the beginning of the twentieth century there was, throughout Australia, a strong but eventually unsuccessful movement to resolve the first of these problems by the complete replacement of apprenticeship by technical education.

In 1904, for example, Knibbs in his report on technical education in New South Wales concluded that "the modern tendency is overwhelmingly in favour of substituting systematic education for ordinary apprenticeship". This view was endorsed by W.S. Busby in the Dissenting Report of the 1913 apprenticeship conference in Victoria, in which he opposed moves to revive "the obsolete system of apprenticeship and make the employer responsible for the complete training in every particular of his apprentices".

In South Australia, such an approach had less support than in other Australian states. According to Trethewey,

...a fundamental belief in the efficiency of an apprenticeship system, as derived from English practice and accepted virtually without question in South Australia, continued to be upheld in administrative circles. Fenner, for example, rejected the alternative provided by the Continental system where specific trade training was incorporated in secondary schools in favour of 'taking the old Elizabethan Apprenticeship system, modifying it to suit modern industrial and social conditions, and more closely correlating the workshop with the school and the home'.
Nevertheless, even in this state, the replacement of apprenticeship by technical education was widely advocated.  

The situation which in fact developed resembled, however, far more the one described by Brecher for the United States. There, the first part of the problem, training the remaining skilled workers, was predominantly solved by a further redivision of labour:

The destruction of old skilled crafts eliminated the means by which skilled workers were trained. Industry still needed skilled workers for maintenance, repair, and tasks not yet mechanised. As shortages of skilled workers became endemic in the early decades of the twentieth century, employers created a new class of skilled workers who, unlike the all-round craftsmen of the past, were given only a few weeks or months training for one specific job. They lacked both the general knowledge of the old skilled workers and their ability to transfer their skills from one plant to another.  

The second part of the problem was tackled in quite a different way:

In most early industry, managers were drawn from the ranks of skilled workers. With the decline of all-round craftsmen, employers began hiring college graduates, giving them experience in a wide variety of departments and jobs, and using these trainees for management positions.  

The nineteenth century, however, witnessed more than the redistribution of production knowledge previously under the control of the craftsmen. There also occurred a spectacular increase in the amount of scientific knowledge brought to bear on the production process. By wresting control over the nature of machinery out of the hands of the guilds (which for centuries forbade the use of new technology), the early capitalists contributed to the "transformation of labour processes from their basis in tradition to their basis in science".  

The resultant rapidly increasing store of scientific knowledge was appropriated by society in a particular way. Instead of merging with common
culture and becoming part of general studies, it became fragmented both
in terms of content and of people designed to deal with it. In the words
of Raymond Williams,

If we look at the range of scientific discovery between
the seventeenth and the end of the nineteenth centuries,
it is clear that its importance lies only in part in its
transformation of the techniques of production and
communication; indeed it lies equally in its transforma-
tion of man's view of himself and his world. Yet the
decisive educational interpretation of this new knowledge
was not in terms of its essential contribution to liberal
studies, but in terms of technological training for a
particular class of men.36

Michael Young, basing his observations on research by David Layton,
describes a process whereby, during the nineteenth century, a particular
conception of science became dominant. Unlike more radical traditions,
which saw scientific knowledge, among other things, "as an instrument in
the pursuit of political independence and social emancipation",37 the
dominant conception of science accommodated itself to the ideals of
contemporary liberal studies. Like Classics and Mathematics, the new
scientific subjects aimed to further "the discipline of the mind, the
attainment of habits of controlled attention and the exercise of reasoning
powers and memory".38

According to Young, such establishment of science as 'fact' rather than
'practice' has to be considered in the context of changes in Victorian
capitalism.39

A sphere of technology developed, corresponding to the conception of pure
science divorced not only from the concerns of everyday life, but also
from the uses to which scientific knowledge is put.
Staffed by different people and imbued by a different ideology, techno-
logical knowledge aims to apply the findings of pure science to the
problems of a particular system of production. Although technological knowledge could provide a link between scientific research and the workplace, it is in fact separated from both. A sharp distinction is maintained between pure and applied research; and technologists are not drawn from the ranks of manual workers: they receive separate training from them, and are removed, as far as possible, from the shop floor.

Hand in hand with reshaping the technical division of labour to suit the capitalist relations of production thus went the creation and redistribution of production knowledge. Indeed, it is only through considering the interplay between the social and technical aspects of production that it is possible to understand the particular shape that scientific and technological knowledge assumed in the various educational institutions.

The two complementary processes so far described, deskilling and a redistribution of production knowledge, had an important bearing on the crisis in traditional strategies for the transmission of economic security (such as it was) from one generation to the next. The decline of skilled trades, accentuated by an economic crisis, made white collar jobs increasingly attractive to groups whose social standing was being undermined. At the same time, the new system of compulsory state schooling gave more and more people the necessary skills for performing these jobs. It was above all this link which made various forms of schooling an important ingredient in proposed solutions to the socially perceived crisis of distributing people between different 'class places'; a crisis expressed mostly in alarm about the preference of youngsters for clerical jobs.
Schooling and economic security

In Chapter 4 it was argued that a serious discord existed between the exigencies of working class lifestyles and the routines of 'good' government schools; a discord which manifested itself in various forms of resistance to the 'hidden' and overt curricula of schools. Here, I have introduced another element: the increasing relevance of schooling to people's economic security. How did working class people cope with the tension that these two conflicting factors produced?

An impressive study of these problems in the United States has been produced by D.J. Hogan. Through his examination of workers' budgets, Hogan is able to show that wives' and children's earnings formed an indispensable part of most family incomes. Yet the increasing use of education in selecting workers for steady, secure and well-paying jobs meant that limiting children's school attendance in order to secure the immediate economic well-being of the family jeopardised the attainment of the same goal in the future.

In Chicago at the turn of the century the resolution of this dilemma depended, to a large extent, on the parents' ethnic background. While some ethnic groups tended to make considerable sacrifices in order to send children to school, others opted for seeking present and future economic security in the purchase of a family home, and used their children's earnings to help them attain this goal.

Similar conclusions, this time focusing on the experience of different class fractions, were reached by John Gillis for nineteenth century England and Germany, and Joseph Kett for the United States. According to
Gillis, over 40% of working class families, and especially those of unskilled workers, were living below the poverty line during the time their children were growing up. This meant that they desperately needed the earnings of all employable family members precisely at the time when they would have liked to invest in their children's future prosperity. Only the 'aristocracy of labour' and other relatively well-paid sections of the working class could adopt "a family strategy somewhat like that of the middle classes". Kett draws the same conclusion for late nineteenth century United States, and argues that the inability to dispense with children's wages kept most working class parents and children in the sort of productive-contractual relationship that had once characterised family life in all social classes.

In South Australia, Kerry Wimshurst, in his thesis on 'street children', argues that a degree of accommodation between the competing claims of working class budgets and school attendance could occur because of substantial loopholes in the compulsory attendance clauses: for forty years after the passing of the 1875 Act, attendance was compulsory for only part of the time schools were open. While a substantial minority of children, about one-third in the working class suburb of Hindmarsh, took advantage of the minimum attendance clauses, many other families saw the latitude of these provisions as a traditional right, a form of insurance to be used in times of 'grave need'.

By the 1890s, most working class families learnt to reconcile their periodic need of children's assistance or earnings with the requirements of the compulsory clauses of the 1875 Education Act. In most cases, it was only through sickness, accident or other mishap that children failed to attend school for the specified thirty-five days a quarter. Indeed,
Wimshurst presents convincing evidence that working class families attempted to get as much schooling for their children as was possible under the circumstances. During 'slack' months, for example, the school attendance of 'street children' tended to be well above the minimum requirement. Similarly, children's summer earnings were often used to buy boots so that they could attend school in winter.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the increasingly ambitious system of compulsory schooling taught a good proportion of its charges to read, write and compute, and made more and more young people nominally qualified to enter the lower rungs of white collar jobs. Many, forgetting the golden rule that labourers' children were destined to become labourers, actually started applying for clerical jobs.

As the Honourable Lavington Glyde lamented in 1880, "the curse of the age was that all the boys wanted to be gentlemen more or less, and all the girls wanted to be ladies".

Faced with growing competition, the strata of population which habitually filled these jobs searched for ways to restrict entry into the 'over-crowded professions'. Given the shape of the education system, the use of educational qualifications increasingly appeared as a suitable tool. Indeed, the same strategy of exclusion through educational qualifications came to be used on several fronts. I have already discussed its use against the traditional division of labour within a working class community in the conflict over 'inefficient' teachers. It was also employed by the 'middle class' in its fight against the 'Establishment' system of patronage, and against the growing attraction of white collar jobs for working class people.
In 1884, for example, the South Australian Education Department claimed that

Boys are eagerly sought from our model schools by tradesmen and merchants for their desks, their counters or their counting houses, at a higher remuneration than that paid by the Education Department, and with a quicker increase.54

In discussing the same period, Hyams and Bessant comment on the use of competitive examinations for determining entry into the public service, and on the interest which the commercial sector of the community, business firms, banks and insurance companies, developed in recruiting young people with examination passes in the popular subjects of the secondary school.55 The demand for educational qualifications did not affect only educational institutions for children but those for adults as well. Murray-Smith, for example, refers to the Gawler School of Mines where "[t]he pressure for qualifications defeated the council's opposition to examinations, and at the end of 1895 the Gawler School of Mines awarded its first certificate".56

In Australia as in England, only people above a certain level of income had the option of buying enough education to prepare their children for many of these exams, whose greatest weight (in spite of constant and to some extent effective pressure towards declassicising the curriculum) was reserved for subjects furthest removed from any common culture.57 For example, the South Australian Education Regulations of 1900 provided for the following scale of marks in the competitive exhibition examinations:

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As an indignant Herald correspondent pointed out, Latin got more marks than spelling, dictation, composition, arithmetic and mental arithmetic combined.\textsuperscript{58}

Ten years later Campbell, a perceptive Labor member of parliament, and one with a university education, drew some socially-informed conclusions:

A danger appeared imminent that to the workers an educational oligarchy should be brought into existence which might be as dangerous to their interests as any tyranny which had marked the ages of the past. Any one who read the papers set to railwaymen could only conclude that the tests were adopted as means to restrict entrance or promotion in the service. Practically every year the standard of the public examinations was raised, not in a direction which would be valuable to the candidates entering particular professions, but in the direction of barring their way. He did not say it was done to injure any particular section of the community, but it was a menace to the lower classes, whose children though brilliant could never afford the expensive education necessary to qualify for such examinations.

[The University] was largely the door through which candidates for the overcrowded professions had to drive their way...[it was used] to raise the standard of learning and check the stream of candidates entering the professions.\textsuperscript{59}

But those sections of the population against whom various levels of this arrangement were directed, petite bourgeoisie and skilled artisans, did not give up quite so easily. Not only were their aspirations to 'better themselves' at stake, but in the 1890s important changes in the social structure made the mere retention of their current status precarious.

For the petite bourgeoisie and small farmers, the long period of recession brought concentration of capital and contraction of the class. For the skilled workers, the same process tightened the boundaries between employers and employees, sharply reducing the possibility of inter-class mobility through economic means. Not even the best of them could hope for full employment and many were forced to accept irregular unskilled
jobs. At the same time, in many trades, concentration of capital brought with it labour-saving machinery and 'deskilling'. As Katz noted, this meant that, in most cases, artisans could no longer guarantee economic security to their sons by teaching them their craft. To maintain their standard of living, they might have to get a different, often white collar, job.\(^6\)

Unlike the old passage from apprenticeship to craftsman, the new link between educational credentials and employment was far more tenuous. What Bowles and Gintis (and many others) demonstrated for United States of the 1960s was undoubtedly equally true of South Australia at the turn of the century. While length of schooling was closely correlated with the chances of obtaining better employment, it was by no means the 'key' to economic success.

Still less was economic status dependent on 'intelligence'. Even in the 1960s,

\[
\text{a family's position in the class structure [was] reproduced primarily by mechanisms operating independently of the inheritance, production and certification of intellectual skills.}^{63}
\]

Insofar as it was displaced into the state education system, the struggle about 'social mobility' centred around three basic strategies: the demand that the state provide a secondary school catering for a lower threshold of income than the existing private institutions; the provision of bursaries and exhibitions; and the gradual extension of government-provided elementary schooling.
A state secondary school?

The first strategy had, in the short run, the least success. At this time, families which wanted to send their children to 'reputable' secondary schools, had to have an income which left, after unavoidable expenses, four to six guineas a term to spend on education of each child. This threshold not only automatically excluded the majority of the working population but also many farmers and members of the petite bourgeoisie, whose total earnings over the quarter would not have exceeded £25, assuming full employment for the period.

As Inspector Dewhirst had put it in 1884,

Parents require a cheap and thorough education for their sons...Wishing to carry on their education after they have been a year in the fifth class, as things are at present they must send them to St. Peter's, or Mr. Whinham's, or Prince Alfred College, at an expense from 4 to 6 guineas a quarter, and this many parents cannot possibly afford. Why should there not be an advanced school where they could be taught for 3 guineas a quarter?62

Since the state had, through land grants, subsidized university education63 for the richest sections of the population and provided cheap elementary schooling for the workers, members of the '3 guineas-a-term class' felt justified in demanding, as a subsidy for themselves, the setting up of an advanced school.

Speaking during a debate to disallow the £2,000 provided for the establishment of an advanced school for girls, R.D. Ross, a landowner and retired colonial officer, one of the '6 guineas-a-term class', said that

We had established national schools for the poorer class, at which the fees were...£1 6s. a year; but here they talked about a school with fees £3 3s. a quarter and extras, which would bring the amount up to £15 a year. They knew that no poor persons could avail themselves of that, and the school would simply be for the middle and well-to-do classes of the community. (Mr. Quinn — "Well?")64
To members of the 'Establishment', Mr. Quinn's complacency was unacceptable. From their point of view, cheaper secondary education seemed to interfere with the very laws of nature. Mr. Downer (a lawyer, one of the state's largest landowners, and never one to resort to polite euphemisms) put the matter squarely:

It was all very well to say that everyone should be taught to read and write, but now they were trying to make everyone great and educated, forgetting that nature had laws in these things...There could be no greater misfortune than to give to girls of the poorer classes these accomplishments as they were called - to teach girls who, in the ordinary nature of things, would be content to remain respectable domestic servants all their lives, French and German, drawing and class singing, elementary science, Latin and mathematics, and render them absolutely unfit for menial duties...It was interfering with the very laws of nature; some must be higher and some lower, but this was trying to make an average of the whole lot and to turn a great number of first-rate labourers into indifferent scholars...

Laws of nature notwithstanding, the fact remained that the Advanced School for Girls provided a self-supporting, even profit-making, supply of cheap, well-qualified teachers as one of its benefits to the state. It was above all for this reason that the proposal received enough support from liberals to defeat the handful of conservative defenders of 'natural law'.

Such countervailing arguments did not apply in the case of boys. In the first place, it would have been harder to make a boys' school self-supporting, since its male staff would have commanded higher salaries. Women employed in public schools received only about two-thirds of the equivalent male rate of pay. In addition, an advanced school for boys would have competed unpleasantly with the boys' private colleges, with which many of the legislators were quite closely linked.
Competing for exhibitions and bursaries

In the end, instead of establishing a state secondary school for boys catering for a lower threshold of income than the existing private institutions, a different route was taken. Each year, money was set aside in the Estimates for a handful of exhibitions tenable at the private colleges and available to the winners of special competitive examinations. The arrangement was probably more costly, but it was certainly more congenial to the private colleges and their patrons.

In terms of social mobility, such provisions were altogether negligible. Up till 1898, when almost 62,000 children were being instructed in state schools, six bursaries were available for girls and six for boys. With 1,229 teachers employed in that year, it meant that, everything else being equal (it clearly was not), one teacher in a hundred could aspire to send a 'best pupil' on to secondary education. The doubling of these provisions in the following year did not materially decrease their insignificance.

And yet this absurd provision for secondary schooling was frequently referred to as adequate, not only by conservatives, but by liberal and even Labor members of parliament.

Indeed, it might be argued that there was some basis for this assertion, as the number of candidates was never very much more than the number of places. Between 1880 and 1897, for example, when the government offered six exhibitions for boys each year, the number of candidates fluctuated between 15 and 39.

The catch was that the prospective candidates had to go through a double selection process. As previously outlined, the first hurdle was the clear mismatch between the routines and curricula of schools and the lives of most working people.
The second hurdle was set by the nature of the private schools' curricula and Education Department's wish to restrict the numbers of scholarship candidates. As Inspector Clark put it, "[i]t was for exceptional pupils that those exhibitions were intended, and to discover them the test cannot be an ordinary one". More explicitly,

Owing to the competition for exhibitions and scholarships being limited to those schools where the head teachers took the trouble to establish classes in the study of Latin, German, English literature, Algebra and Euclid [none of which was included in the standard compulsory curriculum], it followed that pupils attending schools where those subjects were not taught could not win such distinctions.

Those schools which did teach them found themselves perpetually overcrowded.

Indeed, even the knowledge of standard subjects needed to pass these examinations was so far removed from the ordinary school fare as to give the Principal of the Teacher Training College an opportunity to complain:

I certainly think it is not too much to expect pupil teachers of the second and third year to know as much as is expected of boys under 14 years of age who are examined for exhibitions, and who are taught in the same schools in which these young people are engaged in teaching.

In addition, many pupils who acquired the knowledge necessary to pass these examinations were sometimes prevented, for monetary reasons, from sitting for them. According to one inspector,

In all class V schools and upwards 6th classes are taught, and many of the pupils have been sent to the Primary and even to the Junior examination at the University. The fares and fees are preventives against some of the pupils presenting themselves at these examinations.

In summary; in the words of a writer for the progressive paper, the **Pioneer**,
The chance of securing any such scholarship rests quite as much upon attendant circumstances of situation as upon smartness or natural capabilities. The sons of the farming and producing class are to a very large extent debarred from competition in these annual exhibitions, because of difficulties in the way of attending first class primary schools, and so the most deserving class in our midst are practically shut off from all the benefits of higher education.\textsuperscript{77}

The bursaries and exhibitions thus performed a double social function: they completed the process of selecting out 'successful' state school pupils by designating them as intelligent and deserving, and they helped to maintain an official appearance of adequate provision for secondary education. To many educational historians, this appearance proved so tempting that it has led them down the garden path, stoutly maintaining all the while that such a token gesture represented the beginning of socially significant state encouragement of social mobility. In fact this schooling system was clearly designed to justify and to hide state-supported obstacles to social mobility through education by severely rationing the minimum chance of working-class access.

Extending elementary schooling

The third way of aiding the aspirations of education-conscious parents -- through gradually extending state-provided elementary schooling -- had by far the most practical impact. At the time, school attendance was compulsory until children reached thirteen years of age, or passed the 'compulsory standard', an examination in the 3 R's based on the curricula of the fourth class. Although they were a small minority, children sometimes stayed two or even three years in the fourth class to gain the compulsory certificate and, having got it, to extend their general education. At the same time, increasing numbers of children were given tuition which
would prepare them for the first university exam, or the scholarship examinations.

During this period, indeed, it appeared that the interest that many parents had in schooling gradually shifted from the acquisition of useful knowledge, centred around the 3 R's, to the acquisition of examination certificates. This change was closely connected with the new criteria of selection for many jobs. At the same time, it was probably influenced by the more or less successful experience of schooling of the parents themselves. As an inspector commented in 1884,

...it would appear on the surface to be a waste of time and paper to issue [compulsory certificates] to pupils over 13 years, nevertheless, I should be very sorry to see this practice discontinued. They are much valued by the parents when seeking employment for their boys on leaving school as a sort of merit testimonial, and I have not infrequently known cases where boys and girls have been kept in school for another year, when over age, for the special purpose of gaining one.76

In proportion as it became possible for more and more working class children to acquire these qualifications, they became devalued in an academic and probably also economic sense. By 1904, Inspector Burgan wrote that

Parents and children are under a mistaken notion as to the value of the [compulsory] certificate. Its real value is very small indeed, for it only indicates that the child has made some little preparation for entering on a course of study in which certain instrumentary subjects — reading, writing and arithmetic, will be of use to it and enable it to acquire knowledge of various kinds...73

Not only compulsory certificates, but University examinations were in growing demand. One indicator of their growing popularity (and class bias) was the wave of establishing University examination centres in the country. According to Eric Williams, the decade from 1897 to 1907 saw
twelve permanent University examination centres established in South Australian country towns under the patronage of the district's most influential personalities, e.g. its solicitor, doctor, clergyman and leading businessman.80

Enterprising teachers, encouraged by the Department, started catering for the growing group of education-conscious children in a separate fifth and later sixth class, which eventually, under a different name, came to constitute the first system of government secondary schools.81

The number of children examined in the fifth class as a percentage of the total number of children examined rose from 0.82% in 1878 to 3.36% in 1884, 4.76% in 1899, and 7.09% in 1900.82

In 1879, departmental examinations for fifth class students were set for the first time. In 1893, all schools with more than 100 pupils and in 1898 all those with attendance over 40 pupils had to establish such class, and in 1901 a similar provision was made for the setting up of sixth classes. In 1898, a new 'merit certificate' was introduced for fifth class pupils, and in 1901 for fourth class ones, for whom it eventually superseded the more basic compulsory certificate.83

The conservatives in parliament still pained at the thought of providing state schooling for anybody except those poorest sections of the working class for whom conventional morality made least sense. Although reluctantly reconciled to the teaching of the 3 R's, they monitored closely the working of the education system in order to prevent any attempt at secondary education – especially after the passage of the free education bill in 1891.84

Complaining bitterly about the rising costs of free education in 1893, these defenders of natural laws had the fifth class fee increased from
6d to 1/- a week (i.e. doubled), and they also repealed the provision which gave children who had passed the compulsory standard, but were under thirteen, free education.

The imposition of fees was useful in preventing the spread of popular education but did nothing to achieve the aims for which it was ostensibly introduced. While fifth class enrolments barely kept pace with the increase in the total school population, the effect on raising revenue was negligible, and the fee interfered with, rather than aided, the setting up of classes in the country. In addition, it had such a detrimental effect on departmental routines that the Liberal Government, confident this time of its ability to get the numbers if the issue came to the vote, had the regulation repealed. Immediately, fifth class enrolments registered another jump. Though the total school population remained almost constant, they increased from 3,224 in 1897 to 5,097 in 1898.

Conservatives reached a high point of noble sentiment with another argument in favour of the re-introduction of fees: free education past the compulsory standard was unjust since it meant an effective subsidy from the poor to the rich; the workers and small farmers paid the largest amount in taxes, and yet could not afford to keep their children in school after they reached the compulsory standard.

My preliminary survey of the Thebarton school registers between 1893 and 1905 reveals, however, that this was not the case. The abolition of the fifth class fee in 1898 brought into existence a sizeable class where the children of skilled workers consistently formed the largest single category and, together with the children of labourers, transport and agricultural workers, always constituted over one-half of the class.
A similar situation existed in Hindmarsh Primary School, for which more adequate figures are available. Between 1890 and 1899, the children of skilled workers contributed well over half of the enrolment in the 5th and 6th classes, although under-represented in these classes compared to grades one to four. The children of merchants, manufacturers and white collar workers were over-represented: in some instances their proportion in the two highest grades was twice that in the rest of the school. A very significant feature of the data is the wide divergence it indicates in the experience of different occupational categories, and of boys and girls: the boys of merchants and agents represented 8% of the two highest grades but only 5.1% of the remainder of the school, while the comparable figures for girls were 11.5% and 5.3%; the proportion of daughters of government and institution employees in 5th and 6th classes was double, and that of their sons nearly quadruple, that in the rest of the school.

The proportion of children of skilled workers was reasonably stable throughout the whole school, but the children of labourers, and especially their daughters, were severely under-represented — the percentage of girls fell from 21.1% in the rest of the school to 9.7% in grades 5 and 6. A roughly similar situation existed with regard to the compulsory certificate. Among those who passed, the daughters of labourers were most severely under-represented (their proportion was nearly halved), while the sons of government and institution employees and the daughters of merchants and agents were most significantly over-represented.

Overall, a disproportionate number of girls passed the compulsory certificate. It is open to further research to find out whether girls were better than boys at passing exams or, as is more likely, successful boys and those from well-to-do families were withdrawn from the Hindmarsh
Primary School and sent to a private school or a more prestigious government school.

Many working class families — and especially those of skilled and white collar workers — thus made extensive use of the 'provided' educational institutions, i.e. the state schools. In using state schools, these workers did not succumb to bourgeois hegemony. Rather, they accommodated themselves, as best they could, to the changing shape of their economic environment. As Hogan says:

> The popular acceptance of public education was not so much the consequence of 'ideological hegemony', but primarily the consequence of the [mistaken] realization by working class parents that because of the existence of the wage labour system and the nature of the social division of labour, education was the key to economic survival, security, and mobility. It was the structure of social relations that was primarily responsible for working class educational demands.³¹

However, in attending schools and competing with their fellows for examination certificates, children participated in a hegemonic practice. In other words, as was argued in Chapter 4, pupils learnt to read and write in a process built around individual competition for social mobility, and through passive memorisation of examinable 'facts'. All these factors were detrimental to the formation of a class-conscious working class movement.
Notes


2. According to Saunders, for example, "Education was seen [in the late nineteenth century] as now, as a path leading to a better life, as a means of entering, if not the professions, at least an office. Parental ambitions have always made education appear an 'open sesame' to a higher social class." G.E. Saunders: "Public education in South Australia in the nineteenth century", p.255.


5. *ibid.*, p.35.

6. Especially those held in 1862 and 1867.

7. *Register*, 11.6.1870, drawing on material supplied to the Technological Commission of Victoria. The actual position was more complex. Here, however, I am mainly interested in contemporary perceptions of what happened.


12. School power, it was hoped, would increase the intelligence and application of each worker coming under its influence. It would not only inspire everybody to work faster, but reduce the wastage of material and lead workers to constantly think of innovations which would improve the products and economise the costs of production.


17. See tables 17,18.
18. Jas. Newbury, a smith and engineer from the Adelaide suburb of Norwood, for example, wrote to the 1887 Commission of Enquiry into Technical Education: "Cannot employ any workmen and lads. Have gone to Melbourne, and working as labouring man. Would like to employ 15 men and boys. No work for them to do. The greater part of machinery and all the ironwork that can be is imported. I have one thousand pounds' worth of machinery getting rusty..." SAPP, 1887, No.33, p.19.


21. ibid., p.100.

22. Register, 15.5.1886.

23. Register, 15.5.1886. Braverman summarised the process in the following way: "The capitalist mode of production systematically destroys all-round skills where they exist, and brings into being skills and occupations that correspond to its needs. Technical capacities are henceforth distributed on a strict 'need to know' basis. The generalised distribution of knowledge of the productive process among all its participants becomes, from this point, not merely 'unnecessary', but a positive barrier to the functioning of the capitalist mode of production...Every step in the labour process is divorced, as far as possible, from special knowledge and training and reduced to simple labour. Meanwhile, the relatively few persons for whom special knowledge and training are reserved are freed so far as possible from the obligations of simple labour. In this way, a structure is given to all labour processes that at its extreme polarises those whose time is infinitely valuable and those whose time is worth almost nothing. It shapes not only work, but populations as well." H. Braverman, op. cit., p.82.

24, Quoted in K.R. Bowes, op. cit., p.60.

25. SAPD, 1898, p.515.


27. SAPP, 1888, No.33, p.19/1654.

28. SAPP, 1888, No.33, p.6/1283.


30. loc. cit.

31. ibid., p.85.

32. In 1912, for example, the South Australian Governor, Sir Day Bosanquet, argued that "...modern conditions of production have
changed, and the old apprenticeship system has gone for ever. The modern workshop is an institution devoted to turning out products at as quick a rate and as low a price as possible. It does not exist for the purpose of teaching men how to produce the goods. No one in the shop has time or inclination to teach a boy a trade...We can get the number of skilled workmen we need only by training them, and this can be done by developing the work in the technical schools already in existence, and by organising technical classes in connection with our district high schools..." SAEG, 13.8.1912. In a similar vein, the 1913 conference of the Australian Natives Association passed unanimously a resolution declaring that, as the system of apprenticeship had ceased to be effective, technical colleges be established and Schools of Mines in the state be extended in order to train youths in the various manufacturing and other trades.

K. Karim: "The development of government-directed apprentice training in South Australia, 1917-1940" (Unpub. BA thesis, University of Adelaide, 1964), p.11. Indeed, as argued in Chapter 8, the scheme was favoured not only by the workers' governors and employers, but by their own representatives in parliament.

34. Ibid., pp.8-9.
35. H. Braverman, op. cit., p.6.
38. M. Young, op. cit., p.48.
39. Ibid., p.49.
41. Ibid., pp.382,404.
42. Ibid., p.357.
43. "The ability of children of poverty families ever to rise above this class was severely limited by the fact that need pressed so strongly on their families precisely at that point in their lives when expenditure on schooling or apprenticeship would have facilitated movement upward." J.R. Gillis: Youth and history (Academic Press, 1974), p.123.
44. Ibid., p.119.
45. "The opportunity costs of education — the loss of wages while the children attended school — put prolonged education beyond the reach
of children in most families...At a time when increasing numbers of middle-class parents were sacrificing the labour of their children in favour of prolonged education, most working-class parents and children remained caught up in the sort of productive-contractual relationship that had once characterised family life in all social classes." J.P. Kett: Rites of passage. Adolescence in America 1790 to the present (Basic Books, 1977), pp.169-70.

46. The original Act provided for 75 days' attendance in each half year. In 1878, this was changed to 35 days a quarter, and in 1905, children in large towns were compelled to attend four out of five school days. Only in 1915 were all children under compulsion required to attend every school day.

47. K. Wimshurst: "Street children and school attendance in South Australia, 1890-1915", p.164. According to Wimshurst, "the flexible school attendance regulations in South Australia at the turn of the century nurtured a category of schoolchildren known to officialdom as street children. These were children who attended school for the minimum number of days required by law and, according to authorities, for the remainder of school days each quarter 'took to the streets'." K. Wimshurst: "Child-saving and urban school reform in South Australia, 1886-1905" (typescript, 1980), p.1.

48. ibid., p.127.

49. ibid., p.144.

50. ibid., pp.126,156.

51. SAPD, 1880, p.1638. In 1890, W.A. Horn, pastoralist and mining magnate, believed that the state's duty went no further than providing rudimentary training. "Children are being educated up to such a standard that they will not follow the footsteps of their fathers; they want to be bank clerks and such like, and will not be mechanics, thinking it beneath them." He grumbled that when he advertised for a clerk he got 400 applicants; his advertisement for a carpenter brought only three replies. SAPD, 1890, pp.591,679, quoted in D. Pike: "Education in an agricultural state", p.77.

52. In 1877, the Governor of Victoria made an influential speech advocating the introduction of public exams as the base criterion for entry into the state's public service. According to him, "It has often been shown that the objections to competitive examinations have emanated in England almost entirely from two classes: (1) From the members of the aristocratic and other influential families who under the old system enjoyed a practical monopoly of the public service. (2) From the many inefficient schoolmasters of the last generation who taught nothing but Greek and Latin, and that often badly, and who were soon distanced by more able and energetic teachers, whom they enviously nick-named 'crammers'." Register, 2.1.1877.

53. Some of the issues raised in connection with such conceptualisation are noted by Paul Henderson in "Class structure and the concept of
intelligence'. In his article Henderson uses research on the medical and architectural professions to support his contention that "pressure for educational qualifications came about less as a response to a 'need' for more skills, but rather to control mobility into the middle class, and to ensure that those who were already favourably placed with respect to educational opportunities - the children of middle class parents, would be equally well placed with respect to employment opportunities". R. Dale (ed.): Schooling and capitalism, p.145.

According to Henderson, it was the least successful members of the profession who tended to be most active in calling for compulsory registration and educational qualifications of their colleagues. As it stands, this contention directly contradicts the claims of the 'human capital theory'. In particular, instead of arguing that the rising level of skill required in many jobs induced more people to invest in schooling, Henderson points to the efforts of those able to pay school fees to erect educational barriers against entry into various white collar jobs.

54. SAPP, 1884, No.44, p.4.
58. Herald, 2.2.1901.
59. SAPP, 1910, p.818. The attempt to exclude people from a profession through educational qualifications did not apply to mining in the 1890s. Murray-Smith documents the founding of the Australasian Institute of Mining Engineers in 1893 where membership was based on practical connection with mining or metallurgy, and attempts to improve status of members revolved around a period of practical experience, not qualifications. S. Murray-Smith, op. cit., p.494.
61. For an elaboration of this argument, see S. Bowles and H. Gintis: Schooling in capitalist America, ch. 4, p.120.
62. SAPP, 1884, No.44, p.4.
63. It was common, in nineteenth century, to support educational institutions (or churches), not through direct monetary grants, but through grants of land. The recipients supported themselves from income derived from leasing the land.
64. SAPD, 1879, p.987. William Quinn was elected to Parliament as a 'representative of Port Adelaide working men'.
65. SAPD, 1879, p.990.
66. See J. Clothier: "Women, John Hartley and the Advanced School for Girls (1867-1908), South Australia" (Unpub. MEd research essay, Flinders University, 1974).

67. See, for example, SAPP, 1876, No.21, pp.6-7; SAPP, 1885, No.34, pp.10-1.

68. William D. Glyde, for example, had interest in Prince Alfred College. See SAPP, 1880, p.1638.

69. In 1899, for example, all nine of the boys' exhibitions open to competition from all government schools went to pupils from Norwood Model School.

70. In 1880, for example, the liberal Haines argued that "...at present the state was providing sufficient education to enable the sons and daughters of the poorer classes to rise side by side with the sons and daughters of the rich...He believed that some of the children of the poorer classes would rise superior to those of the rich, and possibly there was a fear of that taking place. Every man who understood the law under which he lived was a better man to obey the law than the one who knew nothing about it, and the time had very nearly gone when the cry could be raised of 'keep the poor man down'." SAPP, 1880, p.1638.

71. See table 19.

72. For changes in secondary school curricula, see E.L. French: "Secondary education in the Australian social order 1788-1898".

73. SAPP, 1900, No.44, p.12.

74. SAPP, 1901, No.44, p.19.

75. SAPP, 1888, No.44, p.30.

76. SAPP, 1904, No.44, p.19.

77. The Pioneer, 22.8.1891, p.68.

78. SAPP, 1884, No.44, p.17.


81. In 1885, for example, the East Torrens School Board wrote of the Norwood school: "Whilst the requirements of the department have received the fullest attention, as evidenced by examination results, it is eminently satisfactory to note that the senior pupils receive gratuitous instruction in Latin, Euclid and Algebra, with a view to qualify them for exhibitions, bursaries, and the junior examination of the university. Since 1879, 8 boys have passed the junior examination direct from this school." SAPP, 1886, No.44, p.29.
82. See table 20.


84. Like Mr. Randell, one of the pioneers of the Murray steamer trade and later MP, they noticed that "...many of our youths are not inclined to work as their fathers did before them. They did not want to do any manual labour, but fill what they thought were more respectable positions...He maintained that if boys were kept too long at school and did not begin to do some work fitted to their strength at, say, 14 or 15, and harder work as they grew older, they stood a good chance of proving failures and turning out poor and inefficient workmen. Manual work became very distasteful to them, and they got the character of being lazy and good for nothing. Now, they were not lazy, but to a large extent were not able to do hard work simply because their bodies had not been trained, seasoned, and hardened for work, and the fact that our climate was somewhat enervating and therefore predisposed to languor and lethargy, emphasised his contention." SAPP, 1898, p.660.

85. In 1898 Inspector Neale wrote "I wish again to disclaim any intention to discuss the policy of Parliament in this matter, but in the further light of this year's experience it is no less than a duty to report how, in practice, not only are the wishes of Parliament frustrated, but a very evil influence has been introduced into the schools, against which teachers and officers of the department are alike helpless. The charge of a shilling a week was imposed partly to raise revenue in the larger schools and partly to make a 5th class possible in the country schools. The parents evade the payment in two ways, either by keeping the children home from the examination in the 4th class or by telling them to fail in one of the compulsory subjects. I have reported specific cases where this has been done. In one school all the best children of class 4 were kept away for this reason, and the percentage suffered accordingly. This is demoralising to the children and disheartening to the teacher. It might be said that a teacher should checkmate the practice by refusing to promote such children to the 5th class; but no teacher would dare to enter upon such a crusade against local opinion, to say nothing of the immorality of wasting the children's precious time. Nor does this charge of a shilling a week accomplish the object of establishing 5th classes in country schools. On the other hand, it has had the effect of practically abolishing them. Many a teacher would form a 5th class but for this fee. The people will not or cannot pay it; as soon as a 5th class is formed a few eligible pupils leave, and the average attendance drops, possibly just enough to reduce the classification of the school and consequently the salary. The teacher can thus hardly be blamed for failing to voluntarily undertake extra work when it may mean a reduction of £20 or £30 in his salary." SAPP, 1898-9, No.44, p.15.

86. See table 20.
87. In 1861, during a debate on a bill that proposed to restrict government assistance to city schools, Thomas Magarey, one of South Australia's largest pastoralists and merchants, argued that "[t]he poorer classes paid the largest amount of taxes; they bore the principal share of the burden of the state; and it was not fair that the money which they contributed should be devoted to the teaching of the higher branches of instruction." SAPD, 1861, p.147.

88. See table 21. A more extensive study of the Thebarton Primary school registers is being undertaken by Brian Condon at Hartley College of Advanced Education, Adelaide.

89. For these and the following figures, see table 22.

90. The use of 'occupational categories' rather than 'class fractions' is made necessary by the nature of the statistics collected.

91. D.J. Hogan, op. cit., p.22. For a reminder about the mistaken view of education as the key to economic security, see page 242 of this thesis.
CHAPTER 6

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE DEPENDENT CHILD
...the years between 13 and 17 are the critical and formative years for every human being. Then the physical energies of the body, as in a spring tide, thrill out in every limb and organ. Then the callow brood of instinctive desires, both intellectual and social, are agape, and young native faculties shoot out in rapid, random growth. Then, if ever, is the need for education to guide, restrain and inspire...\[1\]

In 1907, the historic Harvester decision on the basic wage was handed down in the Federal Arbitration Court by Mr. Justice Higgins. The basic wage was calculated as the amount needed by an adult male to support a wife and three children — who did not themselves work — in basic comfort. It presupposed a particular view of the family; one that was markedly different from the working class family of several decades previously.

From semi-dependent supplementary breadwinners, young people between the ages of twelve and eighteen changed into adolescents, malleable and fragile beings needing the protection of settled family life and a plethora of state institutions. In this chapter, I have summarised some theories regarding the 'invention' or 'discovery' of adolescence, and presented some speculation about its appearance in South Australia.

The invention of adolescence

Some social scientists argue that adolescence, the period of life between puberty and marriage that is imbued with special characteristics, was discovered in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.\[2\] Others, such as Gillis, Kett, Reeder, Katz and Davey, refine this analysis to argue that special social arrangements for people between puberty and marriage had existed for a considerable period of time. The transition
consisted not in *discovering* that a particular period in the life cycle possessed different characteristics, but in investing this difference with a new significance. According to Kett:

The key contribution of the 1900-1920 period was not the discovery of adolescence, for in one form or another a recognition of changes at puberty, even drastic changes, had been present long before 1900. Rather, it was the invention of the adolescent, the youth whose social definition — and indeed, whose whole being — was determined by a biological process of maturation...To speak of the 'invention of the adolescent' rather than of the discovery of adolescence underscores a related point: *adolescence was essentially a conception of behaviour imposed on youth, rather than an empirical assessment of the way in which young people actually behaved.*

According to Katz and Davey, during the period of semi-autonomy, which virtually disappeared during industrialisation, young people moved in with other families, dwelling as boarders, relatives, servants or apprentices. Although they remained, to some extent, under the supervision of their new household, these young people led a relatively independent existence.

As the nineteenth century progressed, however, more and more categories of young people spent increasing amounts of time in specialised, age-segregated institutions, stayed longer at home and, instead of contributing to the family income, became economically dependent on their parents.

In explaining the origins of adolescence in England and North America, marxist and 'revisionist' historians make two basic claims. The first contention involves the relevance of educational institutions to entry into a growing number of sought-after occupations. As argued in the previous chapter, there occurred, towards the end of the nineteenth century, a gradual transformation of the initiation and exclusion
mechanisms of various kinds of jobs. Starting with the most prestigious and best paid professions and ending with lowly clerkships, various amounts of occupational skills, as well as a range of more-or-less job-related certificates, began to be produced in the formal education systems.

Secondly, theorists concerned with explaining the 'crisis of youth' claim that towards the end of the nineteenth century there was, in many regions, a sharp decline in employment opportunities for young people. This decline is linked above all with the invention of new labour-saving machinery at the turn of the century, and with the applications of Taylorist methods of 'scientific management'. It is also connected with factory legislation, which limited young people's working hours and the type of work they were allowed to perform.

While, as Katz and Davey argue, a transition from a mercantile to an industrial economy brought with it a growth in the job opportunities available to young people, at a later stage of development this trend was reversed, and much of the simple unskilled work performed by children was taken over by machines.

To support his argument that changes in young people's employment patterns underlay efforts to introduce vocationally-oriented curricula and extend schooling, Troen cites several striking examples of the displacement of juvenile labour by technological innovations in the United States. For example, whereas in the 1880s up to one-third of the workforce in large department stores was composed of cash boys and cash girls, in the following two decades the cash register, pneumatic tube and conveyor belt virtually eliminated this kind of employment. Similarly, inventions which facilitated communications – typewriter, telephone and pneumatic
tube — eliminated most of the unskilled teenage workers who ran errands in the late nineteenth-century office. In industry, many unskilled operations previously reserved for children were taken over by more sophisticated machinery.

As Kett emphasizes, neither the changing nexus between school and work nor the crisis of youth employment could, on their own, account for the invention of adolescence. A third ingredient is needed — and here Kett points to the wide dissemination and popular acceptance of several strands of psychological theory. Works such as G. Stanley Hall's Adolescence had a brief and unspectacular life as bases of academic research. They however accurately expressed the acute concern of parents, youth leaders and teachers with the adolescents whose lives they were attempting to regulate. These men and women

...responded enthusiastically to Hall's conception of adolescence as a stage of life distinctive for aesthetic sensibility and inner turmoil, and...used Hall's viewpoint to justify the establishment of adult-sponsored institutions which segregated young people from casual contact with adults.

The transition towards 'adolescent' forms of life experience thus brought with it an ever intensifying concern with the moral dangers of those parts of children's life which continued to occur outside the institutions provided for them. Gradually, the streets changed from a 'school of life' to a 'nursery of vice', and the children's inventiveness in keeping body and soul together came to be represented as a threat to the 'survival of the race'. Gillis, referring to this period, observes that

Never had youth appeared so malleable, so prepared for good and yet so accessible to evil. The model adolescent therefore became the organised youth, dependent but secure from temptation, while the independent and precocious young were stigmatised as delinquent. Beginning
Whether adolescence is seen as a new invention or as a renamed and reshaped stage of life, its interpreters argue that it first affected the children of the wealthy, and only gradually began to have an impact on the lives of working-class people.

According to Musgrove, children of the aristocracy were, during the eighteenth century, gradually separated from the world of servants, apprentices and menials to which they had until then been often consigned, and were integrated into the social class of their parents. For several decades in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century there was a trend towards educating these young people through integrating them into the family, involving them in the everyday 'adult' concerns of their parents.

But this arrangement tended to accelerate, rather than impede, the young people's progress towards maturity: "The adolescent was inappropriately located within the family: the characteristics which had been ascribed to him could more certainly be produced in the school..." The public schools themselves were transformed. From low status institutions where boys from different classes mixed, governed to a large extent by internally generated rules, they changed to exclusive, adult regulated schools which carefully excluded all poorer children. In Kett's words:

No longer were the public schools to be dumping grounds for the dissolute sons of gentlemen, places where they were treated like serfs and often acted like serfs on the rampage. Rather, they were to become nurseries of Christian character.

Children from more modest backgrounds came under the new concept of adolescence much later than upper class ones. The last two decades of
the nineteenth century are usually identified as the period when bourgeois and professional families began to employ educational institutions, rather than apprenticeship under eminent practitioners, as introduction into work life for their sons. According to Kett, this period...

...witnessed a radical differentiation of the economic opportunities available to middle-class and lower-class young people. During these decades middle-class parents were forced to adopt new strategies to guarantee the satisfactory placement of their children in occupations, strategies which emphasized the young people's passivity and acquiescence.¹⁴

The boys' change of character was preceded by that of their sisters, who were often the first to be released from the immediate task of reproducing their family and to prolong their stay at school.¹⁵ No longer rash, troublesome and heedless, adolescents of both sexes were increasingly seen as passive, vulnerable and awkward, qualities that previously had been associated only with girls.¹⁶

Compulsory school attendance laws notwithstanding, the low standard of living and precarious economic existence of most labouring families excluded their children for a long time from the realm of adolescence. In mid-nineteenth century England, for example, reforms of the penal system and of factory conditions distinguished 'young persons' from children on the one hand, and from adults on the other.¹⁷ But the concept of adolescence became generally applied to working class youngsters only by the turn of the century, when widespread changes in the production process eliminated a large proportion of the jobs habitually performed by young people. Even then, underlying the general application of a new psychology, there were marked differences in the experience of different class fractions.
As argued in the previous chapter, during periods of prosperity the regular incomes and higher wages of skilled workers enabled them to approximate the new 'middle class' pattern of transition from school to work. The families of labourers, on the other hand, were prevented, through economic necessity, from following the same course. Their incomes were such that at least the older children had to work as soon as possible to help the family make ends meet: the 'fair and reasonable' wage awarded to male unskilled workers to support a 'family of about five' by Mr. Justice Higgins in 1907 amounted to a 27% rise in wages for labourers working under Commonwealth awards. Graphically, the difference in the life cycles of skilled and unskilled workers could be represented in the same way as Gillis had done for England of 1900:

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Figure 1. Life cycles of skilled and unskilled workers
Juvenile employment rates in South Australia

The only study to seriously confront these issues with regard to Australia is Kerry Wimshurst's thesis on South Australian 'street children'. He argues that the hypothesis linking school reform with changes in child employment rates cannot be applied to South Australia at the turn of the century. Katz and Troen speak of full-time work. According to Wimshurst, the same arguments could be applied in South Australia to child casual work — and in this he can find no evidence of falling employment opportunities. As he says,

...the urban economy remained dependent on commerce and relatively small workshop production and there appears to have been a wide range of opportunities for child casual work. At no stage in the period 1886-1915 did reformers and child savers mention the need to get street children into schools more regularly because economic change, combined with the minimum attendance requirements, was producing a generation of idle children wandering the streets in search of ever-declining opportunities for casual work. Rather, it was the very existence of these street children that was seen to constitute a social threat.

Wimshurst notes that the case is complicated by the fact that no survey of child casual work was ever undertaken in the state. I would argue, however, that the South Australian economy at the turn of the century was undergoing a transformation, and that there does exist some evidence of a decrease in juvenile employment opportunities. While, as Wimshurst observes, Adelaide remained a commercial city, its manufacturing sector was undergoing a modest process of concentration. Unlike small workshops, larger concerns came under the scope of factory acts which limited the conditions under which young people could be employed. In addition, it is probable that some of the technology and organisation of work that went with such concentration eliminated opportunities for juvenile labour.
Nevertheless, South Australia at the turn of the century probably represented a combination of trends. In some respects, it resembled Hamilton as described by Davey, where a transition from a mercantile to a more industrial economy in the 1870s led to the creation of a large number of jobs for juvenile labour. Yet at the same time employers started importing and utilising machinery which originated at a later stage of industrial development, and which often led to a reduced demand for young workers. The overall effect was probably similar to Joseph Kett's description of late nineteenth century America:

...some phases of industrialisation intensified the demand for young labourers, while other phases did not. Because of the chronological overlap of phases, observers saw conflicting pieces of evidence, but rarely the whole picture. They complained about idle and dissipated youth in one breath and about exploited youth in the next. The only point of agreement was that apprenticeship was in decline.25

In trying to gain some overview of juvenile employment patterns in South Australia, the most useful sources have proved to be the 1891, 1901 and 1911 census documents, and the statistical information on certain classes of factories collected in South Australia from 1904 onwards. The census figures indicate that between 1891 and 1911, the employment of females in the 5-14 age group remained relatively constant at about 3.7% of the age group, while that of females between 15 and 20 fell from 46.5% to 40.7% of the age group. In both cases, a marked fall in domestic and primary occupations was accompanied by a rise in industrial employment.26 During the same period, the proportion of employed males in the age group 5-14 rose from 9.7% to 11.1%, and that of the 15-20 age group fell from 94.4% to 92.3%. For both categories of young male workers, there was an increase in commercial and industrial employment, and a decrease in primary occupations.27
The significance of these figures for a 'crisis of youth' hypothesis can be judged if we compare the employment and schooling of young people in metropolitan Adelaide at the date of the 1911 census. Of the 17,367 persons aged 10-14, 4,195 or 24.2% were indicated as 'not receiving instruction' of any kind, and 2,714 or 15.6% were working. Even if we assumed that none of the children receiving instruction worked (and there is much evidence indicating that many of them did work), 1,481 youngsters, or 8.5% of the age group, was neither at school nor employed. For individual ages, the proportion of children not receiving instruction rises sharply with age – from 2.7% at the age of 10 to 69.5% at the age of 14. The rate of employment, for which no detailed breakdown is available, probably increased in a similar way. Although it is impossible at this stage to make detailed comments about trends over time, or about the sex composition of the 'idle' group of children, the figures do indicate that one in ten and possibly one in five youngsters were outside institutional supervision, causing headaches to social reformers already worried by the large number of 'street children'.

A finer if more limited picture can be gained from the yearly statistical returns of registered factories. These show that from a peak reached between 1905 and 1908 the factory employment of males under sixteen gradually declined as a proportion of the total workforce, and probably absolutely as well. While, in 1905, one in ten of all male factory workers was sixteen years of age or younger, ten years later this proportion was reduced to one in 15 and by 1919 to one in 20, around which figure it fluctuated until the 1930s.

In individual trades, between 1904 and 1915, the percentage of young male workers in full-time employment declined from 10% to 4% in mechanical
engineering, from 10% to 6% in plumbing and gasfitting, from 16% to 6% in boots and shoes, and from 10% to 5% in furniture and cabinet making. Even in tea and coffee blending, a simple occupation traditionally connected with young people, the proportion of the workforce occupied by juveniles fell from 46.6% to 35.7%. Only in printing and bookbinding, a strongly unionised trade, did the proportion of young workers remain relatively stable at around 11%.  

The factory employment of young women, on the other hand, remained more or less stable. Between 1904 and 1915, the number of women under 16 as a percentage of the total female workforce rose from 10.5% to 12.1%. The largest number of young women was employed in the textile industry, which depended for its competitiveness on paying its workers less than subsistence wages; in dress making, millinery, shirtmaking, whitework and tailoring, the combined proportion of young women as a percentage of the total female workforce rose from around 9% to 11%. By contrast, in the much larger ready-made clothing factories, their proportion of the female workforce halved in the space of eight years — it was reduced from 19.9% in 1908 to 9.8% in 1915.  

In the contracting boot trade, where the employment of young men was more than halved, the employment of young women fluctuated around 20% of the female workforce throughout the whole period.

Because women during this period started giving preference to factory work as against their traditional employment in domestic service, however, it is probable that the stable proportion of girls in factories conceals an overall decline in their employment rates, as is indeed suggested by the census figures.
In summary, with the exception of males under 15, all the available statistics indicate a gradual decline in the workforce participation rates of teenagers in South Australia in the first two decades of the twentieth century. As the 1911 statistics on metropolitan Adelaide show, school was by no means an automatic substitute for work, since at least one in ten of all children between 10 and 15 were neither employed nor 'receiving instruction'.

These changes in employment patterns occurred during a process of increasing urbanisation; an important consideration since adolescence was seen as, above all, a city problem.\textsuperscript{37} Between 1896 and 1901, the proportion of South Australia's population living in the Adelaide metropolitan area increased from 42.9\% to 45.3\%. By 1921 it reached 51.6\%, the same proportion as in the early years of the colony.\textsuperscript{38}

Before further research in this area is completed, it is impossible to put an unambiguous explanation on the long-term decline in juvenile employment rates. In some areas, there undoubtedly occurred a contraction of employment opportunities. In others, employment was curtailed through factory or educational legislation, and through the preferences of the young people themselves. Even in the buoyant conditions of 1907, for example, when record harvests boosted employment in most trades to unprecedented levels and the press was full of complaints about a shortage of labour, there was in certain areas a surplus of unskilled juvenile workers. According to one article

One remarkable phase of the question disclosed by the search for information is the scarcity of boys — those who are suitable for shop and warehouse. We can get plenty of a kind, one employer explained, but where the smart, thinking lad, the one who enters the business enthusiastically, is gone, I really am at a loss to know.\textsuperscript{39}
An even more cautious point of view was put forward by W.R. Hunt, senior partner in a firm of labour agents:

There is a lot of exaggeration about the labour market... So far as the supply is concerned, the number of miscellaneous hands, such as young men for stores, and especially those who have no desire to leave the city, is beyond the demand.\(^8\)

A similar situation existed with regard to women. In 1912, a Royal Commission was called after repeated complaints from employers about a shortage of labour in the clothing and boot trades. In its First Progress Report, the Commission recommended the increase, through immigration, of the female workforce by 610. However, those sections of the workforce which were unionised, and therefore able to present evidence without fear of victimisation, argued convincingly that no shortage of labour existed in their trades, and that employers were in fact attempting to create a considerable reserve of unemployed workers. This view was endorsed by A.K. Wallace in the 'Minority Report' of the Commission.\(^{41}\)

Nevertheless, the general prosperity did lead to a lessening of the need for juvenile labour from the standpoint of working class families. Unlike in the 1890s, the adult males in the family had a good prospect of obtaining full-time work, and could afford the luxury of keeping their wives and older daughters at home and their children at school. As the Register put it,

It may be that with a little more money for the house the parent of the brainy boy is giving him a year extra at school...there is not the same necessity for daughters to be breadwinners while the father is earning regular money."\(^2\)

The women and young people themselves had less incentive to accept the first available job, when a better paid or more congenial one might be in the offering. It is interesting to note that the peak for the number of
boys employed in registered factories was reached two years before that of adult males. In 1905, 13,165 adult males were registered as employed as against 1,485 juveniles; two years later the number of men rose by 9% to 14,383, while that of boys fell by 8% to 1,365. In summary, although South Australia witnessed some decline in the employment rates of young people, there was nothing resembling the massive shift in work opportunities which occurred in regions whose industry was undergoing a rapid process of mechanisation.

But the social unease which accompanied the ideology of the dependent child hinged on more than employment rates. It was fuelled by profound misgivings about the nature of young people's employment as well. In particular, it related to the apparent replacement of apprenticeship by 'dead end' unskilled jobs — indeed, three successive Acts of Parliament sought to regulate and limit the type of casual work that children were allowed to undertake.

In the late nineteenth century, there was general agreement that, for those young people who remained employed in industry, apprenticeship, with its detailed supervision and significant educational content, was a decreasingly available option. Murray-Smith, in summarising the evidence collected by the 1886-8 Board of Inquiry into Technical Education in South Australia, echoed a chorus of similar commentaries made throughout the whole period. As in New South Wales and Victoria, he concluded, the apprenticeship system in South Australia was on the wane:

...except in the printing trade, the apprenticeship system was everywhere in desuetude; comparatively few firms had a fixed policy of employing apprentices; apprentice conditions were wildly inconsistent even within individual trades; and it was seldom indeed that a young worker, even if apprenticed, could obtain all-round trade training; where apprentices were employed, the employer's interest in them was too often as cheap labour.
As apprenticeship provisions declined, there was some corresponding increase in the number of relatively well paid 'dead end' jobs reserved for young people. According to contemporary observers, children were 'lured' into these jobs as soon as they left school, only to find themselves sacked and replaced by more cheap labour by the time they were eighteen. A sample of working class participants in an oral history project confirmed that there might be a shortage of plum jobs, but plenty of casual labouring, which youngsters in Hindmarsh sampled with considerable rapidity and discernment. And, if it came to the worst, they 'could always get a job in the Kilkenny glassworks'.

Such jobs were roundly condemned by social reformers, but they had an important role in working class budgets. In South Australia in 1913, for example, the weekly wages of unskilled young 'improvers' were four to five shillings a week higher than those of apprentices. Only in their fifth and sixth year of employment did the two classes of workers receive equal pay. In this situation, with the added expense of indentures, apprenticeship was a luxury many parents could not or did not want to afford.

As Liddy and Radcliffe (an Adelaide firm of boot manufacturers and importers) testified before the 1887 Technical Education Board:

Parents will not now, as a rule, indenture their boys, because the boys can get more money as errand boys etc., than they can when learning a trade. This is, however, a penny wise and a pound foolish idea, because the boy has no trade at his fingers' end when grown up.

The conclusions of Gillis apply here:

In large families, the older siblings were expected to help provide for their younger brothers and sisters, leaving school at the earliest possible moment and taking the highest paid employment available to a person aged 13 or 14, which at this time meant unskilled jobs with no prospect of further training or real advancement.
The changes in employment patterns on their own had a profound impact on the life of young people. But they occurred at the same time as two other developments: the increasing institutionalisation (through 'efficient' compulsory schooling) of a significant part of children's lives, and the related wholesale redefinition of the 'natural' way for young people to behave.

The 'crisis of youth'

According to Wimshurst, the main vehicle for formulating the ideology of the dependent child in South Australia was the State Children's Council, which by 1905 established a close link with educationists and 'progressive labour' elements.

The Council had a brief but traumatic contact with a number of habitual truants in the early 1890s. Throughout the rest of the decade, it continued to apply its understanding of the social and moral dangers of truancy to a category that it did not recognize: street children, who in fact complied with the legal attendance requirements of the Education Act. In this period, the Council

...inaugurated the final step in South Australia in the extension of childhood dependency. In its role of 'stern yet loving and concerned parent', the Council pressed for compulsory full-time school attendance for all children during the 'dangerous years' from ten to fourteen..."9

Gradually, the Council's arguments were taken up by Labor Party and liberal school reformers and even Education Department officials.

According to Wimshurst,

"The emotional rhetoric and stereotypes created by the child savers in the 1890s helped to establish the parameters of progressive arguments for the abolition of the minimum attendance requirements between 1905-1915..."50
By this time, thirty years of compulsory schooling had led, at least in the minds of the educators, to a redefinition of what was a 'natural' way for young working class people to behave. The gradual shift of children out of the permanent and casual workforce and their increasing experience (in school) of long periods of passive obedience to detailed authority combined to produce a shift in children's 'character' — so much so that the initiative, independence and self-confidence necessary for finding and performing a variety of casual jobs came to be referred to as 'unnatural precocity'.

Such redefinition did not occur without a significant measure of conflict between groups of independent youngsters and those adults who advocated greater intervention in the lives of all young persons. Gillis notes that in England

Resistance was particularly pronounced among a large part of working youth, for whom the teen years had traditionally been free of all institutional involvement apart from employment, and to whom supervision appeared both unnecessary and illegitimate. Their resistance came to be interpreted as evidence of anti-social tendencies on the part of all adolescents, thereby justifying further protective legislation. A reinforcing cycle of organisation and resistance continued for almost two decades until the model of organised adolescence became more widely accepted.

A similar course of events occurred in South Australia.

Chapter 4 referred to the gradual process where pupils (who, around 1875, could be described as a 'herd of young unbroken colts') changed their behaviour to such an extent that, by the turn of the century, inspectors started complaining of their listlessness. The school inspectors criticized young people for being too shy to ask questions of the teacher and raise their voice above a whisper when answering her questions. When the children left school, the contrast was startling, to judge by the metaphors used to describe it.
To the Conservative MP, Rudall, it appeared in 1910 that

When the State has given children the mere rudiments of teaching she practically turns them loose and unaided into a burning fiery furnace of the streets and makes chance the arbiter of their future destiny...53

Some of the educators responded by dreaming up ways of providing children with inbuilt, rather than merely external, discipline. As Inspector Neale pointed out,

...character is determined by motive rather than refinement, and it is education in high altruistic motives that is lacking...In school the extrinsic rewards must give place to work for the love of work — for the joy of work only, and the passing satisfaction of emulation and competition must be exchanged for the joys of ministry and sacrifice.54

Others, painfully unaware of Freud, allowed themselves to lapse into flowery outbursts advocating the sublimation of young people's sexual energy.55

At first, the salvation of the newly discovered impressionable and fragile adolescents was seen in longer and more rigorous school attendance, or was calmly consigned to the discipline of the workplace. In 1903, for example, Inspector Whitham wrote that

Nothing could be more beautiful than the tone and discipline of our 4th and 5th class children as long as they attend school, but when for months and, in hundreds of cases, for years they have no regular employment to go to, they drift into mischievous habits and idle loafing. A boy of, say, from 12 to 15 years must either have lessons or some regular occupation, and how to keep him at either one or the other is one of the most serious problems the state has to solve.56

Towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, however, the anxious educators found the work discipline wanting as well.

Noting with alarm that "less restraint is exercised upon children, who incline more and more towards early independence and who eagerly respond
to the alluring cry of the streets...". Williams advocated the setting up of evening continuation schools offering, even to those who were already employed, such exciting subjects as civics and hygiene. According to him,

Well conducted [evening continuation schools] would do much to counteract the pernicious influence of the streets, and to train boys to make the most of their powers instead of allowing themselves to drift with the current of natural desires...

To foster, in girls, "the great desideratum, a sound mind in a sound body", the educators pronounced that

A useful and practical training in household work obtained by girls in our schools will be of incalculable benefit to the community, as it should encourage and help to form habits of thrift, industry, cleanliness and regard for domestic comfort, which should add greatly to the pleasures and conveniences of home life. At the same time, it should also have the effect of providing recreations of a profitable kind, thus doing away with that recognised form of amusement — an aimless perambulation of the village and city streets.

In this chapter, I have argued that the sudden hysteria about saving young people from the 'fiery furnace' of the streets at the beginning of the twentieth century was based on more than the application of imported psychology to children suppressed by long years of compulsory schooling. It was closely linked with the changing structure of the workforce, and a gradual transformation of the nexus between school and work. In addition, there was a marked shift in the employment patterns of young people, which at times probably involved an increase in the number of visibly unemployed youth. By the turn of the century, a shorter stay at school no longer automatically meant a longer period of more-or-less regular employment. Even when it did, it tended to be employment of a particular kind, with looser supervision, and decreasing opportunities for learning any particular trade.
In this situation, extended schooling might enable anxious 'child savers', educators and parents to subdue and direct into safer channels the frightening impulses and passions adolescents were discovered to be riddled with. This solution, however, was not without its problems. To the end of the nineteenth century, it was generally accepted that compulsory education involved a serious contradiction. On the one hand, a minimum amount of schooling was essential if children were to acquire habits of diligence, morality and cheerful obedience to authority. On the other hand, too much education would lead in the future to workers' dissatisfaction with their lot. The fact that any such minimum was exceeded not only by ambitious parents of working class children but by the educators themselves in the process of carrying out their moralising mission was viewed with serious misgivings and often actively opposed.

Over the following fifteen years, this problematic was set aside in South Australia and a new orthodoxy emerged — one much harder to implement. Until then, one of the main grounds on which conservatives opposed extension of state schooling was that it would facilitate social mobility. As Langdon Parsons, chairman of the 1881-4 Education Commission, put it neatly in 1882: "I think a few years hence, under the system of education now obtaining, it will be hard to find anyone to clean our boots". By the beginning of the twentieth century, a new line of reasoning had appeared: extended schooling of a particular kind came to be seriously considered as a way of preventing 'excessive' social mobility. As the Labor Minister of Education, F.W. Coneybeer, hoped: "...secondary education, if directed on right lines, would prevent young people from taking the direction of clerical life". His gaze fastened on to a new hope — technical education.
Notes

1. Alfred Williams in SAPP, 1908, No.65, p.8, quoting Dr. Paton.

2. According to Musgrove, "[t]he adolescent was invented at the same time as the steam engine. The principal architect of the later was Watt in 1765, of the former Rousseau in 1762." F. Musgrove: "The invention of the adolescent" in F. Musgrove (ed.): Youth and the social order (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p.33.


6. Davey found that in Hamilton (Canada) in 1851, almost two-thirds of the children living at home were neither at school nor in full-time employment. He adds that many children undoubtedly helped their parents at home. In addition, the census figures would not have indicated children's casual work, which would modify to some extent the author's comments about the idleness of unschooled children. Nevertheless, "...it would appear that middle-class perception of large numbers of 'idle and vagrant' street urchins must have been a very real one in mid-nineteenth century Hamilton". I.E. Davey: "Educational reform and the working class", p.87. Davey adds that the small number of children in full-time employment "highlights a feature of the newly developing commercial city: there was a paucity of jobs for children". ibid., p.86. By 1861, the same lack of employment opportunities remained but educational provision had increased, and many children attended school. In the following ten years, the city industrialised so rapidly that the concentration of its industry resembled that of industrial towns many times its size. ibid., p.163. During this decade, employment opportunities for young people grew quite remarkably, and many left school to take up jobs in newly expanded or developed industries. ibid., pp.165-8.


8. loc. cit.

9. ibid., p.243. In summary, in nineteenth century cities, "Children between twelve and sixteen found many openings in service occupations that required minimum skills and in labouring positions that demanded less than adult strength. Thus, large numbers were employed in factories, stores and offices as cigar makers, messengers, cash boys
or cash girls, delivery boys, stock clerks, wrappers, markers, inspectors and the like. But the invention of cash registers, pneumatic tubes, paper folding machineries, and telephones — to suggest only the most obvious — necessarily made many of their jobs obsolete. An advancing technology had not only brought about the unemployment of legions of adolescents, but in so doing, had also undermined a basic premise of nineteenth century education." *ibid.*, p.241.


17. F. Musgrove, *op. cit.*, p.34.


20. K. Wimshurst: "Street children and school attendance in South Australia, 1890-1915".


23. It is not essential to this hypothesis that school reformers be shown to be explicitly aware of any changes in employment patterns: in either case, the problem of explaining the origin of intense social concern with a particular issue remains.

24. See, for example, R.K. Bowes: "The 1890 maritime strike in South Australia", pp.12-3.


26. See table 23a,b.

27. See table 23c,d.


29. Published as 'Appendix A' to the yearly "Report of the working of the Factories"...Act" in *SAPP*. Until 1907, statistics were collected for both metropolitan and certain country factories, including government workshops. From 1908, only private metropolitan estab-
lishments were included. Most of the decrease in the number of workers was accounted for by omitting the Port Pirie smelting works, the Government Printing Office, and the Islington and Glenville Government Workshops. This change in the base of the statistics collected, as well as incomplete returns, make it impossible to determine with any precision changes in absolute figures over time.

30. See table 25a.
31. See table 25b,c,d,e,f,g.
32. See table 25a.
33. See, for example, SAPP, 1912, No.12, pp.vii,120-7.
34. See table 25h,i.
35. See table 25b.
36. See table 23a,b.
38. See table 11.
40. ibid., p.7.
41. SAPP, 1912, No.12.
42. "The labour market...", op. cit., pp.3-4.
43. See table 25a.
44. K. Wimshurst, op. cit., p.52.
45. S. Murray-Smith: "A history of technical education in Australia", p.481. We must remember, however, that the Board sent out its questionnaires during a severe recession.
46. Information obtained in R. Broomhill and I.E. Davey: "Hindmarsh oral history project".
47. SAPP, 1887, No.33, p.26.
49. K. Wimshurst, op. cit., p.43.
50. ibid., p.47.
51. ibid., pp.41,185.


55. See the appeal by Alfred Williams, successful headmaster turned South Australian Director of Education, reproduced as epigraph to this chapter.

56. *SAPP*, 1903, No.44, p.15, my emphasis.

57. *SAPP*, 1908, No.65, p.18.


60. *SAPP*, 1882, No.27, p.18/3773.

CHAPTER 7

TECHNICAL EDUCATION
The formulation, in late nineteenth century, of demands for state-provided technical education in schools can be traced to two fundamental, conflict-ridden processes of the capitalist mode of production. The first of these is the distribution of people between different class places; the second, the shaping of these class places themselves through the development of technology and the changing division of labour. More particularly, the attractiveness of technical education as a solution to the economic and social problems facing late nineteenth and early twentieth century was enhanced by its supposed ability to stem the inclination of working class children to 'rise above their class'.

But while technical education was thought to be endowed with considerable powers, no blueprint for its precise shape existed. For nearly forty years, various social groups negotiated the exact distribution of scientific and production knowledge, as well as the form it would take. In this way, although many people and groups used the term 'technical education', they did not always have the same thing in mind. Throughout the debates, two basic meanings of the term can be distinguished. Firstly, in an approach often designated as 'liberal', technical education was seen as the development of certain skills and aptitudes for general use. Secondly, in what has been described as a 'technicist' approach, it was understood as a tuition in specific skills necessary for the performance of specific occupations.¹
Fostering colonial industries

In South Australia, one of the first bodies concerned with technical education was the Chamber of Manufactures, which was formed in 1869 with the object of fostering the development of colonial industries. To strengthen local manufactures in an essentially agricultural colony, it advocated not only a diversification of production but the growing of new crops on which manufacturing could be based, the introduction of protective tariffs, replacement of imports by locally manufactured goods, reduction in taxation and wharfage charges, importation of skilled labour — and technical education. In all these fields, the Chamber was able to achieve modest victories.

From its inception to 1886, technical education received a mention in each of the yearly reports of the Chamber of Manufactures. The Chamber held its second Industrial Exhibition in 1877 and by that time it had established classes in mechanical drawing, organised lectures on scientific topics, started a 'nucleus of a museum' of technological and industrial exhibits, and added to its reading room a large collection of "pamphlets, catalogues and papers etc. bearing upon the industries of the United States".

A report two years later urged greater use of the new facilities:

The committee feel that employers might usefully cooperate with them in introducing to those persons in their employ the facilities offered by the Chamber for their mental improvement and the acquisition of technical knowledge required in various handicraft trades.

Technical education, as one of the means of 'fostering colonial industries', was for a time closely linked with the tariff question. In his 1888 Report, Inspector Dewhirst, for example, wrote that
Among the subjects which have come to the front in connection with our public school system, none occupy so prominent a place as technical education, and now that the tariff has been altered, largely with the view of fostering colonial industries, the manner in which it can best be incorporated with, or appended to, that system, becomes of much interest to the community.

The link between technical education and the tariff question was of a distinct kind. Murray-Smith notes that technical education was logically supported by both free traders and protectionists: by protectionists as one of the schemes that would encourage 'dormant industries' and make existing ones more profitable; by free traders because technical education was one way of ensuring that the tariff protection of industry was only temporary.

During the severe recession, when a strongly protectionist tariff was first introduced, pressure from the Chamber of Manufactures and two influential school boards of advice led the government to follow Victorian precedent and appoint, in November 1886, a Board of Inquiry into technical education. In the same year, the Minister of Education expressed his

...sense of gratitude to the Chamber for the way in which it has assisted in forming a public opinion on [technical education]. This Chamber took up the matter from the very first, and has kept persistently at it, and gradually got a public opinion formed outside.

But while, for most manufacturers, technical education remained only one of several ways of attracting industry to the state and making it more profitable, to many of their allies it became the very linchpin of industrial development.

At the root of this analysis, which eventually achieved a 'commonsense' status, was a comparison of the economic development of England, Germany, and the United States. It was evident that, while British industry was
stagnating, that of Germany and the United States was developing at a rapid pace. It was also widely accepted that both of the latter countries, and especially Germany, had a highly developed system of technical education. Instead of explaining a complex relationship between forms of capital investment and social policies within different countries, a simple connection was drawn. Technical education was thought to have the power to initiate successful industrial development. In a word, "[i]f we sow fools we shall reap vice; if we sow larrikins, we shall reap criminals; but if we sow practical knowledge, we must reap power and riches".

One important corollary of such view was that it was desirable to make all tradesmen just as knowledgeable about the work process as the masters who employed them.

At the 1886 annual meeting of the Chamber of Manufactures, Mr. T. Hack, on moving a motion in support of technical education, explained in great detail that

...there is a very small percentage of workmen indeed that any employer will trust to do the headwork of his employment. Many have a good hand and turn out splendid work, but give them an opportunity of setting out their work and they are altogether at sea. Very few of them have the mental training to do the work which all good artisans ought to be ready to do.

He complained that the problem was further compounded by the fact that most of the handful of thoroughly skilled and knowledgeable workers eventually became master on their own account.

And yet, rather paradoxically, the enthusiasm about raising the general level of skill was closely linked with deeply felt concern, on the part of wealthier sections of the colonial society, about the need to maintain their position of privilege. On the one hand, they sought to reaffirm
their monopoly over a variety of clerical and professional jobs. On the other, they were anxious to train adequate numbers of people willing and able to perform the manual work which they hoped to avoid.

As was argued in Chapter 4, nineteenth century educationists were increasingly made aware of a serious contradiction. While, in order to better discipline their pupils, they struggled to extend schooling, the increased amounts of education provided undermined the necessity of many working class children to confine themselves to traditional avenues of employment. From the standpoint of the employers, technical education presented a possible solution to this growing perceived crisis in distributing people between different class places.

A model of such education, albeit severely restricted by the 1875 Education Act, already existed in South Australia in the form of industrial schools for poor or destitute working class children.

In the Port Adelaide Free School, established in 1870 to cater for poor working class children, half of each school day was devoted to accustoming children to various industrial pursuits. Each afternoon, the girls spent their time learning knitting, plain needlework, mending, darning, and 'habits of household economy', and the boys picking oakum or in 'other industrial engagements'.

The Magill Industrial School, a reformatory catering also for destitute children, went even further. Regular school subjects were restricted to an absolute minimum, and the school concentrated on training the intended servants and labourers in various manual tasks. In the 1880s, according to a frequent visitor to the school, "[t]hese backward boys and girls, instead of being put in the school to learn to read and write and learn
arithmetic, are kept half the school day out of doors". The boys were taught "gardening, digging, milking cows, and such things", the girls "washing and scrubbing". Considering the contemporary shortage of servants, it was no wonder that "[a]lmost no boys or girls remain in the school, there is such a demand for them out of doors".

The arguments in favour of technical education serving both functions, increasing productivity and training adequate numbers of labourers, were painstakingly documented by evidence from other Australian colonies and from overseas. Since members of the Chamber of Manufacturers diligently collected all available information and the colonial newspapers never tired of printing articles on technical education, there was no dearth of evidence to draw on.

The wide general knowledge displayed by early advocates of technical education was, however, matched by a vagueness and even indifference about local conditions. It was sufficient to argue, as the Chamber of Manufacturers had done, that "[t]he success of such technological classes in other colonies should encourage the formation of a similar course of instruction here".

By the same token, the analyses of technical education were, for a long time, of a general character little concerned with the specific needs of particular branches of production. In essence they argued that "[i]n proportion...to the intelligence of its operatives as a whole the working power of a nation is largely determined". According to Murray-Smith, in South Australia in the 1880s,

We would look far to find a cry for specific training of a specific group of people to meet some pressing and urgent need; and, when we find it, it would more likely be in the field of agriculture than in industry. And even in agriculture, emphasis is likely to be placed more
on the generalised benefits of more research than on the training of young farmers.¹⁹

Both of these characteristics were clearly illustrated in an interchange between a cautious Inspector General of Schools and enthusiastic education commissioners in 1882.

What is your opinion as to the desirability of having technical high schools, and to what extent should they be carried out? — I do not think such valuable results would flow in this colony from them as in Victoria, where there is gold mining and other things going on which require technical instruction.

But are not technical schools being established in every civilised country? — Yes; and they are of great advantage in manufacturing and mining countries.

Don't you think they stimulate manufactures? — Yes.

Is not the cause of the advance made by America of late years her technical schools, and the extent to which technical education is carried? — They are supposed to be.

Do we get sufficient advantage for our money when we stop short of giving technical instruction and establishing these schools? — They are considered desirable by sensible men, and are carried out in the countries which are supposed to be the countries advancing in Europe at the present time; but whether the time is ripe for them here I do not know.

Have not the countries you speak of advanced with more rapid strides since technical education was adopted than before? — To affirm an opinion upon that question requires a great deal of knowledge, but I may say that there are technical schools in those countries which may be called the countries of advancement and development at the present day.²⁰

The non-specific definition of technical education was facilitated by the contemporary understanding of the link between education and the economy. According to this, there was no need to limit technical training to the actual requirements of local industry. In the prosperous economic conditions of the 1870s and early 1880s, the employers' representatives argued that a surplus of skilled workers would present no problem — it would be immediately used up by entrepreneurs eager to find profitable outlets for their capital.
the accumulation of workers does not make work scarcer or less remunerative... we may safely lay down the axiom that workmen create work, and especially in a new country where increased attention has been paid and is now being paid to manufactures. Proceeding from this axiom we find easily that the instruction of the people in the principles of technical education is a direct inducement to the extension of industrial enterprise.\textsuperscript{21}

At the same time, mistaking much of workers' defence of their working and living conditions for ignorance, the proponents of technical education hoped that the new knowledge would make tradesmen not only cheerfully welcome new technology, but induce them to exert their 'inventive faculties' in the service of capital. As the Register put it,

\begin{quote}
It is almost impossible to over-estimate the direct increase of manufacturing power and capacity which a nation derives from its workmen being thus trained... Hence, instead of hinder any new adaptations of science to his trade, as is too often the case now, he would be prompt to assist in the inventive process when his mental culture is placed in sympathy with it.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

On their part, some sections of the labour movement, interested more in advancement of their class than the individual mobility of some of its members, argued for a form of technical education as a practical way of extending primary schooling. Unlike the traditional academic curricula, such practically-oriented education would be accessible to the bulk of the working class to raise their general standard of education. If extended, it would have the potential of becoming a 'university of the working classes'.\textsuperscript{23} Often, it was hoped that such education would help workers to more effectively understand and defend the interests of their class.\textsuperscript{24}

Nevertheless, the attitude of unions of skilled workers to technical education remained ambiguous. In addition to their concern with general education, they were caught between the process of deskilling, which
eroded their grasp of the production process as well as their ability to carry out the training of apprentices; and the fear that the possible replacement, technical education in elementary or technical schools, could not be adequately controlled by them to safeguard their interests, especially with regard to limiting the numbers of tradesmen.25

The first Intercolonial Trade Union Congress in 1879 approved proposals for the advancement of technical education and the seventh Congress, held in Ballarat in 1891, passed a resolution advocating the gradual replacement of apprenticeship by technical education.26 In South Australia, however, many unions were initially opposed to any form of industrial education outside the control of the trades themselves. As a machinist from Balaclava wrote in his evidence to the 1888 Board of Enquiry into technical education,

Instruction [in technical education] would no doubt be a very good thing generally if our population was a larger one, but with a small population, and our competition already in almost every trade, I think it would intervene very materially with the trades of those who had given their whole time to learn them, as it would create a large number of workmen who would eventually start in business on their own account.27

One after another, the trade union witnesses to the Board testified that they were specifically sent by their associations to express unconditional opposition to introducing any elements of trade instruction to children under 13 or 14 years of age.

In the end, the Board itself went to great lengths to reassure the Trades and Labour Council that it had no intention of interfering with the apprenticeship system. As its second Progress Report said, "[a]ny attempt to teach special trades cannot be too strongly deprecated".28
The Education Department as well as the trade unions was sharply opposed to introducing anything except the barest elements of technical education into the primary curricula.

The inspectors, supported by the teachers' association, argued, with varying degrees of emphasis, that the work of primary schools was already overcrowded with essential subjects. Even if minor changes in curricula were made, the overworked teachers could not be expected to teach new branches of instruction. This was all the more true since, while one skilled tradesman instructed one or two apprentices, one indifferently trained teacher was often in charge of fifty or sixty students.²⁹

Partly for this reason, many employers favoured subjects such as mensuration and technical drawing, but were against teaching primary school pupils the use of tools so they would not have to 'unlearn' their young workers.³⁰

The double opposition of trade unions and the Education Department led the Board to abandon vague proposals to turn out fully trained apprentices out of the transformed primary schools. As a result, only minor adjustments were recommended and made to primary school Courses of Instruction. The Education Regulations of 1888 stated that "[a]fter the examination of 1888, drawing will be taught in all schools, and elementary lessons in scientific subjects will be given in the upper classes".³¹ Two years later, the Regulations defined in considerable detail 'special lessons... given to develop the powers of observation and manual facility'. For at least two lessons a week, teachers were expected, according to their interests and abilities, to give elementary science lessons, illustrated by experiment, on 'facts which may be observed by the children themselves'; give younger children work 'as is described in Kindergarten manuals'; teach
older girls cookery, boys carpentry, or perhaps gardening or farming— "care being taken that the children learn the principles as well as the practice". 

But if the Board affirmed that most aspects of training future workers in particular technical skills had to wait until after they left the primary school, it saw no such restriction in the matter of dampening the children's preference for white collar jobs. Indeed, finding a way to encourage a 'taste for industrial pursuits' in working class children seemed to be one of the Board's major preoccupations. In a typical exchange, the headmaster of the primary school in the working class suburb of Hindmarsh was, for example, asked

Supposing we incorporate these industrial elements [like elementary carpentry and drawing into primary school curricula], do you think it would have a beneficial effect in turning away the tendency to seek clerical occupations? — I believe a great deal of that is not due to the training in schools, but to the parents. They think it is more the life of a gentleman, and teach the children to think so. I have always tried to teach them the opposite.

Do you think the influence of such training would be sufficient to overcome this parental influence? — It would be a very difficult matter. In my district, the parents are not of a very high class, and are a little jealous of their prerogative. At the same time, if the boys were successful in handling tools, and made themselves useful about the house, I dare say they would be reconciled to it.

Clause 8 of the Commission's brief First Report endorsed this view. It said:

We have carefully inquired into the subject of Manual Instruction in Primary Schools, and are of opinion that such instruction, besides affording a pleasant and profitable relaxation from purely mental work, would prove valuable as a means of physical training, and would develop a taste for industrial pursuits.
There is some evidence that working class parents objected to the introduction of the 'industrial elements' into school on precisely these grounds: instead of spending their valuable short time in school on learning essential (and marketable) skills, children wasted it on frills like drill and manual training. According to one inspector,

At first a considerable amount of disfavour was manifested by the parents, who were not in sympathy with the work, and considered that their children could be far more usefully employed at some of the ordinary scholastic subjects. After some time, however, when various specimens of the pupil's workmanship were taken home, and in many instances applied to the decoration of wall and mantle-shelf, the parents became more reconciled...35

When, in 1886, a meeting of the Chamber of Manufactures suggested the introduction of trade training into primary schools, the headmaster of one working class school indignantly pointed out that

...the recent meeting in Adelaide was simply a meeting of the manufacturers. I feel confident that not one of those gentlemen who either in meetings or the Press have been advocating technical education in schools would send his boys to learn trades before they were 13.36

This line of argument was elaborated in an article in the Herald contributed by 'A Liberal' in 1898. According to him,

Insofar as brushmaking, matmaking, or anything of that kind is taught it is only instruction in branches of industry, more or less making of the schoolroom a workshop for apprentices without the benefit of skilled masters...Any proficiency that is gained in the manual arts in our schools is acquired at the loss of time and opportunity which would be more profitably given to the cultivation of the mind...The mass of people are only being deluded when they are got to admit that it is a good thing for the schoolroom to be turned into anything else than a mental workshop, and they are playing into the hands of those persons who say that any education is good enough for the child of the working man, because he should not aim at being anything better than his father was; and they ask, if all the children are well educated whence are the labourers and working men coming?37
In spite of their modest encouragement of 'industrial pursuits', it proved impracticable to turn South Australia's primary schools into fully fledged 'industrial schools'. But the Board remained enthusiastic about the far-reaching economic benefits of 'general technical training' in primary schools, and 'special technical training' at the post-primary stage. According to them, technical education was "...a chief factor in determining the future relative rank of nations". This did not apply only to highly developed countries. Quite the contrary.

In a young country like South Australia, with vast resources and industrial lines not yet fully defined, general technical training should find its fullest development. Equipped with such instruction, possessing a fine knowledge of the principles of applied science, and endowed with manual dexterity, the workman will readily discern the conditions favourable to the establishment of new industries; he will have a keen eye to the utilisation of waste products; and in times of depression or overcrowding of an industry he can transfer his energy into a remunerative channel.

The need for new skilled workers might not be readily apparent during a recession, but would become all the more pressing as soon as conditions improved:

Our rising manufactures will in a few years require a large number of skilled workmen, foremen and managers, and if we do not provide for the occasion, by the continuation of general technical training beyond the compulsory school age, the positions which belong by right to our own lads will fall into the hands of chance comers.

But if the commissioners wholeheartedly believed that technical education preceded and brought forth industrial development, the Inspector General of Schools himself remained unconvinced:

...I doubt whether this community is in a position to start a complete system of technical education, because it really does not seem to me that we know what our industries are to be...I really fear that many of the people have got hold of a mistaken idea...and believe that if we start technical education we shall turn our
colony, which is evidently an agricultural and mining one, into a manufacturing country.\textsuperscript{42}

As economic conditions deteriorated in the late 1880s, such scepticism became more widespread.

The conservative Register is a case in point. From its unmitigated and vague enthusiasm about technical education, it gradually moved to a more precise advocacy of measures tailored closely both to local conditions and to a capitalist division of labour.

There were several major points on which this 'technicist' view diverged from the earlier calls for raising the general level of skill.

Firstly, technical education should be provided specifically to meet the needs of branches of production actually carried on in South Australia.

By 1896, a Register editorial complained that

\begin{quote}
Time after time we have called attention to the strange anomaly that in a country such as ours, which must in the very nature of things depend for its prosperity more upon the producing than upon the manufacturing industries, the technical classes for teaching city trades at the School of Mines and Industries are crowded with hundreds of students, while those lads who are studying agriculture, horticulture, viticulture, and dairy farming etc. at the Agricultural College number only 40 or 50.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

In 1898, the same paper was able to claim

\begin{quote}
At first, of course, each colony exhibited a tendency to direct attention towards some subjects of study entirely unsuited to colonial industrial requirements; but this mistake is now being rapidly corrected. Our local School of Mines can boast of a much closer connection with the mining industry than it had half a dozen years ago.\textsuperscript{44}
\end{quote}

The necessity of matching technical education with the specific needs of local industries was all the more pressing since, during a depression, a surplus of skilled labour, far from calling forth industries to employ it, would 'turn sour'. Technical education in itself might be a good thing, the Register added, "but it must be directed into the proper channels
before it can produce its due effects, and in this effect the plan hitherto adopted in South Australia has been lamentably defective".45

Secondly, it was not necessary to give technical education to all the workers. Indeed, this could create more problems than it would solve. As the Register pointed out,

It is commonly alleged that the ambition of the better class of our schoolboys is to become clerks and not to engage in manual labour... This tendency is certainly to be regretted; but we are not at all sure that it would be materially lessened by the introduction of technical education. There is manual labour and manual labour, and we suspect that the same kind of artificial distinctions would be perpetuated if all men were skilled workers and all were compelled to engage in some kind of manual toil.46

Far more important than making everybody skilled was the specialised technological training of 'captains of industry', engineers, foremen, and other technical and supervisory personnel.

As the Register put it,

What we contend for is a candid recognition of the truth that technical instruction, if it is to be worth the money expended upon it, must not be forced upon those who do not seek it, but should be offered to those whose brains and zeal and industry warrant the outlay involved in providing it.47

In other words, the problem was not only how to direct technical education into the right channels, but 'how to find the persons who are to be educated'.48

Such a cost efficient arrangement was credited with the same potential for creating economic prosperity that was previously reserved for lifting the general level of skill of the workforce:

A few 'brainy men', by laying down the lines of certain industries and attracting young people of ability around them, may succeed in bringing prosperity and trade to a whole town or district.49
The reasons for Germany's economic superiority were modified accordingly. In 1905 Langdon Bonython, a prominent member of the bourgeoisie and a foremost South Australian proponent of technical education, explained to a teachers' conference that

The conviction has been steadily gaining ground that success in manufacturing industry, in the higher walks of commerce, and in every pursuit requiring technical knowledge, depends very largely upon the thorough and complete training of those who are charged with the control of the different kinds of work in which the army of operatives are engaged. Intelligent and highly skilled workers are indispensable, but unless they are properly directed by efficient and expert officers, they can effect little. It is undoubtedly due to the careful training of the masters and leaders of industry that the Germans have achieved so large a measure of success in different technical pursuits.⁵⁰

To help justify the new line of thinking, it was argued that only people with a certain inherited genetic potential were capable of intelligent interest in the application of technological knowledge:

Some young folk may be exactly suited to educational equipment as the future 'captains of industry', but this remark does not apply to the majority...The chances of heredity cause the big brains and the large capacities for work and leadership to occur sporadically...Numerous young men have no taste or aptitude for special technical studies. These may have their useful places in the economy of industry, but they will never act as leaders.⁵¹

Such 'natural law', coupled with fierce international competition, meant that "leading positions...must in future be awarded in accordance with the standard of mental fitness".⁵²

Thirdly, technical education was once again relegated to being only one among many different sources of profitable economic development. Already in 1887 the Register expressed doubts about "whether some of the evils of which we complain are due to the absence of [technical] instruction, and whether they would be removed by its introduction".⁵³ It was one problem
whether people were sufficiently skilled to be able to make a particular product; an equally important one was "whether there exists a market for [their] productions when they are offered for sale".54

In this vein, the Register abandoned the monocausal explanation of German commercial supremacy and pointed out that German merchants and manufacturers competed not only by "superior technical training on the part of the artisan classes", but by "adapting their wares to the requirements of distant consumers", "cheaper wages, lower freights, bounties...and the up-to-date methods of the commercial firms".55

**Technical education and social efficiency**

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, just as it was becoming accepted that only 'leaders of industry' should receive thorough technical education, began a feverish concern with controlling adolescents after they left the primary schools. Often, a solution to the 'crisis of youth' involved suggestions to extend the period of compulsory schooling by one, two, or even more years. Just as, three decades previously, social reformers agreed that it was necessary to introduce compulsory schooling, now they were ready to launch another assault on the morality and lifestyles of young working-class people:

Girls and boys should not be allowed to do as they please after they have attained the age of 13 years, or passed the standard required by our primary schools. They should be kept under observation until the age of 18, and attendance at a technical school should be made compulsory. That is the way to make good citizens, and habits of industry would be created which would be invaluable in after-life.56

In this situation, technical education for state school pupils, previously rejected on the grounds of cost effectiveness, could once again become the order of the day.
By the twentieth century, the schemes for technical education became inseparably linked with the social efficiency movement. As argued in Chapter 5, the movement represented the ideological expression of the increasing inter-imperialist rivalry in the period before First World War. Because of the low level of industrialisation and the small scale of industry, however, the concern with social efficiency took a particular form in South Australia, and indeed in Australia as a whole.

With the possible exception of the mining industry, intellectuals did not concentrate on, and were not employed, as in the United States and Britain, on redesigning the work process itself. According to Tim Rowse, it was not until Second World War that there was a significant cadre of corporate management that could provide an audience and market for theories which applied science to industrial relations.57

In the United States, intellectuals like Taylor analysed the production process within individual firms, and suggested how the introduction of new technology, coupled with different organisation of work, might weaken the worker's resistance to increasing exploitation. Irrespective of the attitudes workers brought with them to the factory or office, a minute subdivision of labour increased the employers' control over the pace of work and the type of labour employed.

In Australia, on the other hand, the emphasis was placed predominantly on teaching children (and adult workers), the ideals of citizenship, imperial unity, the folly and divisiveness of class consciousness, the virtue of thrift and hard work; as well as on increasing the future workers' skill and knowledge of technical processes.

Unable to test and elaborate techniques of efficiency in the workplace, the Australian proponents of social efficiency limited themselves to
schemes designed to recreate and transform the character of individual workers as citizens. Even here, the character of the local economy was such that the intellectuals' plans for the 'scientific reconstruction of civil administration' were not implemented during this period.

The 'crisis of youth', together with the strengthening social efficiency movement, gave a new breath of life to both the liberal and the technicist arguments in favour of technical education. The 'liberals', following a conception prevalent throughout Australia in the 1870s and 1880s, advocated common education of all children until about the age of fifteen. Technical and scientific elements would be added to such common curriculum, but more as a way of educating children for a technologically developed society than as a preparation for specific jobs. Some proponents of this view, disregarding late nineteenth century analyses of deskilling, based their position on a belief in the gradual disappearance of all unskilled work. As late as 1910 the Melbourne Age could argue that

The system of secondary education is of overshadowing importance, because its prime function is to augment the industrial efficiency of the race and to banish that fearful brake upon the wheels of industrial progress, the unskilled worker, by forcing all future citizens through the educative crucible of some art, science, trade or handicraft.

The 'technicist' stream, in contrast, followed closely the specialised conception of technical education developed in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and sought to fashion schools as closely as possible to the actual needs of local industry. Following Scottish and English precedent, Australian educationists began to advocate a three-tier system of post-primary education, the lowest level providing
separate and inferior schooling for working class children. Pupils would be selected into these junior technical schools at the age of twelve and follow courses which would, for some of them, provide a direct link to apprenticeship and senior technical studies.

The Final Report of the Fink Commission, published in Victoria in 1901, for example, asserted that

The class of students for whom provision would be made by the continuation schools would be largely the children of the working classes who will ultimately have to support themselves by manual work; and the instruction afforded would differ distinctively from secondary education, which has for its main object the training of young men destined for the professions.\(^{62}\)

According to contemporary accounts, most South Australian industrialists were, by this time, indifferent to the helpful suggestions of both schemes of technical education.\(^{63}\) Between 1886 and 1916, specific items dealing with technical education disappeared from the annual reports of the Chamber of Manufactures. In 1905 Bonython, president of the South Australian School of Mines and Industries, complained that the manufacturers took practically no interest in its work.

The Council [of the school] had never been approached by the manufacturers, and the only association that took an active interest in the school was the Master Plumbers' Association, which presented a gold medal for competition.\(^{64}\)

Six years later, the situation remained the same. To the surprise of Bonython and his labour allies, manufacturers not only refused to send their apprentices to trade classes organised by the School of Mines, but would not even discuss the matter. As he said,

A few of us have made the matter somewhat of a religion, because we recognise its great value...I could turn you up references on the subject I have made over the years, in which I have expressed my surprise that the employers did not take greater interest in the matter.\(^{65}\)
To explain such attitudes, it is important to look at the relative positions of primary and secondary industries in South Australia. On the one hand, most of the specific tasks of technical education related to pastoral, agricultural and mining activities, where modern mining techniques, improvement of the wool clip and use of fertilisers by individual farmers could account for a substantial share of the value of production. On the other hand, manufacturing was not only far smaller in scale than the primary industries, but also more amenable to alternative solutions of its specific problems. Richards notes that quite complex machinery was designed in South Australia long before first attempts were made to introduce technical education. Linge points to the developmental work, often encouraged by prizes, undertaken by individual firms, especially in the manufacture of farm machinery, the importing of skilled personnel for specific purposes, and "the common practice, adopted both by governments and private enterprise, of acquiring scale plans and unscrupulously purchasing samples from overseas firms to use as patterns". Indeed, the handful of trained technologists educated by the South Australian School of Mines and Industries had difficulties finding employment.

In the twentieth century, although South Australian manufacturers remained lukewarm with regard to furthering social efficiency through some of the proposed schemes of technical education, they were by no means indifferent to increasing the efficiency and competitiveness of their enterprises. Continued immigration of skilled workers from Britain, imports of new machinery, redesigning of jobs so that work could be performed, without much training, by unskilled operatives, the demise of the apprenticeship system and the employment of improvers should all be seen as alternative - and less costly—means towards the same end. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that while the advent of federation in 1901 increased
competition between Australian states, manufacturers remained, to some extent, sheltered against international competition behind tariff barriers.

The situation in primary industries was appreciably different. Unlike most of the manufacturing sector, the export-oriented mining industry operated outside of the protection of tariffs, and felt much more urgently the need to produce at competitive prices. As one of the largest South Australian mine owners said,

In order that we may be able to compete with the rest of the world in any of our great industries...we must attain the highest possible degree of skill. This has been rendered necessary on account of the immense commerce and interchange which exists today, and the simultaneous knowledge, all over the globe, of prices in the world's great markets, and which bring all lesser markets into line. Prices cannot be adjusted here in Australia, so that we must produce and supply our commodities on the basis of prices fixed and controlled by the fierce competition of all countries. It is this that compels us to call to our aid all that can be got from science, experience and observation, coupled with all the earnestness, enthusiasm and skill of which we may be capable.73

And here, technical education proved essential. While workers were encouraged to display earnestness, enthusiasm and skill; science, experience and observation were called on to provide first-class technical instruction for mining experts.

The representatives of the mining industry wanted to keep such high-level technological training out of the universities. Their traditional pursuit of 'pure knowledge', they felt, made it improbable that these 'cradles of philosophical thought' would produce 'a fruit of commercial usefulness'. Put bluntly,

The main object of the technical man acquiring knowledge is that he shall be able to make the money invested return a higher rate of interest in a given time. If he does not fully seize this point he will soon find...that all his
carefully acquired scientific knowledge receives no appreciation whatsoever... 74

In this respect, technical schools, and especially schools of mines, much more closely controlled by the mining industry than the university could ever be, could be trusted to produce the correct blend between scientific knowledge and the profit motive. For example, they could teach mining engineers how to increase the pace of production and cut safety margins:

"The young mining engineer must be very careful not to waste his money on too much strength of permanency". 75 "We do not always like this rush, and the hurry that is involved", Hancock added, "but we cannot escape the result of fierce industrial competition". 76

On their part, most Labor parliamentarians, advocating the extension of general 'useful education', remained aligned with the first, 'liberal' stream of technical education up till the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. When, in 1910, liberals such as Young tentatively argued that

The professions to which most degrees of the University led must contain only a small percentage of the people, or they would become uncomfortably crowded. On the other hand, technical education could offer a material goal to the bulk of the people. It could make them proficient in the trades which they proposed to enter, and would not educate them out of one class without putting them into another... The natural inclination of many people to turn their children from skilled trades to clerical work did not always prove to the advantage of the children77;

they could still meet spirited opposition from some members of the Labor Party. Around that time, however, many of them became converted to the 'technicist' stream, far more closely reflecting the needs of employers than those of the workers. Murray-Smith, who has, in a few cases, followed this change of policy, argues that its catalyst was the conversion of Alfred Williams to the technicist point of view during his
overseas trip in 1907. As a Director of Education, he was instrumental in formulating policy which the Labor Party adopted.\(^7\)

In his 1910 Report, Williams elaborated a hierarchy of post-primary education for three different 'classes of pupils' – those leaving school at the age of 14 or earlier; those remaining till the age of 16, and then entering on work requiring special training; and those remaining to age of 17 or 18.

In the first group, night continuation schools would be provided for boys only 'leaving at 14 and engaged at work by day'. The second group would be catered for by higher primary and high schools, agricultural high schools, and trade schools with attendance of apprentices. For the elite, there would be scholarships to University, and advanced courses of Adelaide School of Mines and Agricultural College, and research scholarships for post-graduate work.\(^7\)


The Commission quoted approvingly Frank Tate, the Victorian Director of Education, who was hopeful of having found a solution to the problem of extending boys' schooling without enabling them to opt out of the necessity to find manual occupations.

...you must get hold of the boy somewhat earlier than you would get him from a high school or a secondary school, and direct his attention towards industrial work from the very beginning. For the higher forms of technical training...the High School course may be adequate, but there is a danger...that if a boy is diverted into a high school he may grow away from the desire to do a technical course of a purely industrial kind. A junior technical school takes a boy straight from the State school and gives him a highly specialised course...[it is] really a very highly specialised school where recruits for trade work are to get their first training.\(^8\)
Accepting a similar rationale, the Commission recommended the setting up of five distinct kinds of post-primary institutions for young people over the age of 13 who did not enter either the Police or Railway Traffic Service.81

The 1915 Education Act reorganised the Education Department into three divisions; primary, secondary and technical, each under a separate superintendent. Dr. Charles Fenner, the bright young Principal of the Ballarat School of Mines was appointed, in 1916, as the new Superintendent of Technical Education. He was not only given responsibility for the country schools of mines which the Education Department took over, but entrusted with creating and overseeing a system of technical schools. The Education Act gave the responsible minister wide powers regarding the establishment of technical schools. Five types of institution were mentioned specifically; elementary and advanced technical and trade, and domestic arts schools, and agricultural schools. However, "[e]lementary technical schools and elementary domestic arts schools may be established either as separate institutions or in connection with any other public schools", and the Minister may establish "schools of such (if any) other kinds as are prescribed".82

In the period the Act was passed, educationists had come to accept the realities of a capitalist division of labour. It was no longer assumed that all unskilled work would disappear. On the contrary, Education Department officials realised that

Along with the development of industrial means of production has come the minute subdivision of labour that requires from the few the ability to direct, and from the many the ability to do some small thing.83
Figure 2. System of state education proposed by the Royal Commission on the Adelaide University and higher education

Primary School
(7 to 13)

Police
RI Traffic Service

Continuation
School

Junior Technical
School

Agricultural
High School

High School

Junior Domestic
Arts School

Intermediate Certificate

Technical
College

Roseworthy
Agric. College

State College

Domestic Arts
Intermediate Certificate

Advanced Domestic
Arts School

Skilled Tradesman
(Leaving Certificate)

Skilled Agriculturist
(Leaving Certificate)

Teachers' Training
College

University

Arts Science Law Medicine Music Teaching Commerce

SAPP, 1913, No.75, p.xxxiii
In South Australia, the Director of Education wrote that

...quite a large majority of boys enter occupations which need very little training, even though they are called skilled trades. Further, in many of the hives of industry a man may, and actually does, perform the same operation year in and year out. Such occupations need very little, if any, technical education.

Together with this realisation went a more precise assessment of the place of trade instruction in schools. In 1916 Donald Clark, Chief Inspector of technical schools in Victoria and one of the foremost proponents of the technicist scheme of education, was invited to report on the technical education system in South Australia. Unlike earlier exhortations about the importance of technical education in the 'battles of the Empire', Clark's report advocated a tight link between technical education and the actual needs of South Australian industry; it was "necessary to determine for each trade or industrial branch of work in what way and under what conditions the most suitable and adequate form of trade can be supplied". It was not enough for educationists alone to determine what these needs were, industrialists were to be closely involved in forecasting the numbers of employees needed in each trade, and in determining the type of training required in each case.

To cater for such detailed needs, both the dominant conceptions of technical education had to be radically altered. In other words, technical education should be seen neither as a general extension of primary education, nor as a second-class schooling for those unable to take up academic studies. On the one hand, it was only necessary to provide rigorous, and expensive, technical education for a small fraction of the workforce; the vast majority could get by with some form of cheap civic training:
There are some employments of an exceedingly simple character to which boys are apprenticed for six and even seven years. Very little skill is required, and any elaborate technical school training is not necessary. Some industries are so subdivided that at the end of five or six years the apprentice only learns how to perform a comparatively simple operation, which an intelligent youth could learn in a few weeks or a few months. What is needed by the majority of these young people, who are engaged at repeat operations, or who are simply attending to some particular machine, is not a technical training for the work on which they are engaged, but some form of continuation education which will keep their mental faculties alert, and which will make them better citizens. 86

In contrast, the boys selected to attend the junior technical schools should be of outstanding intellectual ability:

...there is a strong tendency to pick out the brightest lads and send them in for academic courses of work, which very often divert the lads from industry... Yet no technical school will do the best work if it is to deal with the culls of the elementary school. Pursuance of such a policy must lead to retrogression and national inefficiency. 87

Money could not only be saved by the exclusion from technical education of less intelligent boys but of most young women as well.

In the one-half page of the eighteen-page report which deals with 'technical education for girls', Clark asserts that "Home duties must always be the main tasks for women". 88 Nevertheless, he recommends the setting up of specialised junior technical schools for girls which would train women in the several occupations reserved for them:

Girls during the second year should take up courses of work designed to train them for housekeepers, institutional managers, matrons, cooks, laundresses, or for domestic service, or for needleworkers, milliners and dressmakers, or for craft and art workers... 89

In close agreement with Clark's ideas, Fenner worked out, in 1918, what he believed to be "a satisfactory scheme of technical education". After compiling a census of "all the children who had left school in the
metropolitan area, and in certain country towns, in the past twelve months" and consulting the census and the 'opinions of representative men in commercial and industrial concerns', the scheme provided for a "branching off into separate types of schools...in nearly all cases for the early years of adolescence, commencing between 12 and 13 years of age".

However, when it came to implementing the new scheme, Fenner was suddenly faced with a multitude of problems. Among these were limited education funding, appointment of a Director of Education more sympathetic to the 'liberal' than the 'technicist' understanding of technical education, and last but not least the preferences of the students themselves.

In a situation where the massive growth of industry which the plan was supposed to prepare for did not materialise, money for implementing it was hard to come by. Not only was technical education voted very limited funds in the state budgets, the successive ministers of education were unwilling to spend even those funds which were available. While rural voters retained overwhelming electoral power and landed capital dominated the state's economy, liberal governments chose "extending educational facilities in country areas to consolidate rural support rather than appealing to urban industrial interests by subsidizing junior technical schools". As Fenner wryly observed, "[i]n January, 1924, the first departmental Junior Technical School was opened in the building erected at Thebarton for this purpose in 1919".

Instead of 'separate types of schools', William McCoy, the new Director of Education, started implementing a scheme of differentiated education within common institutions. Students would be chosen for the different courses on the basis of 'ability, interest and occupational needs'. To
Figure 3. Scheme of technical education proposed by the Superintendent of technical education

SAPP, 1919, No.44, p.28.
make such choice carry more weight, a system of vocational guidance was inaugurated "to advise students on the type of course most appropriate to their capabilities and job requirements". 94

Even this more 'liberal' scheme was delayed for many years:

It was not until 1932, when 16 higher primary schools were established in the rural areas, and until 1925, when 18 central schools begun in Adelaide, that post-primary courses were being offered along commercial, industrial and domestic lines with the aim of equipping students for their future vocations. 95

When it was finally implemented, according to Hyams and Bessant, it tended to be subverted by the preferences of pupils and their parents.

While the directors, the press and the parliamentarians were engrossed in providing post-primary education systems which would help provide the skilled labour to strengthen Australian agriculture and industry, the systems that actually developed were more closely linked with the aspirations and traditions of the academic, private secondary school. Parents and pupils favoured the prestigious academic courses, leaving the specifically vocational courses generally with little support... the new groups who sought secondary education...did not see their children's advancement up in the social scale through the technical and industrial courses provided in the new secondary schools. 96

Similarly, evening continuation classes, supposed to cater for all young people who left school at fourteen, had formidable difficulties in attracting their customers. Although the Education Department managed to enrol 'a reasonable proportion of the available adolescents', only a fraction of them stayed on to complete the three-year part-time course. 97

According to Fenner,

Boys and girls, freed from the influence of compulsory school attendance at the age of 14, are reluctant to take up continuous evening studies, and are with the greatest difficulty brought to realize the value of such additional training. Visits to the various classes in country centres are usually most depressing on account of this marked apathy and lack of desire for the courses provided. 98
As in the case of elementary schooling half a century earlier, compulsion seemed to be the only way to deal with those reluctant to receive the benefits of schooling.

The point to be emphasized is that voluntary systems of part-time adolescent education are difficult of administration, and are relatively wasteful and ineffective...

The conclusion to which one is forced is that the next essential step forward in continuative education of this type is some form of compulsory part-time classes, say, for 2 or 4 hours per week, up to the age of 17 or 18, for every boy and girl who is not attending a day school.99

The cumulative result of these trends was that, in spite of sporadic attempts to upgrade the status of industrial training, technical education for children became consolidated into a form which already started appearing in the late nineteenth century. Gradually, instead of ascribing different education to pupils on the basis of their class, different kinds of schooling came to be seen as suitable for different levels of intelligence. According to Threthewey,

The 1920s...witnessed a change in the concept of technical education from that of specialised preparation for industrial and commercial occupations to that of an education appropriate for children with certain aptitudes.100

Put bluntly, whereas before working class children received truncated elementary schooling so they would not 'rise above their class', now they were channelled into the one-way street of technical education because of their supposedly inferior intelligence.

The development of apprenticeship training followed a markedly different path from that of the rest of secondary education. While South Australia retained much longer than other states a general as opposed to specialised system of post-primary schooling, it led Australia in the introduction of comprehensive apprenticeship training legislation.
The 1912 conference of the United Labour Party, concerned both about 'idle youth' and ineffectual apprenticeship system, called for

...an amendment of the Factories Act, providing that the form of indenture in that Act shall contain a provision that employers must give facilities to their apprentices to attend a technical school...one afternoon each week; failing that, lessons by correspondence subject to examination by approved inspectors, and that the apprentice shall devote one evening per week to the same purpose.101

An almost identical scheme was elaborated in the Final Report of the Education Commission.102

By 1916, the unions, government and manufacturers reached broad agreement about the desirability of separate courses for the technical education of apprentices. Woken from their pre-war 'indifference', the Chamber of Manufactures passed a resolution to the effect

That a technical and a commercial education are absolutely essential to the development of Australian industries, and in the light of experience gained by the war, it is essential that every effort should be made to secure technical efficiency by a compulsory system of technical education in each state.103

The manufacturers were, however, determined to maximise the benefit to themselves of any such scheme of technical education. In their long flight from responsibility for the training of skilled workers,104 most were anxious not to become burdened with any material contribution to the proposed technical education of their employees. ("The touch-stone to be applied to the matter from the point of view of the employer is this — does it pay?"105)

In particular, the employers objected to the clause regarding compulsion for apprentices to attend technical schools in the daytime at the employers' expense. As one of their representatives said,
We object to pay, however, the cost of the benefits which the workmen and the state receive in the future. If these benefits are worth having, let the cost fall on those who are benefited. We have no quarrel with the scheme except in the regard mentioned.106

The objections were only partly listened to.

The Assembly modified the wording of section 5, so that portion of the compulsory clauses, instead of requiring attendance at technical classes for 'not less than one-half day a week, and not less than one evening a week' (as passed by the Legislative Council) were altered to 'not more than one-half day a week, and not more than one evening a week'.107

Indeed, both Murray-Smith and Trethewey argue that, when a modest system of technical education for apprentices was introduced in South Australia in 1917, ten years before comparable developments in other states, it was because of the weaker position of industrial bourgeoisie in South Australia.108 This comparative weakness can help explain the persistent general enthusiasm about strengthening the position of the state's manufacturing industries, as well as the inability of the more conservative among the manufacturers to amend the scheme to one more immediately suited to their interests.
Notes

1. For a history of these approaches, see S. Murray-Smith: "A history of technical education in Australia". Teachers did not always understand this distinction. In 1901, for example, an inspector wrote that "There was generally in each school a good display of fancy and useful articles, but I am not quite sure that the real object of manual training is understood. It is not intended to teach a profession to each child, but simply to develop his faculties. The carpenter's bench and the printing press can be employed without wishing to turn out carpenters and printers." SAPP, 1901, No.44, p.25.

2. Among others were the South Australian School Society, the Adelaide Mechanics Institute, the Port Adelaide Mechanics Institute, the Adelaide Philosophical Society, and the School of Arts and Design. For a survey of these organisations see S. Murray-Smith, op. cit., ch.8,14; J. Parfitt: "Technical education in South Australia" (Unpub. MEd research essay, Flinders University, n.d.); G.M. Smith: "An historical survey of technical education in South Australia" (Unpub. thesis for Senior Teachership, Department of Education, South Australia, 1956).

3. Perhaps the most important of these occurred in the matter of tariffs. Since 1870, there had been a gradual increase in the amount of protection given to the manufacturing sector. The 1870 schedule lengthened the list of materials used in secondary production and imported free of charge, and imposed a duty of 10% on many imports. Until 1885, however, the tariffs were aimed mainly at raising revenue. It was only in that year that the Downer Ministry, facing a cash deficit of £709,000, introduced new schedules containing a 15% ad valorem duty on many products which were, or could be, manufactured in the colony. By 1887, support for protection, as well as the government deficit and emigration of skilled workers to other colonies increased, and the new ministry was able to introduce a strongly protectionist tariff. G.J.R. Linge: Industrial awakening, pp.616-21.

4. South Australian Chamber of Manufactures, 8th Annual Report, 1877.

5. South Australian Chamber of Manufactures, 10th Annual Report, 1879, p.3.

6. SAPP, 1888, No.44, p.3. Inspector Dowhirst was opposed to incorporating technical education into primary curricula.


9. The efficiency and unification of the German system was often over-estimated. See, for example, I.C. Wilson: "Education and politics" in Oxford Review of Education (Vol.3, No.1, 1977).


In 1870, it was argued in Victoria that children who were committed to such institutions should have their sentences extended until the age of fifteen, because short committals tended to cause inconvenience to the employers: "Some of them are consequently released with a very imperfect training which discredits the system and occasions inconvenience to the employers. The latter would prefer apprentices subject to longer terms of supervision, and so thoroughly convinced is Mr. Duncan of the same necessity that he recommends an enactment empowering Magistrates to recommit all children now in the institution whose terms will expire before they are fifteen years of age." *Register*, 29.6.1870.


15. In 1883, for example, the Chamber obtained materials on technical education from England, and asked Mr. Rees to prepare two public lectures on them. South Australian Chamber of Manufactures, *14th Annual Report*, 1883, pp.8-9.

16. Between 1870 and 1876, for example, the *Register* alone carried nineteen articles on education in Victoria, and eight on New South Wales, Tasmania and Queensland. Among the 53 articles on education overseas there were 28 concerned with education in England, 11 dealing with USA, 6 with Germany — and one with Egypt. Computed from The Register — Education Index, Years 1870-1880 (Flinders University, School of Education, n.d.).


22. *Register*, 15.4.1873. As it was, one footwear manufacturer grumbled in his evidence to the Commission on Intercolonial Free Trade, "[t]he unions [in New South Wales] do not seem to have troubled themselves about the question of machinery as they do in Adelaide and Melbourne. They can introduce any kind of labour-saving machinery they like in Sydney without agreeing with the unions to do so." Royal Commission on Intercolonial Free Trade, 5.9.1890, quoted in G.J.R. Linge, *op. cit.*, p.627.
23. In 1886, Head Master of the Kadina Public School called for the establishment of workers' technical high schools. "...such schools if combined in a kind of Trade University would raise the status of our artisans, and give a dignity to labour which at present it does not possess. For why should we tamely follow in the footsteps of past years and only give degrees for literary worth? Surely it requires as great an effort of mind to make a machine as to translate Horace; as great an effort to invent machinery as to write a poem — to cultivate the land to the best advantage as to know all the intricacies of the Greek language." Register, 30.8.1886. In 1888, Rowland Rees "argued strongly for an industrial university for the working class which would concentrate on applied science without the distractions and preoccupations of academic generalisation". S. Murray-Smith, op. cit., p.481.

24. These issues have been discussed more fully in Chapter 8.


26. The resolution advocated "The extension of the principle of state technical education on absolutely free basis... The acceptance by trade unions of certificates of proficiency obtained in state technical colleges as equivalent to indenture of apprenticeship. The raising of school leaving age in various provinces of the federation...to such a standard as the different councils may deem necessary, in order that the above recommendations re technical education may be availed of to the fullest extent." Quoted in H. Palmer: "Some aspects of the influence of the labour movement in the structure and content of education in Australia" (Unpub. BEd thesis, University of Melbourne, 1951), p.67.

27. SAPP, 1887, No.33, p.11.


29. The Head Master of the Kadina Public School was speaking for most of his colleagues when he told a meeting of the Yorke Peninsula Teachers' Association that "We have neither room enough, time enough, nor teachers enough. In the majority of cases our buildings are barely large enough now; no teacher could be expected to be as conversant with the various handicrafts as to be able to teach them; and it would require the very material modification of our present code, for the results of this year's examination tend to show that it is beyond the reach of our schools already." Register, 30.8.1886.

30. One employer — a blacksmith, engineer and boilermaker, for example, wrote to the 1887 Technical Education Board that he "Would not take a boy as an apprentice who had been using any kind of tools, because the chances are I would have great trouble to unlearn him". SAPP, 1887, No.33, Appendix, p.13.

31. SAPP, 1888, No.42, p.1, no.150A.
32. SAPP, 1890, No.75, p.5, no.147. In addition, in the years following the inquiry, a School of Mines and Industries was established in Adelaide, and smaller institutions of a similar kind were set up in several other South Australian towns. S. Murray-Smith, op. cit., pp.422-516.

33. SAPP, 1887, No.33, p.42.

34. SAPP, 1887, No.33, pvi.

35. SAPP, 1898-9, No.44, p.15.

36. Register, 30.8.1886.

37. Herald, 11.6.1898. This line of argument was not usually present in Herald articles on education.

38. SAPP, 1888, No.33, p.v.

39. loc. cit.

40. loc. cit.

41. SAPP, 1888, No.33, p.vii.

42. SAPP, 1887, No.33, p.10.

43. Register, 12.9.1896.

44. Register, 29.12.1898.

45. Register, 12.9.1896.

46. Register, 15.9.1887.

47. Register, 26.9.1900.

48. loc. cit.

49. loc. cit.


51. Register, 26.10.1900.

According to Professor Huxley, the often quoted ideologue of meritocratic, racially pure society, "The great end of life is not knowledge but action. What men need is as much knowledge as they can assimilate and organize into a basis for action; give them more, and it may become injurious...Therefore, as the sum and crown of what is to be done for technical education, I look to the provision of a machinery for winnowing out the capabilities and giving them scope." Register, 9.9.1905.

52. Register, 21.12.1900.

53. Register, 5.9.1887.
54. Register, 12.9.1896.

55. Register, 12.9.1896, my emphasis.

56. Advertiser, 16.2.1905.


58. ibid., p.63. Some others, notably Elton Mayo and C.H. Northcott, left Australia to find application for their theories overseas.

59. In many ways, people elaborating these schemes can be seen as early ideologues of the rising urban industrial bourgeoisie: "That is, they articulate policies and ideologies that are especially consistent with that sector's interests: schemes for conciliating the workforce, for state expenditure on social overhead capital - an effective subsidy to the wage bill of companies in urban areas.


61. "The Bryce Commission which enquired into secondary education in England in 1895 had defined secondary education (inclusive of technical education) as 'education conducted in view of the special life that has to be lived with the express purpose of forming a person fit to live it'. The Commission went on to outline three types of secondary schools - the 'First Grade', whose special function was the creation of a 'learned or literary, and a professional or cultural class', the 'Second Grade', providing for those entering commercial or industrial life where adaptation to the local requirements of industry and commerce was important, and the 'Third Grade' for training in manual instruction or the 'higher handicrafts'. Tate's scheme of post-primary education followed this general pattern which, like Board, he recognised as being best illustrated in the Scottish education system, whereby provision was made for 'the forms of education necessary for every class of occupation, skilled or unskilled.' B.K. Hyams and B. Bessant, op. cit., p.95. Frank Tate was appointed, in 1902, as the first Director of Education in Victoria. Peter Board was Director of Education in New South Wales until 1922.


63. Murray-Smith argues that during this period technical education was not, as it tended to be in Victoria, identified with urban, manufacturing interests. S. Murray-Smith, op. cit., p.891. One clue to the manufacturers' indifference is given in L. Bonython's evidence to the 1913 Education Commission: "The system may be all very well at present, but in years to come it will prove increasingly disastrous both to employers and employés." SAPP, 1913, No.75, p.xxi.

64. Advertiser, 16.2.1905.

65. SAPP, 1911-12, No.27, p.45.
66. S. Murray-Smith, op. cit., pp.890-1. The Roseworthy Agricultural College, where many of the new approaches had been pioneered, was established in 1884.


69. ibid., p.602.

70. ibid., p.8.

71. S. Murray-Smith, op. cit., p.896.

72. An outstanding example of this process was the development of the South Australian firm of motor body manufacturers, Holden's. In cooperation with the 'most amicable' Vehicle Builders Union, the company fought the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU), which was strongly opposed to any dilution of skills. "As early as 1928 the coachmakers sought to break the...agreement under which the AEU had the right to provide all engineering labour at Holden's. In ensuing years the industrial union sought to gain a monopolistic position in the motor trade labour market by bringing pressure to bear on individual AEU members to join its ranks." T. Sheridan: "The Amalgamated Engineering Union" in R. Cooksey (ed.): The great depression in Australia (Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, 1970), p.63. The gains made by the company union helped Holden to win, for those years, a remarkable victory. As he said, "[w]e have really broken down the skill required by sectionalising the work, so that there was no extreme amount of skill required. I want to acknowledge publicly the assistance that the union has been to us in this respect..." J. O'Connor: "Productive and unproductive labour", p.41.

73. Leigh G. Hancock speaking at the annual certificate distribution of the Moonta School of Mines: Observer (Country Supplement), 15.7.1905.

74. loc. cit.

75. loc. cit.

76. loc. cit.

77. SAPP, 1910, pp.506-7.

78. S. Murray-Smith, op. cit., p.907. In Chapter 8 of my thesis, it is argued that such transformation was made possible by the particular shape of the South Australian labour movement at the time.

79. SAPP, 1911-12, No.44, p.39.

80. SAPP, 1913, No.75, p.xxii.

81. SAPP, 1913, No.75, p.xxxiii. See figure 2 reproduced on page 312.
82. Education Act - 1915, part III, #33, p.12,

83. B.K. Hyams and B. Bessant, op. cit., quoting Peter Board, the New South Wales Director of Education, in 1909.


85. SAPP, 1916, No.59, p.3. According to Trethewey, it was on Clark's recommendation that Fenner was appointed as Superintendent of Technical Education. L. Trethewey, op. cit., p.58.

86. SAPP, 1916, No.59, p.7.


89. loc. cit.

90. SAPP, 1918, No.44, p.40.

91. SAPP, 1919, No.44, p.28. See figure 3 reproduced on page 316.

92. L. Trethewey, op. cit., p.65.

93. SAPP, 1925, No.44, p.30. The pre-war consensus about the shape of post-primary schooling was only implemented in the late 1930s, when a politically strong bourgeoisie was able to launch a process of industrialisation and Fenner was appointed as Director of Education.


96. ibid., p.106.

97. In 1923, the Superintendent of Technical Education presented the following returns for part-time evening classes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 26</th>
<th>ENROLMENTS IN EVENING CLASSES, 1923</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Total number of enrolments in Grade I</td>
<td>1,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Number that attended a full year</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>10. Number passed three-year course</td>
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SAPP, 1925, No.44, p.29.
98. *loc. cit.*

99. *loc. cit.*


101. Quoted in *SAPP*, 1913, No.75, p.xxi.


104. "In the past, the training of the young learner in the various skilled trades and handicrafts has been regarded by many as an industrial problem, rather than an educational one." C. Fenner: *Apprentice training* (Education Department Bulletin No.1, Adelaide, 1924), p.5.


108. This was all the more remarkable in view of Donald Clark's opposition to the concept of compulsory technical education for apprentices in his 1916 report. L. Trethewey, *op. cit.*, pp.72-5. S. Murray-Smith, *op. cit.*, pp.925-8. For an early attempt to deal with apprentice training, see K. Karim: "The development of government directed apprentice training in South Australia, 1917-1940".
CHAPTER 8

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND EDUCATION
The enemies of education are the foes of light and liberty, and the friends of darkness and slavery.¹

Professor Huxley said in 1871 —
'I should like to have an arrangement by which a passage could be secured for children of superior ability to schools in which they could obtain higher instruction than in the ordinary schools. I believe no educational system...will...fulfil the great objects of education unless it is one which establishes a great ladder, the bottom of which will be in the gutter and the top in the university'. That [is] the ideal...of the Labor Party.²

The preceding chapters dealt with the interplay between schooling and the lives of individual members of different class fractions. In this chapter another perspective is added: the attitude to schooling adopted by organized labour. As in the previous sections, it is not intended to give a comprehensive account of the topic, but rather a critical framework which can inform further research. At the same time, the chapter focuses almost entirely on the one most visible aspect of labour's stand on schooling — the position adopted by the succession of South Australia's labour newspapers.

As Johnson points out in the case of England, nineteenth century working class movements possessed a lively and varied educational tradition which, far from relying on 'provided' forms of instruction, was often defined in direct opposition to them.³

A continuous critique of philanthropic, church and state institutions was complemented by an alternative definition of knowledge itself as 'really useful knowledge', an integral part of a radically new way of transforming the world.
While the primary emphasis was on 'educating women and men as the citizens of a more just social order', the radicals became increasingly concerned with teaching children and improvising new means for this purpose.

'Really useful' knowledge, as defined by this tradition, was transmitted in a multiplicity of ways. The most widespread and diffuse of these were informal, drawing on the educational resources of neighbourhood and the place of work:

...the family itself where literacy was already acquired and could be 'inherited'; the knowledgeable friend, relation or neighbour, the 'scholar' in the neighbouring town or village, the work-place discussion, the extensive network of private schooling and not uncommonly the Sunday School...

Some forms of education, however, had more structure and permanency. Included here were semi-formal discussion groups, reading facilities in pubs, coffee-houses or reading rooms, occasional takeovers of 'provided' facilities such as mechanics' institutes or even churches, and above all the radical press.

A history of these developments is not yet written in Australia, although there are many indications that similar — although less extensive — educational networks developed here as well. As in England, the last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed an uneasy truce between the labour movement and the providers of state schooling. As elsewhere, the shape and extent of this truce in South Australia can only be understood against the background of the history of the local labour movement.

Accordingly, this section is prefaced by an elaboration of some events already sketched in Chapters 2 and 5. It briefly outlines the circumstances in which the United Labor Party was established in South Australia, and summarises major trends in the first two decades of its development.
A moderate workers' party

As argued earlier, the late 1880s and early 1890s saw many changes in the South Australian economy. A profound economic crisis was accompanied by a marked concentration of industry and agriculture. Together with gradual reorganization of the work process, these two trends not only contributed towards a sharper definition of class boundaries, but also reduced the possibility of upward social mobility through economic means. As South Australia's long boom came to an end, the need to organize along class lines gradually became apparent to both workers and employers. In comparison with other countries or even other parts of Australia at this time, the political organization of both sides exhibited signs of remarkable moderation.

On their part, the employers were not moderate without a cause. In his thesis, Bowes argues that in the late 1880s, the Employers' Union was dominated by shipowners who stood to lose business both through other members' militancy and later their own moderation in trade disputes. In the first case, disruptions of production would almost invariably be reflected in a decrease of shipping trade. During the maritime strike, on the other hand, the Adelaide Steamship Company chose an inflexible attitude, and refused to negotiate with the unions. Although it was itself in a strong financial position and could not claim to be driven to the wall by workers' demands, it had strong economic reasons for supporting the militant attitude of shipping companies in other states.

According to Bowes, this was because

...it was affected by economic slump in the other colonies, which had reacted on the freight rates. As the only possible way of maintaining the existing scale of charges was by mutual agreement between the companies, it was obvious that the company would be committing financial suicide by refusing to stand by her partners.
The relative moderation of the Employers' Union meant that, before the maritime strike, most of South Australia's trade unions had little experience of direct class conflict. As argued earlier, such conflict was already limited, since Australia's imperialist connections contributed to a unique pattern of development where capital accumulation had to rely less on depressing wage levels and living conditions of workers than was the case in other capitalist countries. This made possible more amicable relations between workers and employers and "was conducive to the integration of the unions into the bourgeois state and the Labor Party's integration into imperialism".8

At the same time, it is important to remember that, at least up to the 1880s, local unions developed and operated in a pre-industrial economy, where the organization of production itself gave many workers and employers large areas of shared interest.

Paradoxically, the expansion and transformation of industry which changed these conditions at the close of the long boom fostered a rapid growth of craft unions, which helped to preserve within the labour movement ideology, structure and leadership more appropriate to the previous economic conditions.

In his thesis, Bowes concludes that

...until the maritime strike, there was probably genuine belief that interests of labour and capital were identical: on this illusion were built attempts at conciliation, and wishes for unity on both sides which would facilitate this.9

Kiek makes a similar point. He argues that South Australian delegates to the intercolonial trade union conferences made no notable contribution to the debates. By the same token, they do not seem to have been deeply impressed by Hinchcliffe's expositions of class war, or William Lane's
socialist theories. On the contrary, there were in Adelaide many examples of class collaboration. Furniture trades manufacturers and employees belonged to the same Protection Association, and the same was true of the builders and the carters. In 1890, the secretary of the TLC respectfully pointed out to the Carters' Association that

...there were members of their association who would best consult their own interest by making application to the Employers' Union. Should difficulty arise between the two sections of the Association, the Council could not give its support equally to both parties.

Up to the 1890s, the South Australian labour movement limited its political involvement to endorsing already standing and otherwise independent candidates. This practice was not limited to trade unions but was followed — more or less rigorously, depending on the prevailing economic conditions — by a wide range of pressure groups. In the 1878 elections, for example, the Working Men's Political Association "acted as a usual pressure group...it questioned candidates and bestowed support on those found to be worthy of it". In the 1880s, this kind of support was given to candidates who actually promised to work for the implementation of a platform drawn up by the TLC. However, the Council seemed mostly to have supported liberals who were certain to be elected with or without TLC endorsement. In addition, according to Dickey, none of the elected candidates acknowledged the TLC as their political guide once the elections were over.

When, in 1890, the happy climate of class co-operation was shattered by the maritime strike, such limited involvement in politics became glaringly inadequate. On the one hand, in the drastically changed economic conditions, the employers no longer had the means to pursue common
interest with the workers. On the other hand, in the large-scale
industrial disputes of the early 1890s, the workers suffered a series of
defeats. Although in some of its struggles the organized labour movement
was ideologically supported by their liberal allies in parliament, such
support rarely gave birth to concrete action. According to Coghlan, the
unions learnt that "a general interest, even enthusiasm for a social
policy [was] more likely to issue in exhaustive debate than in vital
action".\(^{14}\)

This, it should be stressed, was a noticeably different situation from
that of their colleagues in the eastern states, especially in New South
Wales and Queensland, where the government legislated against those who
took part in the maritime strike, and used military forces, including
artillery, for the protection of employers. Far from blaming the legis-
lature for its inactivity, "the men openly claimed that but for the
intervention of the government they would have won the fight".\(^ {15}\) In
South Australia, on the other hand, during the wave of strikes of the
early 1890s, "labour sympathisers...looked to Parliament to give reality
to the principles of conciliation and arbitration which had for so long
been a matter of barren discussion".\(^{16}\)

In the 1890s, the shape of the union movement itself began to change.
One of the most powerful lessons of this period arose out of the use of
non-union labour to break strikes. To cope with this weakness there was,
in the period following the maritime strike, a serious attempt to alter
the structure of trade unions. In the past, trade societies were able to
replace 'individual' by 'class' selfishness:
These unions or societies often rendered each other great monetary assistance, and thereby improved very materially the condition of their class, which helped to mark more distinctly the already defined position of skilled from unskilled labor.  

Now in the 1890s, however, "unionism must necessarily be more united. The skilled and unskilled must march together...freedom must be given to every worker to raise and elevate himself if possessed of energy, ability and tact to do so".  

As D.M. Charleston argued in a famous lecture on 'New Unionism', such organization was not only more just, it was made necessary by changed economic conditions. At the time, skilled workers were rapidly losing the leverage which had, in the past, enabled them to win many concessions. Two conditions in particular no longer applied – general shortage of labour, and a sharp distinction between skilled and unskilled work. According to Charleston, "skilled machines and keen competition will, in spite of all attempts to prevent it, prove themselves great levellers of class distinction among wage earners". At the same time, if unions "assume an air of selfish exclusiveness by demanding high entrance and contribution fees in order to exclude applicants for admission to work", they will in time find the excluded workers "rising in judgement against us, by assisting our opponents to overthrow our citadel and render us defenceless and hopeless".  

As the lessons of the strikes receded into the past, however, many unions reverted to their old position of 'class selfishness'. An article printed without comment in the Herald revealed graphically the way in which trade unionism helped to maintain the gap between the two major sections of the working class. With regard to unskilled workers, the paper wrote:
At the [bottom] of the social scale you will find a huge
class of submerged or semi-submerged labourers among
whom competition is rife. But it is competition of the
most ignoble kind. There is no hope of honour, distinc-
tion, or authority to spur them on to worthy efforts.
There is no hope of even getting enough material wealth
to make a humane life possible to them. The competition
among them is a sordid scramble for a base and bare
living. It is wholly demoralising, inducing in all a
narrow baseness of view, forcing the winners to harden
their hearts that they may bear the truth (if they have
the courage and veracity to face it) that their getting
a job means getting a fellow-sufferer out of one, and
plunging the losers yet deeper into the slough of their
degradation. Those of the latter who retain some
vitality and self-respect become criminals; the others
lapse into that begging, cadging, loafing, blacklegging
class, the existence of which is an infinitely graver
peril to society than crime is ever likely to be. 21

The craftsmen, jealously guarding the entrance to their trade, were
regarded in a much more favourable light:

The position of the trained artisan is somewhat differ-
ent. He is always in danger of falling out of the
ranks of skilled and decently-paid labour into the abyss
of poverty. But he seeks to guard against this danger —
not by redoubling his efforts to secure a job at the
expense of his fellows, but by the opposite policy of
rigorously limiting and regulating competition, using
trade unionism and co-operation as his weapons... 22

Although in the 1890s the labour movement as a whole decided to get
involved in politics, it is not surprising that its various sections
understood this involvement differently. It was the new 'mass unions'
who, having the weakest links with the existing structure of political
representation, initiated the setting up of labour parties throughout
Australia. 23 The living and working conditions of their members made
common aspirations with progressive bourgeoisie much less likely than was
the case with city craft unions, and their policies often had markedly
socialist leanings. In addition, the two wings of the labour movement
often had a different understanding of the link between industrial and
political action. According to Ian Turner,
...while the mass unions saw parliamentary action as complementary to industrial action, and were insistent upon strengthening the trade unions to prepare them for even more general strike, the craft unions saw political action as substitute for the strike and sought the establishment of machinery of conciliation and, later, compulsory arbitration.\textsuperscript{24}

A further division of interest existed over the question of tariffs. The mass unions, whose members (miners, agricultural workers, shearers and wharf labourers) often produced for the export market, tended to favour free trade. Most manufacturing production, on the other hand, occurred in competition with import trade, and its workers were solidly protectionist.\textsuperscript{25}

South Australian trade unions, however, were not the only founding members of the new political party. In South Australia, the ULP grew out of a wide and diverse democratic movement, of which the unions were often neither the leading nor the most radical elements, and in which they often had difficulty asserting themselves. In the depressed economic conditions of the late 1880s, Coghlan notes that, next to the various trade unions, 'a hundred societies sprang up' in Adelaide. Among these were a Society for the Study of Christian Sociology, the East Adelaide Mutual Improvement Society and Model Parliament, the Glenelg Political Association, the Literary Societies' Union of South Australia and Model Parliament, the South Australian Fabian Society, the North Adelaide Social and Patriotic Association, the Single Tax League, Allgemeiner Deutscher Verein and the Adelaide Democratic Club.\textsuperscript{26}

Once created from an unsystematic and often contradictory mixture of trade union, liberal and radical demands, the parliamentary labour parties started assuming a life of their own, and increasingly came into conflict with their 'industrial wing'.
While the 'new unions' took major initiative in the setting up of the ULP, they lacked effective day-to-day links with the centre of political power. As in the other Australian colonies, "the movement that founded the Labor Party...had been largely confined to skilled tradesmen and the metropolitan area".\textsuperscript{27}

In spite of its mixed parentage, the ULP started its life with something of a class analysis, and enthusiastic working-class support. To the practical lessons of the strikes and the depression, culminating in the financial collapse of 1893, was added the class analysis developed at two important conferences of Australia-wide new unions which were held in Adelaide in early 1891: the First Conference of the General Labourers' Union, and the Fifth Conference of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union. In the same year, while South Australia was not directly involved in the shearers' strike, representatives of the ASU toured working-class communities in the country seeking moral and financial support for the striking workers, and explaining the principles of unionism.\textsuperscript{28} Throughout 1893, "[c]lass consciousness was kept alive by the economic depression and exhibited at large meetings of the unemployed and by constant agitation for a large-scale public works programme".\textsuperscript{29}

Nevertheless, a series of factors combined to moderate the ULP's political outlook. In the first place, the Labor Party in South Australia had to define itself in alliance with, and not in opposition to, a major liberal movement. On many issues, it joined liberal sections of the bourgeoisie to face a common enemy: the conservative 'Establishment', represented in Parliament by the National Defence League. During the large-scale strikes which, in other colonies, unambiguously divided major political and economic forces into 'two great camps', South
Australian government maintained an ambiguous position. While the governing liberals offered no concrete assistance to the strikers, they were far more reticent than their eastern colleagues in their help to the employers—who, on their part, spared no effort to magnify the government's 'radicalism'.

Although the South Australian government used police to protect free labour during the maritime strike and, towards its end, called in the permanent military force in anticipation of civil riots, it was strongly criticised by the employers, especially for its refusal, in October 1890, to enrol special constables for the protection of strikebreakers.30

Similarly, in 1892, the short-lived Holder ministry, although willing to provide police escort for 'free labour', refused assistance to New South Wales police contingents during the Broken Hill strike.31

By 1896 the Liberal premier Kingston could publicly speak of 'the good old Labor Party' and deny that Liberals and Laborites could in any way be distinguished.

Four years previously, the same man challenged Richard Baker, founder of the conservative National Defence League, to a duel,32 and in 1890 acted as a defence counsel for unionists arrested during the maritime strike.

From the workers' side, cordial relations with a liberal government were a mixed blessing. As a Herald editorial put it in 1897,

> Four years of association with a friendly ministry have robbed us of some of the fighting spirit and brought us down to the dead level of respectability. Instead of cutting out a policy of our own we have been too disposed to follow ministerial lead. We have been a little too considerate of the opinions and feelings of others.33

Elements within the ULP itself contributed towards its growing respectability and weakened working-class identity. The original constitution
of the ULP stipulated that only bona fide working men were eligible to stand for pre-selection. However sympathetic and enthusiastic they may have been, the middle-class supporters of the Labor Party could not represent it in parliament. This situation began changing in 1893. In that year, at a conference of the ULP and the many democratic associations which supported it, the non-unionists assumed a leading position. During the discussion, "the future of industry was scarcely touched on, almost every speaker insisting that the break-up of the land monopoly was a key to social reconstruction". At the close of the conference, against much opposition of the trade union section, an amendment was carried allowing 'any member of any association affiliated with the ULP' to stand for pre-selection in the next Legislative Council elections. In the event, but after much internal struggle, none of the non-union nominees was elected, but the clause allowing them to stand for pre-selection was retained.

A countervailing force to the liberal members of the Labor Party were the socialist-minded 'new unions'. However, these were weaker in South Australia than in the other colonies and, as elsewhere, participated only sporadically in the day-to-day running of their party. During the 1890s, three nominees of what were essentially country new unions were returned to parliament – Richard Hooper, a miner from Wallaroo; E.A. Roberts, a wharf labourer from Port Pirie; and Alex Poynton, secretary of the Port Augusta Shearers' Union. Nevertheless, these members remained independent of the ULP, and their organizations were either not affiliated to the Adelaide Trades and Labor Council or, like the shearers, were represented by delegates who attended meetings only irregularly and were not closely involved in the workings of the TLC.
The slow drift towards moderation weakened the ULP's working-class support. Already in 1892, unemployed workers became dissatisfied with what they saw as a failure of ULP parliamentarians to represent their interests adequately. In the same year, during the Broken Hill strike, several Labor MPs who attempted to persuade the striking miners to return to work found their views in conflict with those of the strike committee and the workers—so much so that at some meetings they could not get a hearing.  

The economic situation itself had gradually changed. While it would be wrong to make a simplistic connection between depressed economic conditions and heightened class consciousness, it is significant that the depression started lifting by 1896, at least as far as skilled workers were concerned. Moreover, partly as a result of the moderation of ULP parliamentarians, there were virtually no strikes in South Australia between 1892 and 1910. In that year a wave of industrial unrest, culminating in the drivers' strike of 1910, indicated that unions ceased to rely on the 'political wing' of the labour movement for economic reforms.  

Instead of class distinctions, the attention of the labour movement became increasingly drawn to racial conflict. It might seem strange, the labour papers carefully explained, that instead of simply advocating equal wages and conditions, demands were made for the total exclusion of Asian workers and the boycott of their goods.  

What was at stake, they urged, was more than simple wage justice. It was preservation of the Australian way of life, morality, indeed survival of the white race itself. According to the Herald,
It is the duty of the worker to rise up and demand the exclusion of the cheap and nasty races to protect himself and his wife and weans from an irresistible competition — made irresistible by the low wages accepted by the man of colour. The fundamental racial objection is, however, worthy of general consideration. The true patriot wishes to keep the race pure and strong and free more than to keep the King upon the throne. Are the free customs, institutions, manners, and high modes of thinking and living of Europeans to break down before an alien intrusion which brings with it savagery, darkness and moral filth?...The poisonous colour already darkens the blood — it must be expelled before the heart of the race is paralysed and stillied."1

At the same time, the ULP ceased to be the only political organization claiming to represent the workers — and, indeed, the only political party in the colony. Between 1890 and 1893, the Labor Party alone "formed a structured extra-parliamentary organization, bound its candidates and representatives to the party and party principles, and set out to appeal to the electorate for support for the party".42 By the turn of the century, the National Defence League had more branches and members than the ULP, and was reaping success from its enrolment campaign, publicity, and 'self-education' lectures.43

One measure of disenchantment with the parliamentary Labor Party was the steadily falling turnout of working-class constituents at Legislative Council elections. In the 1897 elections, for example, only 54% of those entitled to vote did so in the Central District, in marked contrast to the elections of 1891 (54%), 1893 (82%) and 1894 (73%).44 In the 1901 Legislative Council elections, only 42% of the electorate exercised its right to vote, while the second-lowest percentage of votes recorded (39.9%) was in the union stronghold of Port Adelaide.45

As a result of all these factors, after 1897 the spectacular electoral success of the ULP was slowly reversed, until it was decimated at the
1902 House of Assembly elections. As a reaction to its increasing lack of electoral appeal, the ULP became 'realistic'. Unwilling to opt for a vigorous socialist policy and not being able to count on the enthusiasm of the whole working class, the party fashioned itself to the image of the electorate at large — a policy which its paper, the weekly Herald, had by then advocated for several years.

The turning point came at the 1904 ULP conference. On initiative of the Parliamentary caucus the party, recovering from defeat at the 1902 general elections, made significant changes in the composition of its governing council. In parallel with the imbalance of voting power in state elections, country representation was sharply increased, and the council was "released from the leading strings of the TLC". Subsequently, several non-unionists stood for pre-selection in metropolitan seats, and some were elected as Labor Party's representatives to Parliament. This redistribution of power gave focus to the emerging conflict between the parliamentary and the industrial wing of the movement. Compared to the situation in other states, this conflict until then had barely existed.

After its reorganization in 1904, the Labor Party gained enough seats to be able to form a coalition government with the Liberals as junior partners. Tom Price, South Australia's first Labor premier, was by this time a model of moderation — and proud of it. Although he might have presented a somewhat more radical face to his electors, to his peers he never tired of advocating his sensible, gradualist approach and his profound respect for bourgeois institutions — as long as they operated 'efficiently'. As he put it,

He was looked upon as a socialist, who would shut out private enterprise and allow the government to do everything, so as to provide men with luxurious living
and give them a glorious time in the service. That sort of talk might be good enough on the platform, to please the crowd, but there was no one in the house who thought he was anxious for such a state of things. His socialism amounted to this, that when a monopoly stepped in and crushed the general taxpayer the state ought to intervene and assist the general taxpayer. He would go no further than that.48

The Premier's actions, far from contradicting his assurances, earned him the praise of many who were strongly opposed to the aims of a socialist labour movement. One of these, A.S. Cheadle (a businessman and member of the Chamber of Manufactures), paid tribute to Price as

...a gentleman who managed the business of the state in a manner which was not inferior to the capacity shown by his predecessors. With responsibility, Mr. Price had been able to take larger views. He saw things not merely from his own standpoint. He was a strong man with the interests of the state at heart.49

After the return of prosperity in 1904, great changes occurred in the trade union movement. The most far-reaching of these was the rapid growth of state-wide unions of unskilled workers – the Australian Workers' Union and the United Laborers' Union. When they amalgamated in 1914 the AWU had five and a half thousand members and the ULU three and a half thousand.

By the time radicalism returned to the labour movement, however, it was no longer as a part of the ULP leadership – indeed, this had set itself up as a bulwark against revolutionary socialism. In March 1902, the Herald

...called the attention of public servants to the desirableness, in their own interests and those of the State, of giving a solid support to Labor and Liberal members at the approaching elections. We pointed out the dangers of the present financial situation and the possibility of a 'Black Monday' or revolutionary policy if the Conservatives stepped back into power.50
Reforming an unjust system

In 1891, the United Labor Party made history when three of its members — Charleston, Kirkpatrick and Guthrie — were elected to the Legislative Council. In the same year, its representatives contributed to passing, with a majority of one, the 'Free Education' Bill. The Labor Party was all the more enthusiastic about this measure since, during the long years of depression, it was justly seen as a very precarious achievement. As the party's newspaper explained:

There is no room for doubt that one of the directions in which all the strength of the National Defence League will be exerted will be the abolition of the boon of free education. The struggle to obtain this great national boon lasted many years, and it was not until the Labor Party was directly represented in parliament that it was found possible of achievement...The organization of labor, which led to free education, also led to the organization of capital, which opposes the system.51

The Bill was passed during a few months of sudden and short-lived prosperity. As soon as the colony relapsed into depression, the 'wealthy classes', represented in Parliament by the National Defence League, tried to have it repealed, arguing that "it is unjust to tax them to educate other people's children, and [that] the reimposition of fees...is the best means of balancing the finances of South Australia".52

The labour movement's interest in education had a long history.53 In 1867, a remarkably radical farmer argued eloquently that

In fact, most of the enormities of the world are hidden by the cloak of respectability...but thanks to education and the march of intellect, to science and the inculcation of virtue, the men of labour are beginning to awake, though slowly.54

He was restating sentiments which had for years formed the basis of working-class ideology throughout the world, and which were repeated again
and again in the labour press. In 1887, the editorial of the first issue of the new South Australian democratic newspaper Our Commonwealth announced that it would work in the cause of popular education:

Education is spreading rapidly amongst the toiling masses, and with the diffusion of knowledge discontentment is ever growing...Every day reveals a new fact, and each new fact is to the toiler a beam of light which dispels the mist that hides from him his true position.55

Several years later The Voice, a radical free-trade newspaper, reiterated that "[n]ot the oppressors, but the want of knowledge by the oppressed as to their real power is the reason why they have remained so long in bondage".56

At first, such liberating knowledge was seen to reside above all in labour newspapers, pamphlets, popular lectures, Mechanics' Institute classes or private reading. Our Commonwealth, in inviting its readers to send in titles of books considered to be of use to young democrats, put the matter squarely: unless they make a serious and organized effort to emancipate themselves, people will remain 'the machine slaves of idlers and wasters'; in this effort, the first golden rule states that 'knowledge is power'; to gain that knowledge, the article continued,

...you will, after having left the primary school, where you have received only the merest rudiments of education, continue your studies into manhood by attending the classes at mechanics' institutes, the University Extension Lectures, or whatever special means of education the locality affords. But by far the more important part of your education will be that which you will give yourself at home.57

Over the years, many proposals were made for such 'useful knowledge' to be transmitted in institutions controlled by the workers themselves. In 1873, the Register reported a proposal for workmen to educate each other through a Mutual Improvement Society and eventually a Union College,
which would invite outside lecturers. Some of the societies noted by Coghan undoubtedly took this form. Similarly, during the sitting of the Board of Enquiry into Technical Education, it became evident that some unions were firmly in favour of Trades Hall administration and control of any technical education relating to specific trades.

Sometimes, however, the school education of children was given greater prominence. In 1878, The Labour Advocate, the short-lived newspaper of the Labour League, carried a hard-hitting editorial against those who charged working people with being 'ignorant, vulgar and dangerous to society'. To change their position, it was first necessary that working people have enough means to be able to educate their children — "Educate the buds of humanity before their minds are filled with the idea that they were born to be slaves as well as their fathers before them." By the end of the nineteenth century, there were enough aware working people to be able to organize a network of trade unions, a regular weekly newspaper, and their own political party. But through their everyday experience, the labour activists became sharply aware of the apathy and apparent irrationality of those who should have logically been enthusiastic in the labour cause.

Perhaps it may be said that the worker is able to take care of himself. We know differently. Many there are who are working bravely for a change, but they are overshadowed by the host who are always indifferent till their individual turn comes. We know what it is to contend with the apathy of the masses. The majority of them have yet to learn even how to sacrifice a single copper for a paper which has been brought into existence to fight for them and their rights.

With the introduction of free schooling, the perennial problem of workers' apathy and ignorance seemed to be suddenly resolved. Now that education
was within everybody's reach, it was only a matter of time before labouring people perceived the full extent of their oppression, and the means of ending it. In the same way that it will rigorously train them to solve arithmetical problems, it was hoped that free and compulsory schooling would enable workers to discover the ways in which they were exploited. According to the Herald,

The death knell of monopoly was sounded that moment the first righteous demand of labour received a concession in the shape of free education. Gradually the light of reason is being applied by workers to problems which they before never had the temerity to grapple with, and the consequence is the mask is being dragged off the rotten and inhuman system which afflicts all communities of the so-called civilized world.64

Indeed, the new system of schooling was represented as so powerful that it could accomplish, through educating all children, what decades of imperfectly-utilised workers' educational media had failed to achieve. The Herald hoped that

...when the present generation of school goers take the place of the present day breadwinners, the the power is properly felt of those who have just emerged from the control of the schoolmaster, we shall indeed get the reforms we so much desire.65

In particular, "education must necessarily lead to mechanical appliances being used in the interests of labour".66

The very vehemence of reactionary opposition to free education strengthened the Labor Party's faith in the soundness of the content of state schooling. According to the Herald,

It is the very thoroughness and high quality of teaching in our State schools which forms the greatest danger to the system. It is the danger that children so enlightened will no longer submit to the slave system of their fathers that the plutocrats fear...67
In this grand vision, parents who failed to send their children to government schools, or who condoned their irregular attendance, were seen as sabotaging the accumulated achievements of years of labour struggles.

According to K. Wimshurst,

Labor men recalled the limited opportunities for formal schooling in their own childhoods and marvelled at the progressive school system they had helped to create for modern youth. Ungrateful parents and children who refused to fully embrace what was offered simply required extra compulsion in their own interests. This sense of angry disappointment among reformers was noted by the Superintendent of School Visitors in his 1910 report when he likened the state school system to the parable of the king who prepared a feast and was furious when the invited guests decided not to attend.68

The labour movement, however, supported state schooling for more particular reasons. In Chapter 4, it was argued that the Education Department opted for free education mainly as a way of eliminating 'inefficient' private schools, whose continued existence hampered the general imposition of a uniform system of schooling. Such change, aimed at 'civilizing' workers into modes of thinking and behaviour more congruent with their life in a capitalist society, was seen by Inspector-General Hartley as a progressive social measure — a redistribution of wealth which would benefit the rich and poor alike. As he said in one of his yearly reports:

I take it...as a practical fact that popular education must to some extent be a charge on the general or local taxes. And it might fairly be argued that it is but one way in which the unequal distribution of wealth may be somewhat counterbalanced; communism, if you will, but a communism which results in a benefit to the rich as well as to the poor, if there is any truth in the view that the better education of the people tends to the improvement of the commonwealth as a whole. It is too late in the world's history for us to gravely maintain that our civilization is to be based upon 'keeping down' the humbler classes, especially...where general suffrage is the law of the land.69

(It wasn't too late: he forgot women.)
If perhaps not agreeing with the fine details of Hartley's policy, the organized labour movement would have endorsed its general outline. In other words, it would have supported not only free education but, in many instances, the explicit intention of the schools' 'hidden curricula'. There were several reasons for this.

General education, leading to an effective workers' organization, would do more than increase people's living standards. It would, in various ways, contribute to the health and stability of the whole society. As it was, while the capitalists were growing fat on their profits, the unemployed were driven by their desperate conditions to criminality and revolution. The Herald argued that, during the depression, the "increasing difficulty of being able to live by honest means" was the immediate cause of a wave of petty larcenies. In the long run, this was "the logical result of a vicious system which enriches a class at the cost of the moral, social and physical debasement of the masses". In other words, "[i]f we persist in a system which subjects men and women to the alternative of crime or starvation we must not be surprised if they decline to starve while surrounded by plenty...".

The choice was "[w]ait till there are sufficient unemployed to bring about a revolution, or tackle the problem and solve it intelligently and with reason?"

For most of the employed, stubbornly respectable, enlightened and politically active supporters of the ULP figured that they stood to lose by a revolution. The resultant policy was acceptance of capitalism, but by no means through the ideology of classless society. Indeed, the very survival of capitalism was seen as dependent on the existence of a strong, self-conscious, politically active and organized working class
which, in alliance with a progressive bourgeoisie, would reform capitalism so it could be preserved.

The avoidance, until the turn of the century, of the ideology of classless society hinged on the current explanation of capitalism, which recurred again and again in speeches, letters and articles printed in the Herald. Briefly, this took as its starting point one of the basic contradictions of capitalism — as society produces more wealth, everybody should be logically better off. Instead, with increasing mechanisation, the workers get more impoverished because the employers, through their ownership of the means of production, are able to retain the benefits of technology for themselves.\(^7^3\) In other words,

\[
\text{The actual trouble...is not in the introduction of machinery, but in making each appliance serve the interests of capital at the expense of the workman. What we want to do is to make it serve the interests of both.}^{7^5}
\]

In a similar vein, an editorial dealing with the bootmakers' dispute argued that while strikes were an evil, they could not be condemned in the present economic conditions. This was because

\[
\text{...under the competitive system the machinery has got into the wrong hands, and it is being used for the enslavement of the worker instead of to his advantage...First it enslaves the worker, then it ruins the employer, while under a more equitable system it should be and would be to the advantage of both.}^{7^5}
\]

The article argued that the solution lay in the co-operative use of machinery, through which both masters and men would receive fair remuneration for their services, and the consumers would receive a well-made article at a fair price. In other words, although the problem was traced to the private ownership of the means of production, the solution concentrated not so much on removing this basis of capitalism as on alleviating its results through redistributive mechanisms.
In summary, the major working class political organization of the day—the United Labor Party—favoured reform and not revolution. Nevertheless, there remained a possibility that, as the wrongs of capitalism became transparent to the newly educated workers, these would opt for revolution in alliance with the unemployed and 'socialist agitators', instead of opting for the ballot and orderly reform in alliance with the parliamentary ULP and Kingstonian liberals. And here again, education was the answer—this time its 'hidden curriculum'. According to the Herald,

There are many who shake their heads and vehemently state that education to the labouring masses means anarchy and revolution in the future, but we emphatically deny that such can possibly be the case. Education will refine the mind; abundant, not disconnected and lean knowledge, will purge the masses of all the evil concomitants of ignorance, superstition, bigotry and brutal qualities and passions. Knowledge will build up a standard of labour which will eradicate the demagogue, the agitator, and the general scum of loafers and idlers from the ranks of toil—will purge the chaff from the wheat.\(^76\)

In other words, it was not enough to wait until improved working and living conditions civilized the poor and the unemployed; the poor had to be civilized en route, so that the reformed society would itself be achieved in a civilized manner: "not with the accompaniment of riot and bloodshed, but with the steady and powerful influence of the electoral law".\(^77\)

It is necessary to stress that the moderate ULP leadership was not alone in voicing such concerns. To some extent, they were the misgivings about the lumpenproletariat expressed by Marx and Engels in the Communist manifesto, and about the relationship of English socialists and the 'residuum' described by Stedman Jones in his book Outcast London. In both cases, the same transiency and uncertainty of income which was at
odds with regular school attendance of the children impeded the effective union organization of their parents. According to Stedman Jones,

The ever pressing demands of the stomach, the chronic uncertainty of employment, the ceaselessly shifting nature of the casual labour market, the pitiful struggle of worker against worker at the dock gate, the arbitrary sentence of destitution, and the equally arbitrary cascade of charity provided no focus for any lasting growth of collective loyalty upon which a stable class consciousness could be based. Brought up to treat life with the fatalism of the gambler, the casual poor rejected the philosophy of thrift, self-denial and self-help preached to them so insistently by the Charity Organization Society. But, by the same token, they rejected qualities which, for different reasons, were also essential to the strength of the labour movement. Dispirited leaders of the New Dockers' Union at the beginning of the 1890s found it ten times easier to bring men out on strike than to collect union dues.78

Next to removing the unjust privileges of the wealthy indirectly, through the ballot box, education would also have a more immediate impact:

It is because...from the ranks of the intelligent poor will be found candidates for positions now the special perquisites of the children of the rich and because the teaching of our schools will eventually lead to the downfall of the privileges of wealth that so strong an outcry is raised against the system.79

The controversy about this issue was not limited to conservative opposition. While the rich were agonising about there not being enough menials to clean their boots, the labour press on occasions spoke strongly about the need for educated workers to stay with their class. According to an article in the Labour Advocate,

The working men of brain-power and education must not be lost to their class; the manual labour or trade will be better and more skilfully done by these men, and as they improve and ennoble their trade so in proportion will their condition improve, and they will also raise others of like craft with them.80

On another occasion, the same paper concluded "if labour is to be properly represented, we must have educated labourers to advocate the cause".81
In the mid-1890s, however, such sentiments were conspicuously absent from *Herald* articles on education. As in the case of a peaceful transition to a better society, respectable tradesmen, white collar workers and small employers who supported the ULP were able to form an alliance with the progressive liberals. This was possible especially since the schools "attract[ed] more and more children from well-to-do parents on account of the admirable instruction that is given in them". As was argued in Chapter 4, it was from these groups that school routines were likely to select out successful pupils. It was to them, therefore, that the equalising promises of the school appeared most seductive – and the current reorganization of production most threatening:

If the schools were inferior, we should hear less about the heavy cost of them, but their very excellence leads to their being feared, for they give that equality of opportunity which threatens the monopoly of the classes in the better-paid occupations.

Elements of a critique

These two far-reaching ambitions for the education system – social transformation and equality of opportunity – presented no problems as long as they remained on a general level. But any attempts at detailed formulation soon revealed a lack of consensus within the ULP on many basic political questions. In addition, by implicitly showing up shortcomings of the public school system, the points raised in many articles started clashing with the laudatory tone of most ULP commentaries on state schooling.

The schools might have been excellent, but a writer for a children's column in the *Herald* felt that there was a pressing need to establish a separate 'Political Band of Hope' and 'Political Training School' for
working-class children. At the 'Training School' the course of instruction was proposed to include —

How to speak, how to debate, how to typewrite, how to write shorthand rapidly, how to keep the memory good, and make bad ones better, how to keep accounts, how to organize, how to think or reason easily, how to keep the body healthy and how to cure the diseases of others by simple and cheap methods.\(^8\)

In his series of articles, the writer did not once mention the public schools. And yet, taken together with contemporary descriptions of the classroom, they constituted a strong critique of schooling. In some cases, the inspectors themselves documented how school routines acted against various ingredients of the proposed political course of instruction. With regard to the 'ability to speak and debate', for example, the schools seem to have impeded, rather than developed, the children's use of language. As Inspector Neale wrote in 1899,

> The power of oral expression is not very good. In many schools a miserable whisper is allowed, and there is a general lack of ability to speak more than the baldest of simple sentences.\(^8\)

Similarly, even if there had been equality of educational opportunity within the public elementary schools (there was not), the schools by themselves could not make 'equality of opportunity', symbolised by the 'educational ladder', work. Firstly, and quite simply, there was no provision for the 'intelligent poor' to obtain the secondary and tertiary education which blocked their entry into the professions. As the then leader of the Labor Party, E.L. Batchelor put it, there was a gap between the state schools and the

...higher form of education which was to be received at the University, an institution blessed with very considerable state endowments...a gap the practical effect of which was to deprive the poorer classes of any chance of entering the professions. At present that was a privilege confined to the children of the wealthy.\(^8\)
Five years after expressing unrestrained optimism about the power of state schools to bring about equality of opportunity, the Herald became aware of imperfections in the educational ladder it was trying to construct:

The greatest want in the colony is the provision for the continuation of education after the primary stage is passed... By the offering of exhibitions etc., every encouragement is given to the specially promising youth [all 24 of them], whether he be the child of a labourer or a landlord, but climbing to the topmost rungs of the ladder should be a rule and not the exception.

Some comments, indeed, implicitly cast doubt on the practicality of using a ladder to improve the lot of the whole working class:

Those people who say that every one who is industrious, physically and mentally strong and sound, can work themselves into a good position in life, believed in a fallacy, because in the race for life there are a favoured few who get enormous handicaps whilst the many have so many obstacles to overcome that they become disheartened before they get half way.

To many working people, the existing secondary schools and universities were themselves objectionable. According to E.L. Batchelor, not only were many secondary schools denominational, most were 'class schools', and as such gave boys 'the worst kind of training'. Class schools, Batchelor explained, had such high charges that only children of the wealthy could attend them.

It was not only the fee charged, but there was a standard of dress and a standard of pocket money. No son of poor parents cared to attend a school where all the other scholars could spend money on cricket clubs and other matters... the pupils were saturated with class prejudices before they were out of their teens. They found many of those who had passed through the colleges confirmed little snobs.

The universities were condemned on similar grounds. While tertiary training was a prerequisite to entry to many professions, only a privileged few could afford to buy it for their children. At the same time, the content of University courses was often directed to ornamental rather
than practical purposes: "many men with a university education were not fitted for the battle of life, and were beaten by men of lower attainment but more practical ideas".\(^9\)

Sometimes the elements of a critique were even further apart. The ULP attitude to competition can be taken as a case in point. Although at times ambiguous on this issue, the Herald repeatedly condemned competition in the larger society. In 1898, the paper's readers were told that "competition means that the stairway you must climb, rough shod, to the precarious heights of success is made of quivering human hearts".\(^9\) Two years later, a similar theme was reasserted:

> The workers of the world are pressing forward to the time when competition will be fully recognized as a defeater of its own ends, a libertine, and a suicide; and when a beneficent system of co-operation will peacefully take the place of the old war methods.\(^9\)

Yet a school system where all were compelled to compete and the majority were destined to fail\(^9\) was described in the same year as

> ...unsurpassed in elementary educational organizations ...educational authorities from other countries come to criticize, and they lose the critical faculty in spontaneously evoked admiration...\(^9\)

Similar discrepancies, this time regarding the content of state schooling, were revealed during the Enquiry into Technical Education. The unions, anxious to prevent 'overcrowding' of their particular trades, were firmly opposed to the introduction of manual instruction for children under the age of 13 to 14. To make their point, they repeatedly expressed unqualified satisfaction with the curricula of state schools. Yet the president of the TLC reported that the Council supported introduction of technical classes
...for the purpose of imparting instruction upon scientific subjects having a bearing upon trades, including mechanical and free-hand drawing, the application of science and art to manufactures, chemistry, mineralogy, engineering and physics generally.\textsuperscript{95}

Under questioning — especially from Rowland Rees — it became evident that he, as well as several other union representatives, in fact saw some aspects of the existing curricula as objectionable. "To put it in plain language", R. Rogers explained, analysis in grammar "is a waste of time".\textsuperscript{96}

Rees himself made the point

\begin{quote}
...instead of teaching a boy to rattle off dates, the number of Queen Victoria's children and their ages, you would encourage observation and scientific training, which would be useful in after life.\textsuperscript{97}
\end{quote}

\textbf{State, race and social efficiency}

The conservative attacks on the state education system continued until 1905, when the Education Department was expanded and reorganized under a Labor-Liberal coalition government. Throughout the period, the ULP continued its defence of public schooling. Over time, however, several aspects of its position changed. In the first place, the \textit{Herald} eulogies to schooling grew ever more enthusiastic:

\begin{quote}
It is one of the grandest achievements of Australian liberalism, it is a magnificent heritage to hand down to our descendants. Its praises are sung almost the world over in educational circles...\textsuperscript{96}
\end{quote}

Yet this was precisely the time when members of the inspectorate itself, taking their inspiration from the ideas and practices of 'New Education', started mounting a devastating critique of the state education system. Secondly, the grounds on which the ULP defended education gradually changed.
As argued earlier, by the turn of the century the parliamentary ULP, unable to count on the enthusiastic support of the whole working class, started attempting to make the party acceptable to 'middle-class' and rural voters. During this time, class terminology disappeared from _Herald_ articles on education, and was replaced by more general, apparently neutral terms. At the same time, the paper continued its advocacy of an issue which seemingly transcended questions of workers' exploitation: the 'White Australia' policy.99

When, after 1905, the paper's comments on education became more realistic and explicitly critical, they were set against a background of a significantly different way of understanding society. Gradually, education ceased to be defended on the grounds that it would restructure capitalism to make it more just and worth preserving. Perhaps capitalism could stay the same if individuals could be made to work harder and more efficiently. What was an isolated comment in the _Herald_ in 1895100 became an orthodoxy in the same paper ten years later. As W.F. Coneybeer, the Labor Minister of Education, put it: "boys will become better workmen by being educated. I maintain that, individuals being put to that for which they are best fitted, all the duties of society will be performed more satisfactorily than they are now".101

Education, instead of enabling workers to restructure the pattern of jobs through industrial or parliamentary action, was now seen as a possible means of reconciling them to a work life of mindless drudgery. As the Labor Minister of Education explained in moving the second reading of an education bill,

> For the sake of economy, through rapidity of production, and for the sake, too, of perfection of production, it happened that boys and men found themselves solely
occupied in some simple operation, which provided no variety and no exercise for the understanding, or for finding out means by which difficulties might be overcome. The work became monotonous and drearily dull. The dexterity required was gained at the loss of intellectual and other abilities. Something must be done to counteract such tendencies, and he could conceive of nothing which would have a greater effect in this direction than an education which would give the workman such knowledge concerning his work that he would be able to see it from beginning to end, and be able to realize the value of every step in the process.\^102

In this context, the defence of schooling was no longer conducted in class terms, but in those of state, race and social efficiency. In 1902, the Herald declared questions of paramount importance to be: "Does free education pay the State? Is it a good investment yielding handsome returns?"\^103 A threat to the 'whole cause of education' assumed especially menacing significance since the paper was convinced that education was "one of the most potent factors in the upward movement of the race".\^104 Indeed, in a diatribe against a vocal socialist group within the local labour movement, the Herald came close to equating socialism with racial purity. The paper confronted head on the arguments of "[m]any of our friends, who style themselves revolutionary Socialists, [and] sneer at what they are pleased to term the timidity and middle-class methods of the Labor Party, particularly that of South Australia".\^105 It 'cheerfully admitted' that most of its legislation was palliative. But such precisely was the road to socialism. In particular, aided by an accumulation of small reforms, socialism would come through generations of selective breeding:

Shorter hours of labour, better pay, better homes, and educational facilities ensure race improvement; the next generation coming straight to these conditions will be better citizens, able to lift the race still further ahead, and each succeeding crop will advance ever more rapidly until — why, Socialism will have arrived and all will agree that it is good.\^106
Social mobility through education was defined in a similar way. The familiar themes about the individual and collective emancipation of working people are conspicuously absent; they are replaced by exhortations to increase the efficiency of the state and of its individual units. According to this new understanding, "[i]nequality of opportunity not only fettered the individual in the race of life...it inflicted a loss upon the community". The "Why", the Herald said, "should not the state have the full benefit of all its vigor, all its intellect, all its physical power and skill?" The parallel with a well-run business enterprise was obvious and tempting. In 1910, in a stirring speech, the Labor Minister of Education offered the workers' brains to be trained in the service of capital:

No great business could be successfully carried on if the staff was stupid and ignorant. No state could be great if its people were dull and unready to see and to use the best means...It was the duty of the state to develop the brains of the child, irrespective of class.

He later joined the Liberal Union!

Early in 1905, this substitution of state for class interest had gone so far that the Herald published a lengthy argument proving that better education need not be feared on the grounds of giving rise to struggles to improve working conditions:

Of course the moving factor [of conservative opposition to the expansion of schooling] is the fear that educated people will demand more of what they earn and generally improved conditions. Yet the whole trend of the world is against this theory... Instead of education making workers realise that they have a common interest and facilitating their organization, the president of the ULP simply hoped that "when all men's brains receive the highest development of which they were capable, despotism would die".
When in 1906 Alfred Williams was appointed as the new Director of Education, the Herald was enthusiastic—not, as one might expect, because the appointment might further the labour cause, but because Williams was "a strong man...a man seized of the transcendental importance of an educated community and with the courage and organizing ability to effect what he knows the nation requires".112

Imperfect education in a classless society

In the same period, the Herald seemed to discover the first flaws in the magnificent edifice of South Australia's state education system. At first, following the line taken by the teachers' union, any deficiencies were seen as aberrations caused by the ineptitude of the current departmental administration, and especially of Inspector-General Stanton.

For many years the State led in primary education work in Australia. Mr. Hartley's abilities...raised our system of elementary education to an enviable position...But where are we? Not advancing as all live systems should, but marking time, content, like the Chinese, to live on records of the past.113

After starting with simple, clear-cut issues, the critique gradually revealed more deep-seated problems.

In the first place, education spending was deficient. In 1900, the Herald had applauded the fact that the cost of education per child in South Australia was lower than in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland or Western Australia. "When it is considered that such superior results are obtained", the paper argued, "a little extra cost might be fairly borne. But even here there is no room for complaint."114 By 1908 the same situation was unhesitatingly identified as a failing: "Certainly there is ample room for improvement, as South Australia spends less per head on
education of its growing citizens than any state in the Commonwealth, with the exception of Tasmania".\textsuperscript{115}

Secondly, the administration was represented as not merely incompetent, it was "in some directions unconsciously...heavily tainted with class privilege".\textsuperscript{116} Although the connection was not explicitly made, such bias would have very serious consequences, explained in another \textit{Herald} article:

\begin{quote}
The training of an early intellectual bent will sometimes dominate a man's life, warp his judgement, and hold him in a condition of mental slavery, despite a thousand evidences of the weakness of his position.\textsuperscript{117}
\end{quote}

Thirdly, there was the realization that compulsory and free schooling alone would lead neither to the workers' emancipation, nor to their economic advancement. The wheel had turned full circle. In an article directed at working class parents, the \textit{Herald} wrote, echoing pre-1890 sentiments,

\begin{quote}
...don't think your children are educated when they have passed the compulsory standard of our state schools. They have then but placed one foot upon the first rung of a long ladder. If...you can afford to carry them still further, by all means do so. It will repay a hundredfold. And don't neglect their worldly, their general and political education. Many well-educated — scholastically — citizens are mere infants at politics.\textsuperscript{118}
\end{quote}

Indeed, the twin goals of social transformation and individual mobility through education have themselves become questionable.

With regard to the educational ladder, there was a return to the realization that the "great mass of the working classes gain little by any system...that merely transfers the brightest among them to other spheres".\textsuperscript{119} Similarly, faith in the automatic power of education to transform society had lessened, and the very image of the desirable society itself had
undergone a transformation. Thirteen years after proclaiming that the 'death knell of monopoly was sounded the moment the first righteous demand of labour received a concession in the shape of free education', a Herald editorial stated:

The best educated nation is the most prosperous nation, but the prevailing understanding of the terms education and prosperity will have to undergo some readjustment before anything of great national moment can be achieved.\textsuperscript{120}

Even after such readjustment, instead of expecting the newly-educated and enlightened citizens to transform the world to their image, the government was called upon to reshape society to fit in with the education system and its (by implication) politically naive products.

To educate a young citizen in a certain manner and to turn him into a competitive chaos to which his training has not fitted him would be worse than futile. The Government of the State should endeavour to mould the social and national life so that its citizen-manufactory would not be working in vain.\textsuperscript{121}

The official Labor weekly newspaper, however, never got around to integrating the various aspects of a critique of the South Australian education system into a coherent whole. Workers could, on the side, attempt to get their children to unlearn political apathy and naivety. Those who failed in, or opted out of, the race up the educational ladder, could "face with wisdom the unresolved problems of their present position" and be "of service, not only to the manual workers of their own class, but to the whole community, which suffers for their ignorance, and which will be strengthened by their increasing wisdom".\textsuperscript{122} But there seemed to have been no ambition within the ULP leadership to redefine education so it would serve the explicit interests of the working class. Four years before the outbreak of the First World War, parliamentary Labor aspired instead to
...a prescient statesmanship...which will spare neither vested interests nor sentimental bias in the single-minded effort to pass on to posterity a still richer heritage of human fitness. The first result of such consideration is to emphasize the necessity of treating the education of the whole of the nation as a single problem...We are not concerned with the happiness or welfare of individuals...and still less with that of particular social classes, but with the betterment of the race, and the greater efficiency of the state.
Notes


2. SAPD, 1910, p.189, T. Ryan.

3. R. Johnson: "'Really useful knowledge'; counter education: the early working-class tradition, 1780-1848" in Radical Education (No.7, 1976; No.8, 1977). See also R. Johnson: "'Really useful knowledge': radical education and working-class culture, 1790-1843".


5. See, for example, B. Simon: Studies in the history of education, 1780-1870, Ch.7.

6. K.R. Bowes: "The 1890 maritime strike in South Australia".

7. ibid., p.125.


11. ibid., p.11.


18. ibid., pp.34-5.

19. ibid., p.37.

20. ibid., p.36.

22. loc. cit.

23. "...the new unions attended the 1891 Intercolonial Trades Union Congress in force, determined to perfect their organization and to challenge the hold of the employers on the machinery of government. The 1891 Congress affirmed that 'class questions required class knowledge to state them, and class sympathies to fight for them', and urged the extension of the ALF throughout the Australian colonies and New Zealand to secure 'unity of purpose and action', an essential element of which was the direct representation of labour in parliament." I. Turner: Industrial labour and politics (ANU Press, 1965), p.12.

24. ibid., pp.18-9.

25. loc. cit.

26. T.A. Coghlan: op. cit., p.1914. No research has been done on the social composition of these clubs, but fragmentary evidence suggests that their membership ranged from enlightened men of property propounding single tax to labourers interested in social change and self-education.

27. J.B. Hirst: Adelaide and the country, p.194.


29. ibid., p.33.


32. To the chagrin of historians, the duel did not eventuate because "Baker communicated with the police, and sent word to Kingston that he would attend. Kingston arrived in Victoria Square, revolver and all, at the appointed hour and was promptly arrested by a couple of detectives, and when Baker arrived a few minutes later he found his opponent safely disarmed..." T.A. Coghlan: op. cit., p.1926.

33. Herald, 30.4.1897.

34. T.A. Coghlan: op. cit., p.2277.

35. ibid., pp.2277-9. 'Uncle Dick', an influential contributor to the Herald, wrote in 1898, after spending over a year explaining political economy according to single tax: "It has often grieved me to hear of the antagonism between the Single Taxers and the Labor Party. Personal jealousy has been partly responsible, and the magnification of minor differences. Both sides are to blame, and today
they are almost openly hostile." He acknowledged that "those who call themselves Single Taxers have become distasteful to the workers by the manner in which they advocate their principles", but did not admit that these differences had any economic basis. *Herald*, 23.7.1893.

36. J.B. Hirst: *op. cit.*, p.155. In addition, most writers dealing with the period argue that 'new unions' in South Australia were weaker than their counterparts in the other colonies.

37. J. Moss: "Sound of trumpets", p.142. Similarly in 1894, a letter from Charles Stewart, the late secretary of the Unemployed Sustenance Fund, pointed out that the unemployed "...have little to thank the Trades and Labor Council for. They have very guardedly held themselves aloof, lest they should in any way stain their garments, or soil their spotless characters. With the exception of settling a few families upon the land, our much looked up to Labor members have accomplished but little..." The Voice, 30.3.1894.

38. J. Scarfe: *op. cit.*, pp.139-40.

39. See, for example, Kiek: *op. cit.*, pp.108-10.

40. In 1901 the *Herald*, never tired of extolling the virtues of unionism, greeted the founding of a new union with these words: "The very latest joke from piebald Queensland is - a kanaka's union. Really these fellows must be getting civilized." *Herald*, 23.1.1901.

41. *Herald*, 2.2.1901.


44. J. Scarfe: *op. cit.*, p.141.

45. *ibid.*, p.56.

46. J.I. Craig: *op. cit.*, p.54.

47. "Acutely sensitive to public opinion and unimaginatively cautious, the Labor Party found itself at loggerheads with a small but vociferous group of enthusiastic socialists who began to regard 'gradualism' as being too gradual and deprecated the lack of any comprehensive guiding theory...Simultaneously militant trade unionists dissatisfied at the apparent failure of political action, State socialism and arbitration turned their eyes towards industrial action. Thus a gulf was created between the militant wing of the labour movement and the reformist mainstream, a division and conflict which has endured to the present day." J. Playford: "History of the left-wing of the South Australian labour movement 1908-36" (Unpub. BA thesis, University of Adelaide, 1958), pp.4-5.

49. Advertiser, 7.1.1908.
50. Herald, 15.3.1902.
52. Herald, 23.10.1895.
54. Advertiser, 23.3.1867.
55. Our Commonwealth, 22.5.1886.
56. The Voice, 5.5.1893.
58. Register, 17.4.1873.
59. See p.338.
60. See, for example, SAPP, 1888, No.33, p.6/1287-90.
61. When the compulsory education debate was still fresh in everybody's mind.
62. Labour Advocate, 16.3.1878.
63. Herald, 4.1.1895.
64. Herald, 11.1.1895.
65. loc. cit.
66. loc. cit.
69. SAPP, 1887, No.44, p.xxi.
70. Herald, 3.9.1897.
71. Herald, 4.1.1895.
72. In the previous section, several economic and historical reasons were presented for this.
73. The Herald even quoted Marx to make the point: "Machinery, considered alone, shortens the hours of labour, but when in the service of capital, lengthens them. In itself, it lightens the labour, but employed by capital, heightens the intensity of labour;
in itself, is a victory of man over the forces of nature, but in the hands of capital makes man the slave of these forces; in itself, it increases the wealth of producers, but in the hands of capital makes them paupers." Herald, 4.1.1895.

74. Herald, 4.1.1895, my emphasis.

75. Herald, 26.3.1897.

76. Herald, 11.1.1895.

77. loc. cit. As an influential contributor to the Herald put it with respect to the 'drink evil', "[t]here are some worthy folk...who think that if the drink evil were abolished there would be no more poverty...Then there are others who regard the drink evil as but a symptom of social debility, and they would neglect local treatment altogether and doctor the constitution. They would remove the unjust inequality in the possession of wealth, and allow its accompanying results to adjust themselves. This, it seems to me, is unnecessarily vicarious. Rather let the policy be a combination of constitutional and local treatment." Herald, 13.8.1897.

78. G. Stedman Jones: Outcast London, p.344. According to this author, the crowds that had gathered to hear the revolutionary message of the Social Democratic Federation in London in the 1880s "were not the factory proletarians described in the Communist manifesto, but the traditional casual poor of the metropolis; and their hunger and desperation resulted not in the disciplined preparation for socialist revolution but in the frenzied rioting of February 1886...Having completed its work, this crowd made its way back to the East End, singing 'Rule Britannia' — an eloquent testimony to its confused and limited level of political consciousness." loc. cit.


80. Labour Advocate, 26.1.1878.

81. Labour Advocate, 16.3.1878.

82. Herald, 27.9.1895.

83. Herald, loc. cit.

84. Herald, 22.5.1896. Similarly, without once mentioning the public schools, the Herald advocated the establishment of a daily labour paper because "we must not expect the capitalist paper to take the trouble to teach us that our interests and their greed are essentially antagonistic...There are great and important questions we ought to know something about, for they affect us vitally, such as land laws, industrial legislation, taxation, finance and other branches of political economy. Our own paper would place these matters before us in a way that we can understand, as the other papers cannot and will not do." Herald, 10,3.1906.

85. SAPP, 1899, No.44, p.16. These issues were discussed at length in Chapter 4.
86. SAPD, 1898, p.171.
87. Herald, 8.9.1900.
88. Herald, 10.6.1899.
89. SAPD, 1898, p.171.
90. SAPD, 1898, p.402.
91. Herald, 19.3.1898.
92. Herald, 7.4.1900.
93. See Chapter 5.
94. Herald, 24.11.1900.
95. SAPP, 1888, No.33, p.5.
96. SAPP, 1888, No.33, p.7/1335.
97. SAPP, 1888, No.33, p.13/1511.
98. Herald, 15.3.1902.

99. As H. McQueen noted, racial issues dominated the labour movement to such an extent that when the Objectives of the Federal Labor Party were adopted in 1905, "the cultivation of an Australian sentiment based on the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community" took precedence over "the securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the state and the Municipality". H. McQueen, A new Britannia, pp.52-3. See also R. Markey: "Populist politics: racism and Labor in New South Wales 1880-1900" in A. Curthoys and A. Marcus (eds.), Who are our enemies? Racism and the working class in Australia (Hale and Ironmonger, 1978).

100. "Indeed, it is not now regarded as good policy, even among enlightened conservatives, that the people should be ignorant. A fair degree of education, such as is provided by our system, makes a man a better ploughman, a better farmer, a better tradesman." Herald, 20.12.1895.

101. Herald, 15.5.1905. Things worked out differently for girls: "Owing to keen competition and the condition of things as they are today, boys in particular need to be well educated". Herald, 15.5.1905.

102. SAPD, 1910, p.976.
103. Herald, 2.8.1902.
104. Herald, 15.3.1902.

106. *loc. cit.*


111. *Herald*, 20.4.1901.


118. *Herald*, 18.5.1907. Already in 1901, an editorial on federal education policy for Labor pointed out these inadequacies: "In the Australian colonies we have what is known as compulsory free education. But it has little effect, because it does not go far enough...This writer is not arguing in favour of a cramming system. Education is only valuable so far as it provides knowledge...and every facility for the acquisition of knowledge should be available to all...To have free education in a true and adequate sense we must have free universities, free libraries, and free instruction to the public..." *Herald*, 26.1.1901.


120. *Herald*, 18.7.1908.

121. *Herald*, 18.7.1908.


CONCLUSION
In 1836, white settlers from Britain expropriated a vast area of land inhabited by Aboriginal tribes to establish a new colony — South Australia. From the beginning, the new settlement was unambiguously capitalist. It was not only closely integrated into British imperialism as consumer of manufactured goods and exporter of primary produce, but developed a social and economic structure based on wage exploitation.

The mass education system established in South Australia was affected by the conflict-ridden capitalist relations of production on many levels. It was designed and staffed by people who grew up and lived in a capitalist society. It was resisted and used by people in their attempts to cope with life in a violently cyclical economy. It influenced the structures of meaning through which people perceived their environment. Most importantly, by becoming the focus of attempts to resolve fundamental problems of capitalist development, it had a bearing on the shape of class struggle.

The first major problem assigned to schooling arose out of the wage relationship, with all its ramifications, between the bourgeoisie and the labouring poor. While profits enabled one group to employ servants and lead a 'moral', orderly family life, it condemned the other to a precarious existence held together by 'vicious' habits which impeded efficient capitalist development. As the working class assumed a more threatening character, its 'mentality' became the target of bourgeois school reformers.

In 1851, the wealthy colonists entrusted the education of the working population to an Education Board which had a limited power to intervene
in a 'free education market' in order to support 'efficient' schools.

It was the lifestyle and morality of the bourgeoisie which contributed most to the definition of efficient schooling.

The Board's major charges, the labouring poor, might have liked to live in one place and send their nicely dressed children regularly to a government-supported school. As it was, however, they had to move around the colony in search of work, frequently needed their children's assistance, and rarely had money for luxuries such as boots. And the schools they preferred to attend were often the ones that lost the Board's support.

By its own logic, the Board of Education thus reduced school accommodation precisely for those children it was most anxious to educate.

The 'good' schools themselves, having developed in tune with patterns of life alien to labouring people, often failed to educate their children. The problem could be conceptualised in terms of poverty and the unsuitability of 'efficient' schools to the needs of many working class pupils. The educators, however, tended to understand it differently: in terms of the deficiency of the children's moral environment.

When, in the prosperous economic conditions of the 1870s, a realignment of political power in the province led to the passage of a new Education Act, the dissonance between 'efficient' schooling and people's lifestyles was redefined in a new legal and administrative framework. Henceforth, all children were compelled to attend schools which enforced the conception of knowledge as private property, standardised time and school language, and attempted to achieve the 'utter subordination of the scholars to rule'. The mismatch between the standardised curricula and working class culture was aggravated by the Department's efforts to standardise the teachers through devices such as payment for results.
Opposition to state schooling — in the form of irregular attendance or patronage of 'dame' schools, continued to be condemned in moral terms. But besides moral exhortations and ever more frequent exams, school reformers now could use the legal power of the compulsory clauses to combat the 'everyday habits of the children', define pupils as unintelligent, and, indirectly, undercut the subsistence patterns of their families. Visible class conflict in the form of union agitation for shorter working week and higher wages was one of the factors which led to the passage of the 1875 Education Act. Its implementation could be understood as involving another, more diffuse form of class (cultural) conflict — labouring families' everyday struggle for existence against bourgeois attempts to remould working class mentality through universal schooling.

Towards the turn of the century, conflicts accompanying a profound transformation of capitalism became the source of further attempts to change the education system. The 1890s witnessed a concentration of agriculture and industry, tightening of class boundaries, disruption of the apprenticeship system and the beginnings of a process of deskilling. One manifestation of the crisis in strategies for the transmission of economic security from one generation to the next was the increasing use of educational qualifications in restricting entry to scarce occupations, and a parallel attempt to extend the provision of primary schooling. This development created considerable tension between short-term and long-term ambitions of many working class families. They needed their children's earnings to supplement the family income and perhaps help pay off a house or a farm. Yet they also would have liked to invest in the educational prerequisites of white collar jobs.
In material sense, the provision of exhibitions and bursaries was insignificant, although it strengthened the ideological assertions about the existence of an educational ladder to the top positions in society. Fifth and sixth classes, on the other hand, were attended by a significant minority of working class children.

The decision to invest in their children's schooling was made differently in different occupational groups, and for boys and girls; the daughters of labourers having the least chance of progressing to higher grades.

The ideology of the dependent child could be traced to some of the same conditions as the changing nexus between school and work. Mechanisation, deskillling, changing patterns of youth employment, longer stay at school and new popular psychological theories all contributed to a new perception of young people between puberty and marriage.

In South Australia, juvenile employment rates had not changed to the same extent as was the case in more industrialised countries. Nevertheless, popularised among others by the State Children's Council, the ideology of the dependent child came to dominate the thinking of social reformers but also many teachers, youth leaders and parents. The perceived inadequacy of the family in dealing with adolescents underscored demands to extend the provision of 'suitable' schooling beyond the elementary school.

While adolescence and extensions of elementary schooling are often seen as autonomous educational events, technical education was understood to be immediately relevant to fundamental economic problems by both contemporaries and historians of education.

In the 1870s, the manufacturers' concern with technical education as one of the many ways of fostering colonial industries was elevated into an ideology which endowed technical education with the power to transform the
colonial economy. In one stroke, it would raise the general level of skill of the workforce and restrict working class people to traditional avenues of employment.

From the 1880s an awareness of the specific condition of South Australian economy and the implications of the changing capitalist division of labour led to a reappraisal of the role of technical education: only a minority of workers required extensive training, and many other factors beside education determined the results of economic competition.

Around the turn of the century, a general enthusiasm about technical education on the part of educational reformers returned, fuelled by the social efficiency movement and the concern with controlling adolescents. While the problems of industrialisation, supply of skilled labour, competitiveness of local industry and opposition to deskilling started to be resolved elsewhere, technical education in schools was gradually defined as a second grade extended schooling for 'less intelligent children'.

From the perspective of the working class, schooling was significant on many, not always compatible, levels.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a strategy for the emancipation of the whole working class included as a major if indirect component the new mass education system. This strategy, formulated above all by the skilled, unionised section of the labour movement, hoped that free and compulsory schooling would reveal to workers the full extent of their oppression. United, they would successfully agitate for a range of legislation directed at removing the contradiction between higher mechanisation and impoverishment of workers. Compulsory attendance would not only ensure that all future workers were enlightened, it would give them the discipline necessary for successful union and political organisation.
The sectional interests of artisans would be served by a different, not entirely compatible form of instruction, directed both against employers and unskilled workers. Restricted and closely controlled schemes of technical education would maintain and restore the skills, competence and autonomy which it was impossible to defend through strikes or other industrial means.

The strategy of individuals was different again. For the majority, it involved irregular attendance, disregard for the schools' idea of Correct English (and behaviour), or at least a defence of the lax attendance provisions in case of grave need. A significant minority of parents opted out of the state school system altogether by patronising small, 'inefficient' private schools. Another minority, privileged in terms of income, residence and lifestyle, helped its children move out of the blue collar workforce through the acquisition of educational qualifications in a fiercely competitive examination system.

At the turn of the century, the ULP leadership began to subscribe enthusiastically to the ideology of social efficiency, which apparently integrated all these approaches and removed their conflict.

To use 'intelligence' to its fullest extent, selection for secondary education would be based on merit, not inherited wealth (although the prerogative of wealthy parents to buy private schooling for their children was carefully acknowledged).

Those unable to compete their way out of the working class would, during their dangerous and impressionable adolescence, receive technical education and in this way become better workers and citizens.

The rising level of educational provision would do more than increase general productivity. Individuals with 'educated' brains would no longer submit to the 'tyranny of the past'.
Such tempting harmony, for those who subscribed to it, was accomplished at a price. It diverted much of the individual and collective energies of the labour movement to an institution far more congruent with the needs of the bourgeoisie than with those of the workers, an institution so far removed from the everyday struggles of the workplace that it could promise to make class conflict redundant.

Yet, in another sense, the harmony went too far. It contributed to the disillusionment of many workers with the United Labor Party, and to the formation of a distinct left wing of the labour movement.

The picture presented in this thesis differs emphatically from a mechanistic caricature of marxism. Both people and institutions retain a significant degree of autonomy. Just as the capitalists do not exercise 'social control' and workers do not end up with a one-dimensional consciousness, there is no tidy determination of a cultural 'superstructure' by an economic 'base'. This, however, signifies the use of a sophisticated marxist theory, rather than a return to the world of spirits and sentiments employed as causal agents by conventional histories of education.

Capitalist relations of production do profoundly influence the workplace, and are not confined to it: they follow people out of the factory gate in the characteristics of material and cultural products and practices, as commodities, environment and everyday behaviour. Similarly, class conflict exists outside of organised activity in the form of much more diffuse 'class cultural conflict'. At the same time, major struggles arising in the sphere of production are continuously being displaced into other institutions and spheres of human activity.
The history of the relationship between educational and social change in South Australia is far from complete. Little is known about the attitudes to schooling of specific occupational groups and class fractions. No systematic treatment exists of the changing shape of the labour process in various trades, or of the development of class fractions in colonial South Australia.

I hope that my thesis will encourage the asking and answering of such questions.
TABLE 1
SOUTH AUSTRALIA – STAPLE EXPORTS 1836-1890

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(continued)
TABLE 1
SOUTH AUSTRALIA — STAPLE EXPORTS 1836-1890 (cont.)

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Total (£)</th>
<th>Breadstuffs (£)</th>
<th>Wool (£)</th>
<th>Minerals (£)</th>
<th>Rainfall (inches)</th>
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Statistical Register of South Australia, 1890: "Summary of South Australia from its foundation".
### Table 2
**Employment in Secondary Industry in South Australia in Census Years**

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Secondary Industry Employment</th>
<th>Total Labour Force</th>
<th>% to Col. 1</th>
<th>% to Col. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>17,196</td>
<td>986*</td>
<td>5,936</td>
<td>5.73</td>
<td>16.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>22,460</td>
<td>1,389**</td>
<td>9,506</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>14.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>63,700</td>
<td>2,781†</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>85,821</td>
<td>4,067††</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>126,830</td>
<td>7,208</td>
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<td>1866</td>
<td>163,452</td>
<td>8,851</td>
<td>57,571</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>15.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>185,626</td>
<td>10,840</td>
<td>65,481</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>16.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>213,271</td>
<td>14,489</td>
<td>79,008</td>
<td>6.79</td>
<td>18.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Mechanics and artificers (probably includes miners).
** Mechanics and artificers (169 miners have been omitted).
† Mechanics and artificers, brewers, millers, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, saddlers. 1,333 miners have been omitted. This may lead to arbitrary distinctions. For example, at Burra in 1851 the 1,042 miners included 271 ore dressers, 24 carpenters, 6 masons, etc. (Information by courtesy of Mr. Mel Davies, University of Adelaide.)
†† Includes special female occupational categories for the first time.

**Source:** Census Reports.

**Table 3**

**ESTIMATES OF NEW CAPITAL FORMATION AND REPLACEMENT OUTLAYS FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1861-90**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>new or replacement</th>
<th>railways</th>
<th>telegraph</th>
<th>water and sewerage</th>
<th>bridges and harbours</th>
<th>defence construction</th>
<th>public buildings</th>
<th>other miscellaneous</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861-65</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>356</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>replacement</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-70</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>191</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-75</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>78</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-80</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>2,924</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5,100</td>
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<td>447</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-85</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>3,731</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>1,033</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>428</td>
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<td>6,115</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>745</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>959</td>
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<tr>
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<td>122</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>202</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1,078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>13,263</td>
<td>1,101</td>
<td>3,357</td>
<td>2,092</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>1,753</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>22,530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excludes local government expenditures except in the case of water and sewerage. The original source should be consulted for an explanation of the derivation of these estimates and related qualifications. Expenditure on roads is excluded from this tabulation.

Source: Butlin, Australian domestic product, passim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>new or replacement</th>
<th>residential†</th>
<th>shops and offices</th>
<th>churches</th>
<th>industrial</th>
<th>agricultural and pastoral§</th>
<th>shipping</th>
<th>total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1861-65</td>
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<td>160</td>
<td>95</td>
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<td>145</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>replacement</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-70</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>1,748</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>replacement</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-75</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>1,894</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1,505</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>3,948</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-80</td>
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<td>4,456</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>3,412</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>9,126</td>
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<tr>
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<td>190</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>114</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>1,658</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4,217</td>
</tr>
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<td>239</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>1,517</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>718</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,955</td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>176</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,139</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>1,278</td>
<td>11,287</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>31,321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The original source should be consulted for an explanation of the derivation of these estimates and related qualifications. Data for mining not available.
† Includes hospitals, asylums, hotels, guest houses and other inhabited premises.
§ Includes tools, machinery, and equipment and physical improvements such as dams, tanks, fences and farm buildings but excludes livestock, the clearing of land and land itself.

Source: Butlin: Australian domestic product, passim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Yield per acre</th>
<th>Average prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(bushels)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>273,672</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>310,636</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>320,160</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>335,758</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>390,836</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>410,608</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>457,628</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>580,456</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>533,035</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>532,135</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>604,761</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>692,508</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>759,811</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>784,784</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>839,638</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>898,820</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1,083,732</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>1,163,646</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1,305,881</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1,458,096</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,733,542</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1,768,781</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1,746,531</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>1,846,151</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5/0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1,942,453</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,630,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1,970,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1,950,000</td>
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<td>3/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>1,842,961</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,673,573</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3/7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 9
SOUTH AUSTRALIA — PROPORTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS 1851-1875

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% boys</th>
<th>% girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
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<td>1869</td>
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<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>44.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>44.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Central Board of Education, 1852-1875 in SAPP and SAGG.
TABLE 10
SOUTH AUSTRALIA – EDUCATION VOTE AND THE NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AND PUPILS ATTENDING THEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>no. of schools</th>
<th></th>
<th>no. of pupils</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>city</td>
<td>corp. towns*</td>
<td>all schools</td>
<td>city</td>
</tr>
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<td>69</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>1,777</td>
<td>1,285</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>1,750</td>
<td>1,305</td>
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<tr>
<td>1855</td>
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<td>147</td>
<td>1,937</td>
<td>1,378</td>
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<td>1,458</td>
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<td>1,521</td>
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<tr>
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<td>247</td>
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<td>979</td>
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<tr>
<td>1864</td>
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<td>279</td>
<td>1,465</td>
<td>1,232</td>
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<tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>1,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>308</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>1,553</td>
<td>1,446</td>
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<td>330</td>
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<td>1,401</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>1,197</td>
<td>1,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>1,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1,362</td>
<td>2,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>320</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Central Board of Education, 1852-1875 in SAPP and SAGG.

* before 1858, suburban corporate towns only
(1) change in the base of statistics collected
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Metropolitan</th>
<th>% of Metropolitan</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Rate of Population Growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>25,893</td>
<td>13,871</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>66,538</td>
<td>32,810</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>107,886</td>
<td>36,524</td>
<td>18,259</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>130,812</td>
<td>44,857</td>
<td>18,303</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>168,907</td>
<td>54,251</td>
<td>23,300</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>188,644</td>
<td>61,361</td>
<td>27,208</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>224,560</td>
<td>71,794</td>
<td>31,573</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>285,971</td>
<td>103,942</td>
<td>38,479</td>
<td>37.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>324,721</td>
<td>133,252</td>
<td>37,837</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>352,067</td>
<td>150,929</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>359,330</td>
<td>162,261</td>
<td>39,240</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>419,392</td>
<td>189,646</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>501,742</td>
<td>255,375</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Compiled from *Statistical Registers of South Australia* and the Census Returns.
TABLE 12
PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF MEMBERS ELECTED FOR COUNTRY SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY 1868-1896

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1884</th>
<th>1887</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1893</th>
<th>1896</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>electorate, then Adelaide</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other country district</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total country</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% country residents</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Adelaide residents</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
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</table>

J.B. Hirst: *Adelaide and the country*, p.73.
### TABLE 13
SOUTH AUSTRALIA – GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES 1853-1916

(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Classified</th>
<th>Unclassified</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859/60</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860/61</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864/65</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>1,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>2,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>1,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>1,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>2,560</td>
<td>2,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>2,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>1,770</td>
<td>2,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>3,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1,049</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>1,145</td>
<td>1,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,378</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>1,631</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Railways</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859/60</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864/65</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>1,280</td>
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<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>1,710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>1,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1,740</td>
<td>1,660</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>5,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td>4,810</td>
<td>6,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>3,150</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>5,150</td>
<td>6,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>3,720</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>5,850</td>
<td>8,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>3,292</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>5,182</td>
<td>8,490</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 14
MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTS, 1857-1899, AT TIMES OF HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agricultural (pastoral only)</th>
<th>Commercial and professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Council</td>
<td>Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>40 (33)</td>
<td>17 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>44 (39)</td>
<td>25 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>33 (28)</td>
<td>17 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>39 (33)</td>
<td>25 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>39 (33)</td>
<td>19 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>33 (33)</td>
<td>19 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>33 (33)</td>
<td>19 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>22 (17)</td>
<td>24 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>22 (17)</td>
<td>17 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>22 (17)</td>
<td>24 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>17 (13)</td>
<td>27 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>21 (8)</td>
<td>19 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>17 (4)</td>
<td>26 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>21 (8)</td>
<td>22 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>17 (4)</td>
<td>19 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>21 (8)</td>
<td>22 (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 17
SOUTH AUSTRALIA — APPROXIMATE SIZE OF FACTORIES 1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>no. of workers</th>
<th>no. of factories</th>
<th>total workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 - 99</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 - 19</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country</td>
<td></td>
<td>420</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

K.R. Bowes: "The 1890 maritime strike in South Australia", p.16.
### TABLE 18
NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN THE PRINCIPAL FACTORIES OF ADELAIDE 1890

**Boot trade**
- Hunter & Co.: 210
- A. Dowie: 160
- F. Tonkin: 20

i.e. the above 6 factories employed 725

cf. S.A. total 12 factories employed 819

**Iron manufactures**
- J. Hooker: 250
- A.M. Simpson: 230
- May Bros. & Co. (Gawler): 200*

i.e. the above 5 factories employed 1,355

cf. S.A. total 40 factories employed 1,645

**Timber trade**
- T.K. Stubbins: 100
- Walter & Morris: 60
- Reid & Emes: 20

i.e. the above 5 factories employed 300

cf. S.A. total 25 factories employed 423

**Clothing trade**
- D. Murray & Co.: 125
- Martin Bros. (Adelaide): 100
- J.W. Hill: 25
- J. Moss: 25
- Chapman & Rogers: 10

i.e. the above 9 factories employed 500

cf. S.A. total 45 factories employed 1,651

**Tobacco manufactures**
- W. Cameron & Co.: 80
- R. Dixon & Co.: 25

these 3 factories were the total in S.A.

**Tanneries**
- J. Reid: 60
- D. Reid: 35
- P. Cullen: 30

i.e. the above 5 factories employed 200

cf. S.A. total 29 factories employed 274

(continued)
### TABLE 18
**NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN THE PRINCIPAL FACTORIES OF ADELAIDE 1890 (cont.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Factory 1</th>
<th>Factory 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leather goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Colton &amp; Co.</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>J.C. Genders &amp; Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e. the above 2 factories employed 245</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. S.A. total 37 factories employed 316</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Dunne &amp; Co. (milling)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>T. Grosse (milling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide Hat factory</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Dry Creek Smelting works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sands &amp; McDougalls Ltd. (printing)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>W.H. Burford &amp; Sons (soap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion Brewing Co.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>J. Duncan (carriage-builder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.H. Schlork &amp; Co. (dye works)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>S.A. Gas Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Advertiser' (printing)</td>
<td>150*</td>
<td>'Register' (printing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frearson &amp; Brother (printing)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>A.W. Dobbie &amp; Co. (machinists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islington Railway Works</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>L. Conrad (butcher)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates approximation only

Statistics for individual factories were gained from newspaper references and for the total in South Australia from the Statistical Register for 1891.

TABLE 19
EXHIBITIONS AND BURSARIES OFFERED FOR COMPETITION BY THE
SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 1876-1906

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boys total places</th>
<th>Boys total candidates</th>
<th>Girls total places</th>
<th>Girls total candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1879</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1888</td>
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<td>1889</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>1892</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
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<td>1896</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>40</td>
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</tr>
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<td>94</td>
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<td>136</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from Annual Reports of the Minister Controlling Education in SAPP, 1876-1907.
TABLE 20
SOUTH AUSTRALIA — NUMBER OF PUPILS EXAMINED IN STATE SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>total no. examined</th>
<th>no. examined in 4th class</th>
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Compiled from Annual Reports of the Minister Controlling Education in SAFF, 1876-1907 and SAPD, 1890, p.1419.

(1) indicates the imposition of 1/- fee in 5th classes
(2) indicates the abolition of the fee
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Compiled from the Admission Registers of the Thebarton Primary School, 1893-1905.
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<th>grades 1, 2, 3 and 4</th>
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<td>did not pass M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
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<td>8.0 11.5 5.1 5.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7.1 8.2 4.2 4.4</td>
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<td>7.4 4.1 2.0 2.4</td>
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<td>4.7 5.2 4.0 4.1</td>
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<td>39.5 40.5 42.1 42.0</td>
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* The total of percentages in each column does not add up to 100 because some occupational categories have been left out.

Table compiled from preliminary data made available by I.E. Davey, University of Adelaide, from his ERDC-funded Hindmarsh project.
TABLE 23
SOUTH AUSTRALIA - EMPLOYMENT OF ADOLESCENTS IN 1891, 1901 AND 1911

(a) Females 5-14

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>specified occupations</th>
<th>working</th>
<th>domestic</th>
<th>industrial</th>
<th>primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>no.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>no.</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>39,226</td>
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<td>700</td>
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(b) Females 15-20

<table>
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<th>working</th>
<th>domestic</th>
<th>industrial</th>
<th>primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>no.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>no.</td>
<td>%</td>
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(c) Males 5-14

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<th>industrial</th>
<th>primary</th>
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(continued)
TABLE 23
SOUTH AUSTRALIA – EMPLOYMENT OF ADOLESCENTS IN 1891, 1901 AND 1911 (cont.)

(d) Males 15-20\(^3\)

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<th>specific occupations</th>
<th>working</th>
<th>%</th>
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<th>%</th>
<th>industrial</th>
<th>no.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>primary</th>
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\(^1\)where applicable, calculations are made from 'specified occupations' rather than total of age group
\(^2\)in 1911, 3 girls and 15 boys were employed in the 5-9 age group
\(^3\)in 1911, data is given for the 15-19 rather than 15-20 age group

Compiled from Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1891, 1901, 1911.
### TABLE 24
METROPOLITAN ADELAIDE — EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOLING OF ADOLESCENTS IN 1911

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<th>Females</th>
<th>Working persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>% Working</th>
<th>Not indicated as receiving instruction</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Neither working nor receiving instruction</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>2,417</td>
<td>69.3</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This figure probably substantially underestimates the true situation, since children could be entered as both receiving instruction and being employed. The 1911 census instructions specified that 'Children being educated are to be designated 'Scholar', if not engaged as well in any industrial pursuit; but if following any such pursuit during portion of their time, as, for instance, delivering or selling newspapers, minding cows, &c., before or after school hours, are to be set down as following that pursuit, the entry on line 13(a) sufficiently showing that they are also receiving education.' (Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911, VI, p.348.

Compiled from Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911.
TABLE 25
SOUTH AUSTRALIA – EMPLOYMENT IN FACTORIES REGISTERED
UNDER THE FACTORIES ACT

(a) All trades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>males</th>
<th>females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>total</td>
<td>13-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>13,899</td>
<td>1,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>14,650</td>
<td>1,485</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10,608</td>
<td>1,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11,326</td>
<td>1,032</td>
</tr>
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<td>12,032</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>12,842</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>13,541</td>
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<td>1913</td>
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<td>912</td>
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<td>1914</td>
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<td>1,000</td>
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<td>12,215</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>21,364</td>
<td>950</td>
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</table>

(1) metropolitan non-government factories only after 1907
(2) change of age group from 13-16 to 14-16

(continued)
TABLE 25
SOUTH AUSTRALIA – EMPLOYMENT IN FACTORIES REGISTERED UNDER THE FACTORIES ACT (cont.)

(b) Boots and shoes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>no. of factories</th>
<th>males</th>
<th>females</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>total</td>
<td>13-16</td>
</tr>
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<td>1904</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>103</td>
<td>1,077</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
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<td>554</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>32</td>
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</table>

(c) Mechanical engineering and ironfounding

<table>
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<th>males</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>total</td>
<td>13-16</td>
<td>% 13-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>908</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
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<td>715</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
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<td>1911</td>
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<td>788</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>728</td>
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<td>925</td>
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(d) Plumbing and gasfitting and galvanized iron working

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<th>males</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
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<td>% 13-16</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>668</td>
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<td>715</td>
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<tr>
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(continued)
TABLE 25
SOUTH AUSTRALIA — EMPLOYMENT IN FACTORIES REGISTERED
UNDER THE FACTORIES ACT (cont.)

(e) Printing and bookbinding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>males</th>
<th>females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>total 13-16 % 13-16</td>
<td>total 13-16 % 13-16</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
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<td>54</td>
<td>915</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>763</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>45</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>49</td>
<td>843</td>
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</tr>
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<td>59</td>
<td>875</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>99</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>89</td>
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</table>

(f) Tea and coffee blending

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<th></th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>45.2</td>
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<td>210</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>44.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>204</td>
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<td>181</td>
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<td>169</td>
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<td>232</td>
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<td>37.9</td>
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<td>1915</td>
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<td>185</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>35.7</td>
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</table>

(g) Furniture making

<table>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
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<td>9.9</td>
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<td>633</td>
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<td>1908</td>
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<td>6.2</td>
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(continued)
TABLE 25
SOUTH AUSTRALIA — EMPLOYMENT IN FACTORIES REGISTERED UNDER THE FACTORIES ACT (cont.)

(h) Clothing trades

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dressing &amp; Millinery</th>
<th>Shirtmaking &amp; Whitework</th>
<th>Tailoring</th>
<th>All Trades Combined</th>
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<td>no. of factories</td>
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<td>135</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>81</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>23</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
TABLE 25
SOUTH AUSTRALIA — EMPLOYMENT IN FACTORIES REGISTERED UNDER THE FACTORIES ACT (cont.)

(i) Clothing (ready made)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Factories</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>13-16</th>
<th>% 13-16</th>
</tr>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>560</td>
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<td>793</td>
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<td>680</td>
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<td>605</td>
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<tr>
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<td>610</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9.8</td>
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</table>

Tables a-i compiled from Appendix A to the "Annual Report of the working of the Factories...Act", 1904-1930 in SAPP.
APPENDIX I. DAME SCHOOLS IN MANCHESTER

In the 1830s the statistical societies investigated educational facilities in a number of towns. This report, dealing with Manchester, is typical.

The Committee beg to call the attention of the Society to the following remarks on each different class of Schools that have been visited during the enquiry:—

DAME SCHOOLS

Under this head are included all those schools in which reading only, and a little sewing, are taught. This is the most numerous class of schools, and they are generally in the most deplorable condition. The greater part of them are kept by females, but some by old men, whose only qualification for this employment seems to be their unfitness for every other. Many of these teachers are engaged at the same time in some other employment, such as shopkeeping, sewing, washing, etc. which renders any regular instruction among their scholars absolutely impossible. Indeed, neither parents nor teachers seem to consider this as the principal object, in sending the children to these schools, but generally say that they go there in order to be taken care of, and to be out of the way at home.*

These schools are generally found in very dirty unwholesome rooms — frequently in close damp cellars, or old dilapidated garrets. In one of these schools eleven children were found, in a small room, in which one of

*Yet it is curious that a very frequent objection made against Infant Schools both by the parents and teachers, was, that the children learn nothing there, the dames themselves naturally regard these schools and all similar innovations with a very hostile eye, as encroaching on their province, and likely, before very long, to break up their trade entirely.
the children of the Mistress was lying in bed ill of the measles. Another child had died in the same room, of the same complaint a few days before; and no less than thirty of the usual scholars were then confined at home with the same disease.

In another school all the children to the number of twenty, were squatted upon the bare floor there being no benches, chairs, or furniture of any kind, in the room. The Master said his terms would not yet allow him to provide forms, but he hoped that as his school increased, and his circumstances thereby improved, he should be able sometime or other to afford this luxury.

In by far the greater number of these schools there were only two or three books among the whole number of scholars. In others there was not one; and the children depended for their instruction on the chance of some one of them bringing a book, or a part of one from home. Books however, are occasionally provided by the Mistress, and in this case the supply is somewhat greater; but in almost all cases, it is exceedingly deficient.*

Occasionally, in some of the more respectable districts, there are still to be found one or two of the old primitive Dame Schools, kept by a tidy, elderly female whose school has an appearance of neatness and order which strongly distinguishes it from the generality of this class of schools. The terms, however, are here somewhat higher, and the children evidently belong to a more respectable class of parents.

*One of the best of these schools is kept by a blind man, who hears his scholars their lessons, and explains them with great simplicity, he is however liable to interruption in his academic labors, as his wife keeps a mangle, and he is obliged to turn it for her.
The terms of Dame Schools vary from 2d. to 7d. a week, and average 4d.
The average yearly receipts of each Mistress are about £17. 16s.

The number of children attending these Dame Schools is 4,722; but it
appears to the Committee that no instruction really deserving the name, is
received in them; and in reckoning the number of those to be considered as
partaking of the advantages of useful education, these children must be
left almost entirely out of the account.

COMMON DAY SCHOOLS

These schools seem to be in rather better condition than those last men-
tioned, but are still very little fitted to give a really useful education
to the children of the lower classes. The Masters are generally in no way
qualified for their occupation;* take little interest in it, and show very
little disposition to adopt any of the improvements that have elsewhere

*The masters themselves have generally a better opinion of their own
qualifications for their office. One of them observed, during a visit
paid to his school, that there were too many schools to do any good,
adding, "I wish government would pass a law, that nobody but them as is
high learnt should keep school, and then we might stand a chance to do
some good."

Most of the Masters and Mistresses of these schools seemed to be
strongly impressed with the superiority of their own plans to those of
any other school, and were very little inclined to listen to any sugges-
tions respecting improvements in the system of education that had been
made in other places.— "The old road is the best," they would sometimes
say. One master stated, that he had adopted a system which he thought
would at once supply the great desiderata in education— "it is simply,"
he said, "in watching the dispositions of the children, and putting them
especially to that particular thing which they take to." In illustration
of this system, he called upon a boy about ten years of age, who had taken
to Hebrew, and was just beginning to learn it: the Master acknowledging
that he himself was learning too, in order to teach his pupil. On being
asked whether he did not now and then find a few who did not take to any
thing, he acknowledged that it was so; and this, he said, was the only
weak point in his system, as he feared that he should not be able to make
much of those children.

One of these Masters, who was especially conscious of the superior
excellence of his establishment, as soon as he was acquainted with the
object of the visit, began to dilate upon the various sciences with which
he was familiar; among which he enumerated Hydraulics, Hydrostatics,
been made in the system of instruction. The terms are generally low, and it is no uncommon thing to find the Master professing to regulate his exertions by the rate of payment received from his pupils,—saying that he gives enough for 4d., 6d. or 8d., a-week; but that if the scholars would pay higher, he should teach them more. The payments vary from 3d. to 1s.6d. per week, the greater number being from 6d. to 9d.; and the average receipts of the Masters are 16s. or 17s. a-week.

Though the schools in the accompanying tables are classed as Girls' and Boys' Schools, there are very few in which the sexes are entirely divided; almost every Boys' School containing some girls, and every Girls' School a few boys. They are chiefly the children of mechanics, warehousemen, or small shopkeepers, and learn reading, writing, and arithmetic; and in a very few of the better description of schools, a little grammar and geography.

In the great majority of these schools there seems to be a complete want of order and system.* The confusion arising from this defect, added to the very low qualifications of the Master, the number of scholars under

(cont.) Geography, Etymology, and Entomology. It was suggested to him that they had better perhaps take the list of queries in their order. On coming to the subjects taught in the schools, he was asked—Do you teach Reading and Writing?—Yes! Arithmetic?—Yes! Grammar and Composition?—Certainly! French?—Yes! Latin?—Yes! Greek?—Yes, yes! Geography?—Yes, etc.; and so on till the list of Queries was exhausted, answering every question in the affirmative. As he concluded the visitor remarked, "This is multum in parvo indeed," to which the Master immediately replied, "Yes, I teach that: you may put that down too."

*In one of these seminaries of learning, where there were about 130 children, the noise and confusion was so great as to render the replies of the Master to the enquiries put to him totally inaudible; he made several attempts to obtain silence but without effect; at length, as a last effort, he ascended his desk, and striking it forcibly with a ruler, said, in a strong Hibernian accent, "I'll tell you what it is, boys, the first I hear make a noise, I'll call him up, and kill him entirely;" and then perceiving probably on the countenance of his visitor some expression of dismay at this murderous threat, he added quickly in a more subdued tone, "almost I
the superintendence of one Teacher, the irregularity of attendance, the
great deficiency of books, and the injudicious plans of instruction, or
rather the want of any plan, render them nearly inefficient for any
purposes of real education.

Religious instruction is seldom attended to, beyond the rehearsal of a
catechism; and moral education, real cultivation of mind, and improvement
of character, are totally neglected. "Morals!" said one Master, in answer
to the enquiry whether he taught them. "Morals! How as I to teach morals
to the like of these?"*

The Girls' Schools are generally in much better condition than the Boys'
Schools, and have a greater appearance of cleanliness, order and regularity.
This seems to arise in part from the former being more constantly employed,
and the scholars being fewer in number to each Teacher.

(cont.) will." His menace produced no more effect that his previous
appeals had done. A dead silence succeeded for a minute or two; then the
whispering recommenced, and the talking, shuffling of feet, and general
disturbance was soon as bad as ever. The Master gave up the point,
saying as he descended from the desk, "You see the brutes, there's no
managing them!"

*The Committee met with two instances of schools kept by Masters of some
abilities, but much given to drinking, who had however gained such a
reputation, in their neighbourhood, that after spending a week or a fort-
night in this pastime they could always fill their school-rooms again as
soon as they returned to their post. The children during the absence of
the masters go to other schools for the week, or play in the streets, or
are employed by their parents, in running errands, etc. On another
occasion, one of these Instructors and Guardians of the morals of our
youth, was met issuing from his school room at the head of his scholars
to see a fight in the neighbourhood; and instead of stopping to reply to
any educational queries, only uttered a breathless invitation to come
along and see the sport.

Report of a Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of
Education in the Borough of Manchester in 1834 (2nd ed., 1837), quoted in
## APPENDIX 2. FORMATION OF TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

### A. In the metropolis of Adelaide and Gawler

#### (1) Prior to 1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Union Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Operative Masons' and Bricklayers' Society (Adelaide)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Shipwrights' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Retail Grocers' Assistants' Society (became the Retail Assistants' Association in 1881)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Typographical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>(before) Amalgamated Society of Engineers (Port Adelaide)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Marine Engineers Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>United Boilermakers' and Iron-shipbuilders' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Operative Tailors' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coopers' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drapers' Assistants' Society (which merged into the Retail Assistants' Association 1881)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Mercantile Marine Service Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Operative Plasterers' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Plumbers' and Gasfitters' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in South Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Operative Painters' and Paperhangers' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Operative Bootmakers' Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Coachmakers' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-7</td>
<td>United Tinsmiths' and Ironplate Workers' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-7</td>
<td>Operative Masons' and Bricklayers' Society (Port Adelaide)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Ironmoulders' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Stewards' and Cooks' Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-7</td>
<td>Brickmakers' Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-7</td>
<td>Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Port Adelaide)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>*South Australian Locomotive Engine-drivers' and Firemens' Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Year the society disbanded

1886 Coasting Seamen's Union
1887 (circa) Tanners' Union
1887 Curriers' Union
1887 Sail, Tent and Tarpaulin Makers' Society
1887 Port Adelaide Drivers' Association
1887 South Australian Railway and Tramway Service
1887 Mutual Association
1887 Shipmasters' and Officers' Association
1887 (merged into the Mercantile Marine Officers' Association 1890)
1888 United Ironworkers' Assistants' Society
1888 (Adelaide)
1888 Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners
1888 (Norwood)
1887 Tobacco Twisters' Union
1887 Journeymen Butchers' Union
1887 South Australian Railway and Tramway Service
1887 Mutual Association (Port Adelaide)
1888 United Sawmill and Timberyard Employees' Union
1888 Amalgamated Society of Engineers (Gawler)
1889 Felthatters' Union
1889 *Brickmakers' and Yardmen's Association
1889 *Amalgamated Tanners' and Curriers' Union
1889 *Operative Painters' and Paperhangers' Society
1889 (Adelaide)
1889 Shearers' Union (Adelaide)
1889 (circa) South Australian Tramway Employees Association
1889 United Furniture Trade Society
1889 Carpenters' and Joiners' Progressive Society
1889 (Adelaide)
1888 United Ironworkers' Assistants' Society (Gawler)

In addition there were the

Licenced Carters' Association (by 1881)
South Australian Coasters' Association (by 1886)

both of which were affiliated with the Maritime Labour Council, but which included employers as well as employees.

(2) During 1890

January Adelaide Clickers' Society
January Working Women's Trade Union
January Adelaide, Suburban and Port Road Drivers' Association
1889 *Retail Assistants' Union
1889 February South Australian Gas Company's Employees' Association
1889 June *Coopers' Society
1889 United Millers' and Mill Employees' Union
1889 *Journeymen Bakers' Society
Year the society disbanded

*Operative Plasterers' Society
Smelters' Employees' Union (Port Adelaide)
Storemen's, Packers' and Porters' Union
(Port Adelaide)

July
Dry Creek Smelters' Union
Storemen's, Packers' and Porters' Union
(Adeelaide)

August
Agricultural and Implement Makers' and Shoewing
and General Smiths' Union
United Miller's and Mill Employees' Union
(Gawler)
Operative Painters' and Paperhangers' Society
(Port Adelaide)

*Plumbers', Gasfitters' and Ironworkers' Society

November
Brewers' Employees' Union
Aerated Water Manufacturers' and Cordial Makers'
Employees' Union

(*indicates a reformed society)

B. In the country

1883 Operative Masons' and Bricklayers' Society
(Port Augusta)

1886 Shearers' Union — branches at Port Lincoln,
Clare and Port Augusta

1887 Working Men's Association (Port Pirie)

1888 South Australian Railway and Tramway Service
Mutual Association — branches at Murray
Bridge and Petersburg

1889 South Australian Railway and Tramway Service
Mutual Association — branches at Quorn,
Bordertown, Port Wakefield, Mount Barker,
Naracoorte, Port Pirie, Terowie, and
Wallaroo

Amalgamated Miners' Association (Moonta)
Working Men's Association (Port Wakefield)

1890

June Shearers' Union (Strathalbyn)

July Woodcarters' and Woodcutters' Union (Strathalbyn)

August Port Pirie Smelters' and Refiners' Union
United Miller's and Mill Employees' Union —
branches at Port Pirie, Port Augusta and
Balaklava

September Working Men's Association (Naracoorte)

October Associated Wharf Labourers' Union of Port Pirie

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