

The Messages of its Walls & Fields

A HISTORY OF ST PETER'S COLLEGE, 1847 TO 2009



KATHARINE THORNTON

The Messages of its Walls & Fields

Published by The Council of Governors of St Peter's College
in association with
Wakefield Press
1 The Parade West
Kent Town
South Australia 5067
www.wakefieldpress.com.au



First published 2010

Copyright © The Council of Governors of St Peter's College, 2010

All rights reserved. This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced without written permission. Enquiries should be addressed to the publisher.

Designed by Liz Nicholson, DesignBite
Printed in China at Everbest Printing Co. Ltd

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Author: Thornton, Katharine.
Title: The messages of its walls and fields: a history of St Peter's College, 1847 to 2009/Katharine Thornton.
ISBN: 978 1 86254 922 7 (hbk.).
978 1 86254 940 1 (limited ed.).
Subjects: St. Peter's College (St. Peters, S. Aust.) – History.
Anglican schools – South Australia – Adelaide – History.
Preparatory schools – South Australia – Adelaide – History.
Dewey Number: 373.94231





*The Messages of its
Walls & Fields*

A HISTORY OF ST PETER'S COLLEGE, 1847 TO 2009

KATHARINE THORNTON



Contents

Reverie ix

A SCHOOL IN ADELAIDE, AUSTRALIA, 2009

Foreword xi

BY BADEN TEAGUE

Author's Preface xiii

PART ONE

Chapter One

The Collegiate School's 'Long Nineteenth Century', 1847–1919 3

Chapter Two

The School's beginnings, 1847–1853 21

Chapter Three

The founding Farris, 1854–1878 41

Chapter Four

The heart of the School?: The Chapel, 1852–2009 65

Chapter Five

Schooling gentlemen 85

Chapter Six

1897: 'God Bless St Peter's College' 109

Chapter Seven

St Peter's boys: Manly Christians or musclemen? 129

Chapter Eight

'Her Sons': Rhetoric and war, 1889–1919 149

PART TWO

Chapter Nine

Pro Deo et Patria, 1920–1960 171

Chapter Ten

‘A rock-hewn edifice’: The Memorial Hall, 1918–2009 185

Chapter Eleven

‘This England’?: Empire Boys and World War Two 205

Chapter Twelve

‘Kindle a fire in the heart and mind’: Education in and out of the classroom, 1920–1960
219

Chapter Thirteen

From house practice to ‘intercollegiatism’: Sport at Saints, 1920–1960 231

Chapter Fourteen

1947: Worthy traditions 249

Chapter Fifteen

‘Let Us Now Praise Famous Men’: Founders and old scholars, 1920–1960 267

PART THREE

Chapter Sixteen

Modern St Peter's, 1961–2009 279

Chapter Seventeen

Governance and Finance, 1960–2009 313

Chapter Eighteen

Blueprints for the future, pictures of the past: Buildings and grounds, 1961–2009 325

Chapter Nineteen

Balancing continuity with change: Teaching and learning, 1961–2009 353

Chapter Twenty

Sport and outdoor activities, 1961–2009 393

Chapter Twenty one

1997: Saints' sesquicentenary year 423

Postscript

St Peter's Fourteenth Headmaster, Mr Simon Murray 443

APPENDIX ONE 444

APPENDIX TWO 445

NOTES 449

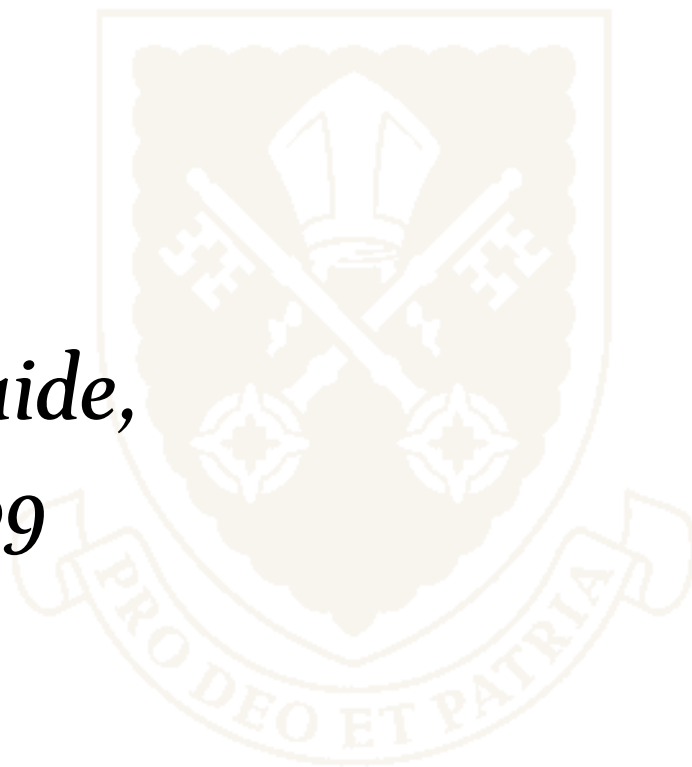
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 465

INDEX 471



REVERIE

A School in Adelaide, Australia, 2009



At the beginning of the 21st century, just over a million people live in Adelaide, a small city at the centre of its world. The suburbs spread north and south along the coastline, corralled by the hills to the east and the ocean to the west. In ‘town’, the Adelaide city centre, the boulevard of North Terrace travel from west to east, past the state Parliament House, Government House, the museum, art gallery, and the universities of Adelaide and South Australia, to the Botanic Garden. Turning left off North Terrace, you travel down busy Hackney Road past the Wine Centre and Bicentennial Conservatory, to the main entrance of the Collegiate School of St Peter.

St Peter’s College is largely hidden from the road, and coming onto the School grounds is like walking into an oasis. As you enter the Hayward Gates, travels past the School and Allen Boarding House, and head up the main drive, the grounds stretch out majestically before you. If the boys are confined to their classrooms, you travel past sweeping green ovals, tennis courts, manicured lawns, and carefully tended garden beds in a still, serene quietness. Can this place really be a couple of minutes from the centre of a 21st-century Australian city? It seems more like somewhere in the English home counties before the Great War. When the buildings at the centre of the School were designed and constructed in the mid-19th century, their creators looked 16,000 kilometres across the oceans, taking their inspiration from an architectural style that recalled the medieval colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Little wonder that the official history of the School, published to coincide with its centenary in 1947, features an aerial view of the extensive grounds, with boys playing cricket on the Main Oval. Fifty years on, the new sports centre is in the middle of the grounds, hiding behind the pepper trees.

The roundabout next to Oval House presents you with choices: turn to the right and you head down The Avenue to the Junior School (still known familiarly as ‘the Prep’); and further on to the smallest boys in Old Palm House. From the pre-schoolers to the Year 7 boys, their existence is quite separate from the Senior School. Straight ahead is Memorial Hall, where the Senior School boys and teachers assemble for a weekly

'muster', and where School functions, from concerts to careers nights, take place. The road to the left takes you to the centre of the Senior School, to the front of Old School House. Behind it is the Big School Room, and to its right is the Chapel. These are the oldest buildings.

With its main section, northern, and southern wings, Old School House was once where boarders, masters, and the Headmaster lived. Today the southern wing is devoted to the School's administration, while the northern wing's rabbit warren of passageways and rooms houses the Music Department. In the central, western-facing section of Old School House, the ground floor's main rooms are allocated to the teachers and comprise their work room and the Senior Common Room – a holy of holies that non-teaching staff have only recently been allowed to walk through, but not linger in. These rooms are on either side of the central corridor. In this corridor boys scan the noticeboards for their place in sports teams, and posters vie for attention, announcing school plays, concerts, essay-writing competitions, overseas exchanges, universities, and opportunities for spiritual revival. Behind Old School House is the Big School Room, which accommodates the School's first honour boards; many of the names on them are familiar from South Australia's early European history.

Leaving the warm sandstone of the Allen Quad, we see the Da Costa Dining Hall, originally built as a gymnasium in the same gothic-scholastic style as the earliest buildings, and opposite it, the Miller Building. A squat brick building with the Senior School Library on the top floor, and Modern Language classrooms below, the Miller is an unlovely example of the international style, but contains good-sized rooms for watching videos, or other School get-togethers such as house musters, or Exploration Society, French Club or Friends of the Chapel meetings. Behind the Miller Building is the Gordon Building. Exposed to the winds that blow across the back ovals, the Gordon's hapless inhabitants sweat in summer and shiver in winter. Boys and teachers consider themselves lucky to escape the Gordon for the more salubrious classrooms of the Big Quad. Refurbished as part of the celebration of South Australia's sesquicentenary in 1986, the Big Quad is formed by the back of the Big School Room and two rows of classrooms. In the corner where these two rows meet is the Tower. Eighty years ago it was the School library, now the upper floor is the prefects' room, while the ground floor is a classroom. Like a proscenium stage, the fourth wall of the Big Quad is absent, but the Jury Memorial Fountain at its centre provides a focal point. Just beyond the Big Quad is the IT Centre, and behind it, the innovative START Building. The Science, Technology and Art Building dispels the hazy impression of 'the olden days' that envelops much of the School's built environment. From its architectural style to the range of subjects taught within it, the START Building is contemporary.

The bell rings. Classroom doors open. Boys appear. They move quickly or slowly to the next lesson as their personality and inclination for the coming class dictates. Their uniform, worn more or less neatly, gives them a superficial appearance of similarity. But the diverse range of faces above the collars and ties reflect Australia's immigrant history. This is St Peter's College in 2009.

Katharine Thornton, 2009

Foreword

BY BADEN TEAGUE

History is the story about what has happened; it is an explanation of how things came to be as they are now. History is an evaluation of the past to establish the present and to point to the future. Every generation writes history afresh to deal with the newly evolving questions raised by contemporary ideas. This studied awareness helps a history to become soundly balanced, even credible and perhaps convincing. A mature philosophy of history can guide us as we weigh the options of writing history in this way or that. The role in history of the individual is crucial but usually the community, the culture and the context are more important to understand. History needs to consider both established culture and revolutionary ideas. Context includes the social and economic environments that individuals and communities face.

This history of St Peter's College has been written in the first decade of the 21st century, the decade leading to the School's 163rd year. One of the clearest threads through this long history is the succession of thirteen Headmasters of the School: Wilson, Farr, Stanford, Williams, Raynor and Girdlestone (here described in Part One); Bickersteth, Pentreath and Gordon (Part Two); Miller, Shinkfield, Burchnall and Grutzner (Part Three). Another thread through these 163 years is the succession of Adelaide's Anglican Bishops who have been the Chairmen and, since 1998, the Presidents of the School's Council of Governors.

The history of St Peter's College overlaps major elements of the history of South Australia as a whole. Saints is an important window into South Australia. This is evident in educational developments, in the service of all professions, in much of the evolving social culture of the State and not least in the leadership contributions of Saints graduates in many fields. St Peter's College has always had an open enrolment policy with a guarantee of religious freedom, liberty and inclusion. There is an adventure here, an exciting story. The enormous potential of the future remains open and requires a continuing faith and hope. The title of this book is *The Messages of its Walls and Fields*, words found in the School prayer, and which infer that this School may keep on with this faith and hope.

Over the years various histories of the School have been written. This one had its root in the decision of the School Council in 2000 to establish a History Committee to plan and produce a comprehensive history of St Peter's College from its beginning in 1847 until the present day. This Committee appointed Katharine Thornton to be the School's historian. Katharine came to this work having been dux of St Peter's Girls School in Adelaide and having graduated with first class honours in History at the University of Adelaide. The Committee looked to Katharine to bring a freshly objective but exciting approach. We wanted a soundly balanced history, an accurate history, but also a history free from hubris.

Katharine Thornton's research and writing began early in 2001 and concluded with the final edited drafts late in 2009. Throughout these years she has been in continuous dialogue with the History Committee. This work has been completely financed by the School Council, the publisher of this book. At an early stage Wakefield Press, Adelaide, accepted the School's contract to provide all the professional work necessary to see this book published.

I congratulate Katharine Thornton for this excellent History of St Peter's College. I thank Michael Bollen, Kathy Sharrad and Liz Nicholson and their colleagues at Wakefield Press for managing this book's publication. For their invaluable efforts and insights over ten long years that crucially sustained this project, I thank the members of the History Committee: Canon Andrew Cheesman, Ian Lloyd (until 2001), Patrick Hill (from 2001), Mary Sutherland (from 2006), Headmaster Richard Burchnall (until 2004), Headmaster Philip Grutzner (from 2005), Paul Fielding (until 2007) and Jason Haseldine (since 2008). We have all greatly appreciated the superb secretarial work of David Allnutt (until 2005) and Karina Nakos (from 2007).

The focus in writing this history has always been the actual experience of the boys as students at St Peter's College. This focus is the growing horizon of each boy as he has developed in the classroom, in sports, in character, in spiritual dimensions and in relationships. In a similar spirit this book is now given to the boys of the School, generation on generation, and to the Staff of St Peter's College, the priority resource in every success of the School. This history is given to the whole of the St Peter's Community, to the Church, to the State, to all the people of South Australia and to readers everywhere.

Baden Teague

BA HONS, BSC, PHD

Saints student, 1955–62

Saints Governor, 1997–2010

Chairman, History Committee, 2000–2010

Author's Preface

The theme of this book – its message – is inspired by the School prayer, which was introduced by the Reverend Guy Pentreath, who brought it to Adelaide from St Thomas' School, in Agra, India. Pentreath hoped that the prayer's 'beauty, order and reverence' would be the message boys received at St Peter's College. The acres of well-kept grounds and century-old stone buildings appear consistent with the prayer's aspirations – only a dull soul could fail to respond to them.

But what of the lessons learned inside the buildings, on the ovals, or in the playgrounds? Like the English public schools that were its model, St Peter's College attempts to educate the whole student – not just a boy's brain. Playing sport, attending Chapel, and participating in extracurricular activities are all important in a Saints boy's education. There are many messages, official and unofficial, at St Peter's College, and all of them combine to make its history.

Why is a message a particularly suitable prism through which to see a school? At its most mundane, education is a process of transmitting information from teacher to pupil, 'from jug to mug' as the irreverent say. A message is an act of communication that may be implicit or explicit, hence the colloquial expression 'get the message'. In the reformed public schools that St Peter's consciously emulated, it was not just facts but also beliefs that were explicitly communicated. With strong links to the Church of England at its inception, and constant Anglican involvement since, the Collegiate School of St Peter's messages are not value free.

In 1890, the School's motto became *Pro Deo et Patria*, For God and Country. The crisp Latin phrase states the individual's duty to believe devoutly, and, acting on those beliefs, serve patriotically. These being rather unfashionable ideals in the early 21st century, the 1999 School 'blueprint' prefers to describe the School's mission at length – to 'value diversity and individuality', and 'develop educated, considerate and outward-looking young men who will use their talents responsibly for the good of the wider community' by 'working together in a professional, ethical and cooperative manner'. Part of the

contrast between these two messages is due to their styles of language, which express different conceptions of the individual's purpose in the world. This history will examine how these world views affected the boys who attended St Peter's.

Surveying the most recent graduates yields a range of responses to the question, 'What messages did you get at Saints?' One replies, 'A sense of history, the importance of academic excellence and sport, and having fun'. A more cynical man offers, 'Good manners, the power of protocol, and the need to conform'.

In the view of its governing Council, the School's persistent objective has been to educate boys according to Christian principles so that, as adults, they can contribute to their society. The tension between the ideals of the government and the daily experience of the governed is, of course, not unique to St Peter's College. It is, however, important to keep in mind when trying to understand why some men loathe the School with as much passion as others love it.

In order to tell the story of the School's first 163 years in a single volume, I have had to be selective. Although there are some great feats in the following pages, readers looking for a detailed description of every intercollegiate victory over 'our red friends' will be disappointed. Nor have I been able to name every boy or member of staff who has been part of the School and thus contributed to its history. Instead, parallel to the larger theme of 'messages', I have tried to describe the most significant people and events during particular periods. The School, as I have discovered, is the community of boys and teachers, overseen by the Headmaster and the Council of Governors.

The Saints community has a permeable membrane, however, and other people contribute to and are influenced by the School – parents and old collegians; employees who work at the School but not directly with the students; and the wives and daughters of masters and old collegians, who work for and love the School despite never attending it themselves. Because this community overlaps with the wider Adelaide society, events in the state, and in the nation, are also important.

I have divided this 163-year history into three parts. Part One begins with the establishment of the School in 1847, and ends with the resignation in 1915 of the School's sixth Headmaster, Henry Girdlestone. Part Two takes up the story in 1916 and closes in 1960, following the death of the Headmaster, Colin Gordon. Part Three begins in the first year of John Miller's headmastership in 1961, ending with the last full year of its 13th Headmaster, Philip Grutzner, in 2009.

Although the history of a school is much more than the history of its leaders (just as the history of a country is more than its rulers and governments), St Peter's, like many Australian private schools and their English public school counterparts, is a hierarchical institution that gives its Headmaster considerable power and prestige. The Headmaster sets the tone of the School in a range of ways – from his choice of masters to his personal example. Over the past 163 years, there have been differences in the way the School was run – experienced by students and staff – that can only be explained by the approach of various headmasters.

Each of the three parts discuss the important events at the School in that time. In Part One, we see the specifically South Australian origins of the Collegiate School of St Peter: its creation by the proprietors; the involvement of the first Bishop of Adelaide, Augustus Short; the shaky early years; and the School's spiritual growth under the Reverend

George Farr and his wife, Julia. The experiences at the heart of any school – teaching and learning – are examined in a study of the School's masters and pupils. We pause to consider the importance of the Chapel in the life of the School, and join in the celebration of its 50th anniversary in 1897. The establishment of the Preparatory School in 1910 meant that a boy could receive his entire education at the Collegiate School. In keeping with the model of English public schools, this was a broad education and included games and religion as well as academic studies; the kind of young men it produced are discussed in these chapters.

Part Two opens in the middle of the Great War and looks at the experiences of pupils, staff and old collegians during the First and Second World War. The war service of old collegians was formally commemorated in the Memorial Hall; since its completion in 1929, 'Mem Hall' has become a focal point of school life; its story is told in Chapter 10. Service of a different kind is noted in the work of the city office, the School's business hub, and the efficient but often overlooked labour of groundsmen and house staff. Elsewhere we see how graduates of St Peter's were contributing to their society. Men who made their mark publicly were lauded by the School, promoted to current pupils as role models. By the mid-20th century, the house system was an integral part of a boy's life at Saints. We see the origins of the houses in the district system of the 19th century, revised and formalised by Julian Bickersteth (Headmaster 1920–1933), and the ways the houses have changed since the 1920s. In the School's centenary year, 1947, there were several major events to celebrate the achievements of the previous century: the publication of an official history; an historical pageant; special services of thanksgiving; and a parade of the entire School. But Saints was not resting on its laurels. We witness the changes that occurred as a result of the post-World War Two emphasis on science and technology. While some things changed, others stayed the same – like the importance of cricket and football. Part Two includes discussion of how sport and other extracurricular activities contributed to the boys' experience of the School.

Part Three covers the most recent period of the School's history, during which time St Peter's has resisted, accommodated, and finally embraced change in the second half of the 20th century. We see how various families' connections to the School go back several generations. We also look at the way boarders and 'grounds kids' (the children of staff who lived on campus) grew up at Saints. In the late 1960s, the School went through 'trying times' – the Miller years, the infamous years of student rebellion, best understood as a local version of a global phenomenon as the baby-boom generation reached adulthood and challenged their elders. In this environment, the Church of England Collegiate School of St Peter was a sitting duck, a symbol of the tradition and privilege that was under siege throughout the western world. As with previous setbacks, the School survived. But change was inevitable, and the renovations begun in the 1980s by the School's first Australian-born Headmaster, Dr Tony Shinkfield, were continued by his successors Richard Burchnall and Philip Grutzner. Increasingly free of the jealous weight of the Council that beset their predecessors, these two men have been responsible for many of the developments in the School's recent past. While not without costs, these developments are seen in a range of changes, of which Palm House and the START Building are emblematic. The rhythm of the school year – from Head of the River to intercoll, with house dinners, debates, concerts, the 'Blue and White', and Speech Day along the way – remains familiar to generations of Saints boys, parents, teachers,

and other staff. When St Peter's College celebrated its 150th anniversary in 1997, the 'True Blue' celebrations showed how much the School had grown since its beginnings in 1847.

Initial research for this book relied on the work of other historians. The official, published histories by A.G. Price and John Tregenza were supplemented by the unpublished history by E.J. Morgan, and the research and writings of F.H. Schubert, one of Saints' greatest teachers. These accounts provided the foundation for research in the archives of the Adelaide diocese of the Anglican church, the State Library of South Australia, South Australian State Records, Prince Alfred College, and, of course, the St Peter's Archive. Interviews with past and present members of the Saints community also contributed to my understanding of the institution. Citations from primary and secondary sources can be checked in the endnotes, which acknowledge direct quotations, and the use of other writers' ideas and research.

Finally, a note on nomenclature. Like most school histories, this work identifies its subject with a capital 'S', to distinguish it from other schools. This School has many names, and I have used them all. While this inconsistency may irritate some readers, it is historically accurate and helps to convey the era via linguistic change. Originally known as the Church of England Collegiate School of South Australia, the first Bishop of Adelaide renamed it the Church of England Collegiate School of St Peter's Adelaide. (The grammatical error was his doing.) In the 19th century it was commonly referred to as the Collegiate School, St Peter's College, or simply St Peter's. The abbreviation 'SPSC' stands for the School's name in Latin, *Sancti Petri Schola Collegiata*, and has been in use since the 1890s when it was promoted by then Headmaster, Phillip Raynor. Apart from an occasional description of the School's football team as 'The Churchmen', boys who attended the School in the 19th century were usually known as 'collegians'. If they were former students they were known as 'past collegians' or 'old collegians', and in the late-19th century as 'petrines'. Today's familiar nickname 'Saints' became popular in the early 20th century, but referring to its pupils as 'Saints' boys' began later. Nineteenth-century nicknames came from the SPSC initials – 'South Pacific Stone Crackers', and the rather cruder 'South Pacific Shit Carters' – were popular terms of abuse. Tying the School to its location as 'Hackney High' seems to have begun in the 1950s, but has been rarely heard since the 1980s. Curiously, without physically moving, the School changed suburbs sometime in the late-20th century; while the founders bought and built in Hackney, it is today (at least in its postal address) in St Peters.

Katharine Thornton

PART ONE



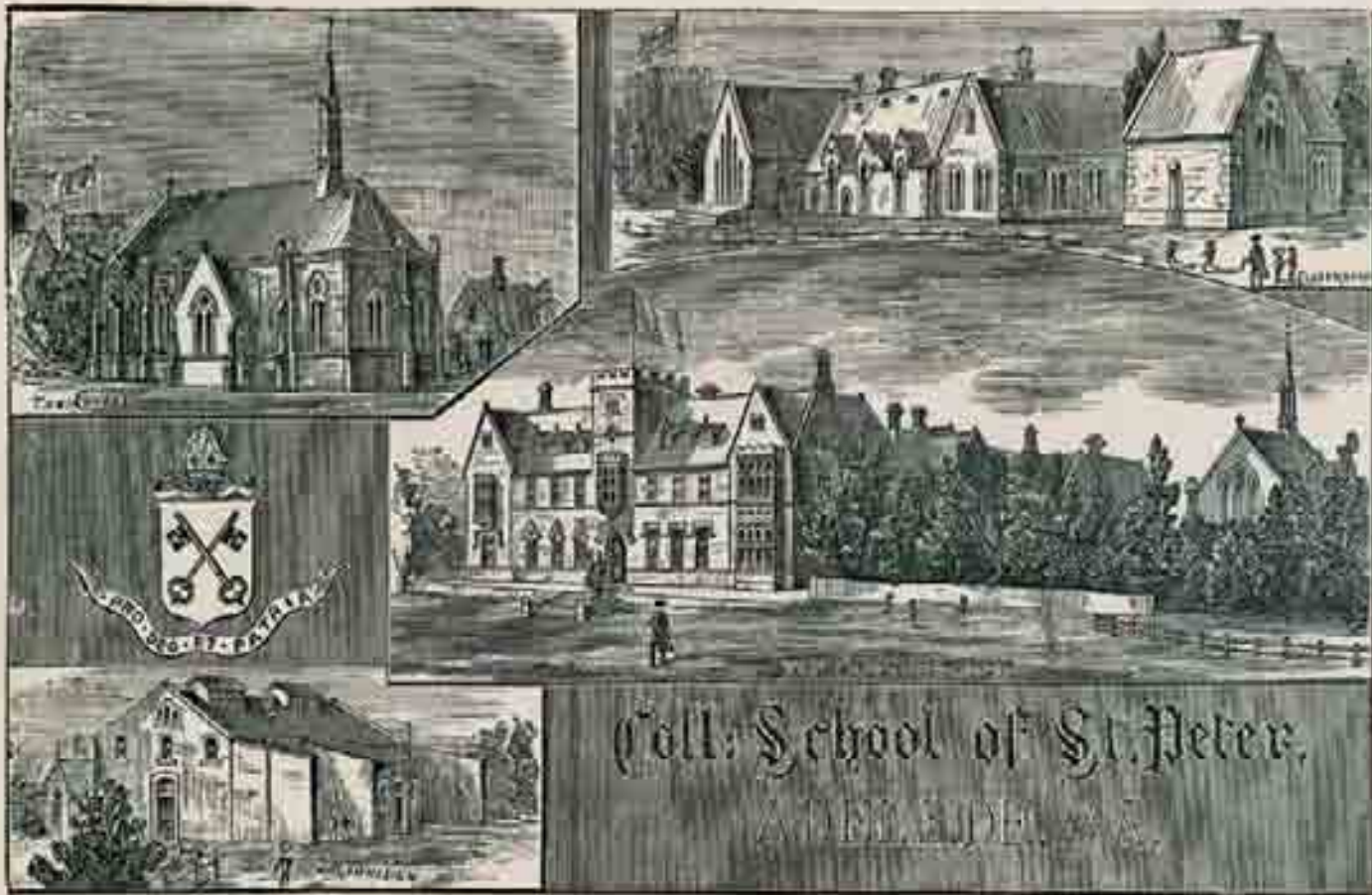
The Reverend Theodore Percival Wilson
(Headmaster 1849–1850)



The Reverend George Henry Farr
(Headmaster 1854–1878)



The Reverend William Bedell Stanford
(Headmaster 1879–1881)



The Reverend Francis Williams
(Headmaster 1883–1889)



The Reverend Philip Edwin Raynor
(Headmaster 1890–1893)



The Reverend Henry Girdlestone
(Headmaster 1894–1915)

CHAPTER ONE

The Collegiate School's 'Long Nineteenth Century', 1847–1919



Historians use the phrase ‘the long nineteenth century’ to point out that it was World War One (1914–1918) that effectively ended European beliefs and behaviours of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Mass, mechanised warfare in the trenches of the Western Front contributed to the changes that ensued during the 20th and 21st centuries. ‘The long nineteenth century’ serves as an evocative summary of the perceived stability of the Victorian years, punctured by the outbreak of the Great War. It also nicely describes the Collegiate School of St Peter’s from 1847 to 1919.

The first seven decades of the Collegiate School of St Peter’s are distinguished by the great headmasters Farr (1854–1878) and Girdlestone (1894–1915). Less well known are the terms of office of William Bedell Stanford (1879–1881), Francis Williams (Acting Headmaster 1882, Headmaster 1883–1889), and Philip Edwin Raynor (1890–1893). Stanford and Raynor have been seen as unsuccessful leaders, and the School’s difficulties under them are explained as being largely their fault. But this is a misapprehension, and based on the assumption that a Headmaster is the only person who can influence events and thus the success or failure of a school. Instead, the power (and success) of the St Peter’s Headmaster depends on the good disposition of the Council of Governors, and the state of the School’s finances.

While the first incarnation of the School, originally known as the Church of England Collegiate School of South Australia (between 1847 and 1849), was established during prosperous times, the first seven years are perhaps best described as two steps forward, one step back. The first Headmaster, the Reverend Theodore Wilson (1849–1850), was not suited to the role, and troubles continued during the acting headmasterships of Samuel Allom (1851–1852) and Edmund Jenkins (1853–1854). The School’s fortunes improved considerably during the long tenure of G.H. Farr.

The Collegiate School was financially weak for much of its first seven decades, partly caused by external factors such as the drought and a worsening economy during the 1880s, and the recession of the early 1890s. There were two major areas of expenditure

OPPOSITE PAGE: An idealised picture of the School in the early 1890s by an unknown artist. The drawing shows the densely treed Headmaster’s garden next to School House’s southern wing (then the Headmaster’s residence). The ladies promenading on the terrace in front of School House are probably artistic licence; the small boys playing, and the master in his cap and gown are more credible.



The Reverend Samuel Percy
Richard Allom, aka Samuel Pearce
Allom (Acting Headmaster 1852)



The Reverend Edmund Jenkins
(Acting Headmaster 1853–1854)



James Hemery Lindon
(Acting Headmaster 1886–1887)

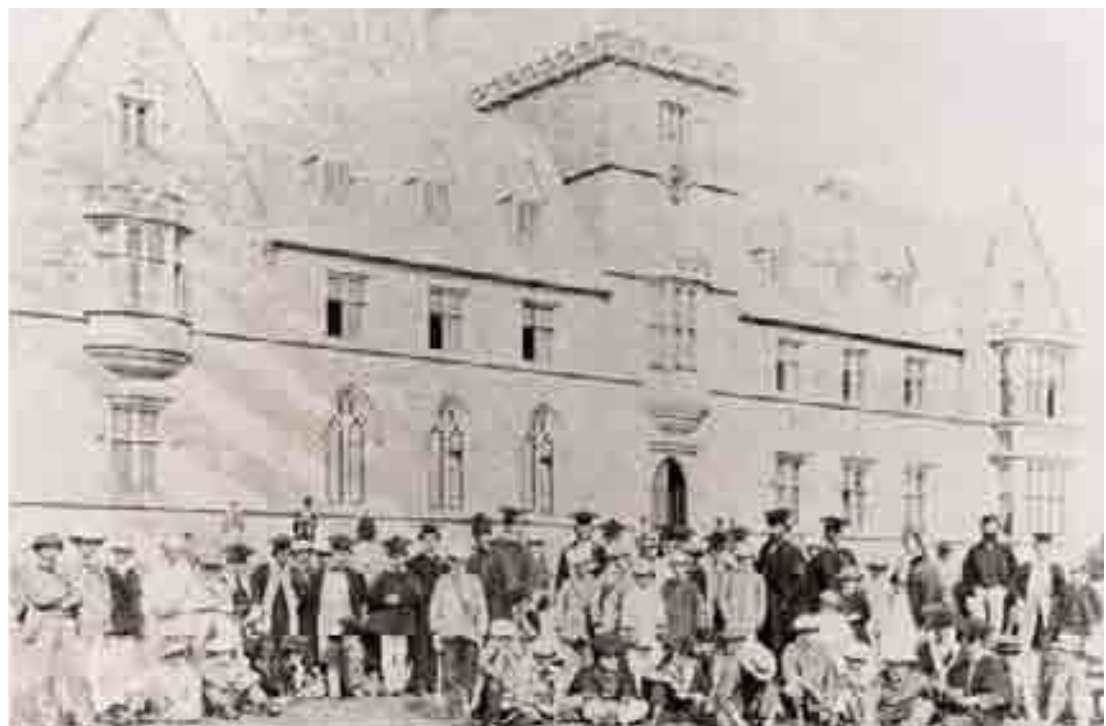


Thomas Ainslie Caterer
(Acting Headmaster 1904)

during this period: salaries and buildings; and two sources of income: fees and bequests.¹ The trick was to get the four in balance. From the School's opening in 1847, it took six years to break even and cover running costs from receipts. As a general rule, the governors tried to cover masters' salaries, daily expenses, and incidental running costs from income they received as school fees.² But for large capital works they needed large amounts of money, which came in the form of substantial contributions from individuals and organisations to purchase land and construct buildings.

The first major bequest in the School's early years was a £2000 grant from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which Bishop Short used in January 1848 to buy 30 acres of land in Hackney. On this land, Captain William Allen offered to bankroll the design and erection of an institution that would be both a school and a theological college. Allen would ultimately contribute £7084; his death from a heart attack in 1856 left the School with a handsome but unfinished building. The governors'

The Collegiate School around 1870. Farr is in the centre of the back row. The other masters are probably William Ewbank (with beard) and Francis Williams (clean-shaven). The lady with the black shawl is Mrs Baye, the matron, and Charles May stands at the right of the group.



assumption that Allen's money was the School's meant that the Council became overly reliant on him. When his largesse was withdrawn, the governors unsuccessfully sought alternative backers. After Allen's death there was no significant building at the School for over 12 years. The colony's legislature refused the School a grant, while an 1858 fundraising drive in England netted a mere £350, one 30th of the amount required to complete the school building and Chapel.

Following Reverend James Farrell's death in 1869, his bequest of an estate worth £15,700 allowed the governors to pay off most of the School's debts and embark on an extensive project of building and development, lasting over a decade. School House was completed, the School's land holdings in Hackney were increased, and new classrooms, a lecture hall, five courts and a gymnasium (now the Da Costa Dining Hall) were built. The weakening of the South Australian economy in 1878 and persistent drought in the 1880s had an impact on the School's debt beyond the governors' control. Equally beyond their control was the common public perception that the Collegiate School was now an extremely wealthy institution with no need of financial support – a view that arose because of the Da Costa bequest.

The School's receipt of a large bequest from Benjamin Mendes Da Costa is the single most widely known yet misunderstood fact in the institution's history. Outside the School, it has given rise to the myth that the Collegiate School managed to finesse the (Roman) Catholic Church out of a legacy because of alleged ambiguity in the wording of Da Costa's will. On his death in 1869, Da Costa's estate was valued at £20,000, but the Council did not receive it until all of Da Costa's relatives (named as heirs) had also died. It was over 40 years before the Council gained control of the estate and received its rents in full.³ In the interim the governors had two ways with which to ensure the School's financial future – raising fees and reducing salaries. Benjamin Da Costa had property across Adelaide and South Australia, but the most significant real estate was within the parklands. The city holdings comprised 11 blocks in eight locations on Hindley, Rundle,



The front cover of an 1858 fundraising pamphlet.



Benefactors of the School:
LEFT, Benjamin Mendes Da Costa (c. 1864), and RIGHT, The Reverend James Farrell (c. 1864). COURTESY OF THE EAST SUSSEX COUNTY ARCHIVES (DA COSTA), AND THE STATE LIBRARY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA (SLSA B2777).

Tables of fees and salaries devised by the Reverend James Farrell, presented to the Council of Governors, 1 October 1861.

AMENDED REPORT,

RECOMMENDS AS FOLLOWS:—

1.—The usual fee for every thirty pupils.

2.—The head master and three others to be styled "Masters of the College," and to be paid progressively increasing salaries according to the scale hereunto annexed. All other masters to be placed on salaries, salaries, or payments, in the next way to, and to be paid fixed salaries.

3.—From the 1st January, 1862, teachers to pay £15 per quarter, in place of £12 15s. as at present, and they shall pay 10s. in place of £5 10s. Excess to be charged on trustees.

| No. of Boys | Yr. Salaries | | Yr. Expenses | | No. of Boys | Yr. Salaries | | Yr. Expenses | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|-------|--------------|---|-------------|--------------|-------|--------------|---------|--------------|--------------|----|-----|---|--|------------|----|-----|--|------|----|-----|--|--|----|-----|--|--|--|--|-----|-----|
| | £ | s. d. | £ | s. d. | | £ | s. d. | £ | s. d. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 100 | 1,200 | 0 0 | H. Mast. | 250 0 0 | 100 | 2,510 | 0 0 | 1st | 425 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 7,200 | 0 0 | 2nd | 350 0 0 | | 7,200 | 0 0 | 2nd | 400 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 3rd | 250 0 0 | | | | 3rd | 300 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 4th | 150 0 0 | | | | 4th | 250 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 200 | 0 0 | | 1,000 | 0 0 | | | 1,000 | 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| * Profit. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 120 | 1,440 | 0 0 | 1st | 350 0 0 | 120 | 2,820 | 0 0 | 1st | 475 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 8,640 | 0 0 | 2nd | 300 0 0 | | 8,640 | 0 0 | 2nd | 425 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 3rd | 200 0 0 | | | | 3rd | 325 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 4th | 150 0 0 | | | | 4th | 275 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 350 | 0 0 | | 1,500 | 0 0 | | | 1,500 | 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 140 | 1,680 | 0 0 | 1st | 400 0 0 | 140 | 3,130 | 0 0 | 1st | 500 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 10,080 | 0 0 | 2nd | 350 0 0 | | 10,080 | 0 0 | 2nd | 450 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 3rd | 250 0 0 | | | | 3rd | 350 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 4th | 150 0 0 | | | | 4th | 300 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 400 | 0 0 | | 1,800 | 0 0 | | | 1,800 | 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Teachers pay</td> <td>Yr. Salaries</td> <td>14</td> <td>0 0</td> <td rowspan="4"> <p>In the former part of this table, the proportion being already fixed and well as, it was not thought right to make any alteration. In the latter part the relative proportions were expounded considering the status of the masters.</p> </td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Board fees</td> <td>21</td> <td>0 0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Rent</td> <td>11</td> <td>0 0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>25</td> <td>0 0</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="4">The payments would receive from 20 teachers as now</td> <td>200</td> <td>0 0</td> </tr> </table> | | | | | | | | | | Teachers pay | Yr. Salaries | 14 | 0 0 | <p>In the former part of this table, the proportion being already fixed and well as, it was not thought right to make any alteration. In the latter part the relative proportions were expounded considering the status of the masters.</p> | | Board fees | 21 | 0 0 | | Rent | 11 | 0 0 | | | 25 | 0 0 | The payments would receive from 20 teachers as now | | | | 200 | 0 0 |
| Teachers pay | Yr. Salaries | 14 | 0 0 | <p>In the former part of this table, the proportion being already fixed and well as, it was not thought right to make any alteration. In the latter part the relative proportions were expounded considering the status of the masters.</p> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Board fees | 21 | 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Rent | 11 | 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 25 | 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| The payments would receive from 20 teachers as now | | | | 200 | 0 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

The money called "profit," or the receipt from tuition in excess of expenditures under that head, are available for the payment of salaries to teachers, for wear and rent of schoolhouses, and for overlying miscellaneous purposes. And to these sums must be added the surplus from of tuition received (if any) by trustees, and so on; for which the parents receive an amount of salary.

The income derived from teachers will give the governors the means of keeping the College, and to repair, increasing the accommodation, paying insurance, expenses of management, &c., &c.

It was resolved at the last meeting of governors that the first report as well as this amended one should be printed and distributed. It is not thought desirable to do this as there are but three points of difference between them. 1st, in the scale of salaries to the three last divisions. 2nd, in not making a master's language a necessary part of the curriculum. And 3rd, in proposing that the tuition fee should be £15 per annum, in place of £12 as suggested in the first report. It is hoped that these explanations will be deemed a sufficient reason for not giving to the expense of printing the two reports.

In the discussion on the first report it was proposed to make a difference in the tuition fee for boys under 15 years, but as it is thought this will create confusion and expense, very trouble in keeping and distributing the accounts, it is recommended that the tuition fee be the same for all boys. The time of the masters is occupied in the same extent whatever form the fee may be in.

October 1st, 1861.

Grenfell, Currie, Gilbert and Pulteney streets, as well as Hindmarsh Square and South Terrace.⁴ Rent from the lease of these properties made up the bulk of the income from the Da Costa Estate. When the last life tenant died in 1910, the estate's properties' unimproved value was approximately £80,000, and between 1910 and 1915 income from the estate provided between one and two thirds of the School's annual revenue.⁵

In keeping with the Council's aim that masters' salaries would be paid out of income from fees, occasional increases in fees were made during the first 14 years of the School's existence. Between 1847 and 1861, tuition fees rose by 17% and boarding fees by 35%.⁶ At the end of 1861, in an attempt to codify these ad hoc rises, James Farrell, as a School Governor, devised a sliding scale to ensure the School made sufficient profit from fees and that the four full-time masters would be compensated when the number of pupils, and thus their teaching duties, increased. Farrell's scale demonstrated that tuition fees could easily cover the masters' salaries and also pay temporary teachers, cleaning staff, maintenance costs, and contribute to building developments. Tuition and boarding fees were raised (by 13% and 8% respectively), and the discount for boys under 12 was abolished. The governors' reason for removing this last was to simplify the accounts and administration and because masters took the same amount of time to teach boys regardless of their age.⁷

In an attempt to make St Peter's more enticing to prospective parents, in 1866 the governors reintroduced reduced fees for boys aged 10 to 12 years old, and included modern languages in the general tuition fee.⁸ It seems to have worked – the number of pupils doubled between 1866 and 1868. Whether this growth could be sustained in the face of growing competition was another challenge. The Collegiate School had for several years competed for pupils against other Adelaide boys' schools, such as John Lorenzo Young's Educational Institution, Thomas Caterer's⁹ school in Norwood, and John Whinham's North Adelaide Grammar School. But in 1866 the governors learnt of a greater threat than any of these headmaster-owned and operated institutions – the imminent opening (1869) of a rival school in Kent Town. Established and managed by South Australian Wesleyan Methodists for the sons of their congregation, Prince

The crowd at the opening of Prince Alfred College's first building, 22 June 1869. COURTESY OF THE STATE LIBRARY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA (SLSA B9676).



Alfred College (PAC) was to be for Methodists what St Peter's was for Anglicans. Like the Collegiate School, PAC was open to boys from any faith, but, unlike St Peter's, at the new college 'the religious teaching was to be non-sectarian'.¹⁰ From the outset, PAC's president, the Reverend W.L. Binks, made it clear that the new school's fees were set as low as possible 'so that a liberal education would be within the reach of a large number' and not just the wealthy.¹¹ The governors of St Peter's took the Methodists' challenge seriously and used PAC's fees as a yardstick in their own deliberations.

The North Adelaide Grammar School was one of Adelaide's leading boys' schools in the 1870s and 1880s; in the 1870s the number of pupils ranged between 250 and 300,¹² while St Peter's numbers fluctuated between 140 and 180. The headmaster, Robert Whinham, was sufficiently confident in his school's future to commission a handsome building on Jeffcott Street (now Luther Seminary). The school reopened in its new location in 1882 under its new name, Whinham College. The governors of St Peter's saw it as a major threat. In an attempt to counter the appeal of the rival school's smart new building, an easy walk from many of 'their' day boys' homes, they ran a private omnibus from North Adelaide to Hackney (and back) in the winter months.¹³ (This is perhaps the earliest example of the now-common practice of Adelaide private schools offering student transport as an extra enticement to parents.) Being able to catch the bus to school may have kept some boys at Saints, but it had little impact on the numbers at Whinham College, which remained strong, averaging between two and three hundred pupils in the 1880s, as they had in the previous decade.¹⁴ But at St Peter's the number of pupils fell, and so did the revenue from fees.

The only way left for the Council to bring receipts into line with expenses was to reduce salaries. Between 1861 and 1901 the number of pupils fluctuated but increased overall, thus the tuition and boarding fees, the major source of the institution's regular income, also increased. The average salaries paid to the masters, however, declined.¹⁵ In 1879 Headmaster Stanford's annual salary was £1000; 15 years later Girdlestone received £600 a year. In the 1860s and 1870s, masters' salaries were comparable to those of other

The recently built Whinham College, Jeffcott Street, North Adelaide, in 1882. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY SAMUEL WHITE SWEET, COURTESY OF THE STATE LIBRARY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA (SLSA B7051).



educated professional men, but this was no longer the case 20 years later. In the 1880s and 1890s, middle-class gentlemen – such as the lawyers and doctors who sent their sons to St Peter's – received an annual income of approximately £600.¹⁶ By comparison, masters at the Collegiate School were paid, on average, just over £300 a year.

The years following Farr's retirement (1878) were difficult for several reasons. Years of drought meant that South Australia's agrarian economy had shrunk – as a result the numbers of pupils declined but costs remained or increased and receipts failed to cover expenses. Although still keen to assert his powers as visitor, the ageing and increasingly frail Bishop Short was no longer the dominant personality on and power broker of the Council of Governors. His absences, illness in 1880, and resignation the next year created a power vacuum other governors were keen to fill. Against a backdrop of concerns among the Anglican laity about High Church priests in the Adelaide diocese,¹⁷ two factions emerged among the School's governors. These groupings broadly followed diocesan politics: clerics and high churchmen (led by Charles Marryat, then Archdeacon); and evangelical laymen. Into this delicate situation came the unfortunate man appointed to follow the much-loved Farr – William Stanford.

The Reverend W. Bedell Stanford (as he styled himself) was a serious-minded man who believed in maintaining his course regardless of the consequences. He seems not to have been blessed with the diplomatic skills needed to negotiate with a council of 15 governors. As a devout high churchman he incurred the displeasure of prominent evangelical Anglicans, and was among those priests named at a public meeting called in late 1879 to protest against the 'ritualistic practices' of Short's clergy. It was alleged that Stanford had made changes to the religious teaching and practice at St Peter's College, and that this was the reason that boys hitherto destined for the School were being educated elsewhere.¹⁸ Barely a year into Stanford's appointment, a group of governors began a campaign to bring about his resignation.¹⁹ His position was not helped by the letters of complaint of a prominent evangelical layman who had contributed substantially to the founding and maintenance of the School.²⁰ Staunch resistance was put up by the high churchmen, and neither side behaved particularly honourably. None of this did the School's reputation much good. It was particularly wearying for the hapless Headmaster, who eventually offered his resignation. When the parents learnt of Stanford's resignation, dozens of them sent testimonies in his favour to the Council, including one father's warning: 'You will never get a better one than Mr Stanford.'²¹

The Reverend Francis Williams, who followed Stanford into the position, was fortunate in having worked closely with many of the governors for some years prior to his appointment; and, having been bursar since 1866, it is unsurprising that of all of the School's 19th-century headmasters Williams seems to have had the best working relationship with the Council. When he was made Acting Headmaster in 1882, Williams had been a master at St Peter's for 21 years – he is, famously, the only man in the School's history to have been promoted to the headmastership from the staff of masters, and thus made the transition from compliant servant to collaborative diplomat.²² Despite Williams' claim to have seen his term as Headmaster (1883–1889) as an interregnum, he nevertheless made major changes and re-established peace among and between the governors and parents. The Council was transformed into an open corporation with a membership of 15; three governors (the Bishop, Dean and Archdeacon) were



TOP: The Right Reverend Augustus Short, Bishop of Adelaide, 1847–1881, visitor and President of Council, 1849–1881.



ABOVE: The Very Reverend Charles Marryat, Dean of Adelaide, 1887–1906, SPSC Governor, 1868–1906.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY TOWNSEND DURVEA.

automatically appointed, three governors were elected by the Diocesan Synod's standing committee, three by the Collegians' Association, and six by the Council itself. A general reduction in fees helped to re-establish goodwill in the School community.²³ The great difficulty that beset him, and the School, was his catching typhoid in 1886. Meanwhile, the governors had to install deep drainage to connect the School to the city's sewers, the cost of which exacerbated its already precarious financial position. While the grounds were closed for six weeks the governors had to rent alternative premises for classes (rooms in St Peter's Town Hall) and housing the boarders (in Vaughan's Mansion at Hackney). At the same time, fee receipts decreased as parents removed their sons from such an evidently unsanitary environment.²⁴ This crisis came soon after poor results in the university examinations of 1885, in which the rival school Prince Alfred College had done spectacularly well and cast a shadow over the Collegiate School that still lingers in the minds of outsiders when they think of its standing in late-19th-century Adelaide. For those within its walls, however, especially the academically inclined boys, the 1880s was probably one of the best times to have been a St Peter's pupil. There were some particularly good masters among Williams' staff: J.H. Lindon and E.H. Wainwright, A.E. Kirchner, and T.A. Caterer.

The Masters, 1892. Seated, left to right: Mr T.A. Caterer, Rev. P.E. Raynor (Headmaster), Rev. J.C. Haynes, Mr E.H. Wainwright. Middle row: Mr A.I. Calais, Mr W.M. Hole, Mr A.F. Rechner. Back row: Mr A.W. Gosnell, Mr A.H. Anderson.

