

# More than prize lists: Head teachers, student prize winners, school ceremonies and educational promotion in colonial South Australia

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*Australian educators now operate in environments that frequently stress marketing activities. This article highlights the ways that colonial school prize ceremonies were deliberately developed to promote teaching activities. These ceremonies were part of carefully considered strategies that helped to boost the status of entrepreneurial teachers who had taken the risk of establishing their own private educational ventures. Private school promotional techniques were extremely influential because they were also used to extend the growth of government-supported and corporate schools as well as cultural activities in Australia's colonial civil society.*

Promotion, ceremonies, newspapers, prizes, curriculum

## **INTRODUCTION: PROMOTING THE PRIZE LISTS**

Over the past two decades, the promotion of contemporary educational institutions and services, the role of educational entrepreneurs, and the operation of educational markets have all received considerable attention in both the daily press and professional journals for educators (Kenway, 1993; Young, 2005, pp.1-3). This article argues that entrepreneurial teachers and educational administrators in colonial Australia carefully constructed both school ceremonies and published accounts of these ceremonies. The actual ceremonies and the published accounts were among the most prominent of the tools used by these colonial educators and administrators to promote their aims and objectives as well as school or class activities. An attempt to launch a career as a specialist teacher or establish a school in colonial South Australia during this period involved risk. The uncertain nature of the colony's economy could easily threaten such an enterprise, an especially dangerous state of affairs for those who embarked on the hazardous path of establishing themselves as head teachers and proprietors of their own independent private venture schools. Commercial entrepreneurs and supporters of the colony transmitted accounts of school ceremonies held in South Australia to England in order to promote ongoing investment and migration, but for some early South Australian entrepreneurs, the ability to promote teaching services in the colony could quite literally mean the difference between public respect and a comfortable life or dire poverty and distress (Young, 2005, pp.85-127).

Australian historians have traditionally used newspaper reports of school prize ceremonies as sources for institutional and local histories, finding information about school administrations, as well as curricula and co-curricula activities. Researchers have also used lists of students and teachers in order to provide biographical and genealogical information. Since the end of the 1960s, Australian educational historians have also begun to devote more attention to the lives of head teachers and proprietors of colonial private venture schools (Young, 2005, pp.12-14, 51, 53). They have uncovered a sinuous but strong strand of risk-taking, enterprise, and entrepreneurial activity (Riordan, 1992; Theobald, 1985). The idea that teachers have been vital, active entrepreneurs is both challenging and exciting, and a number of colonial newspaper sources have

provided rich veins of information about educational advertising and ceremonial activities in schools.

From the late 1840s, men and women who had commenced teaching in private venture or corporate schools in South Australia began to work in government-supported schools and the emerging public education system, and this transfer influenced the adoption of techniques used to promote the growth of public schools. A number of prominent teachers were also key figures in the development of South Australian cultural life. The use of examination and prize ceremonies to promote schools and teaching activities served to foster local interest in high culture through the presentation of music, literary recitations and art, as well as support for popular culture through the staging of sport activities (Hyams, 1992, p.1; Nicholas, 1953; Saunders, 1965; Young, 1985; Young, 2005).

### **TEACHERS AND ENTREPRENEURS**

The earliest private teachers in colonial South Australia had to build a market for local educational activities (Nicholas, 1953; Reid, 2000). These colonial teachers also transplanted promotional techniques that had been developed by entrepreneurial educators in Britain since the eighteenth century. Research into the growth of cultural consumerism in eighteenth century Europe has supported the examination of techniques developed by private teachers to promote their teaching services (Agnew, 1993; Brewer, 1997; Brewer and Porter, 1993; McKendrick, 1982). Private teachers in the English provinces during this period persistently promoted their classes and schools, eager to teach knowledge and skills that would elevate their students' prosperity and social status (Money, 1993). These entrepreneurial teachers stood alongside equally enterprising musicians and actor-managers, painters and craftsmen involved in the development of public exhibitions and the trade in the fine and decorative arts, as well as authors, printers and booksellers involved in the extension of the publishing trade (Brewer, 1997; McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 1982; Plumb, 1982).

Entrepreneurial teachers were thus cultural entrepreneurs anxious to build an audience of consumers for their knowledge and skills. Some fulfilled the role of cultural entrepreneur in more than one area. A number of eighteenth century English artists developed markets for their own paintings and prints, as well as their work as teachers and producers of instructional material. Some artists continued to follow this path well into the nineteenth century, both in England and the Australian colonies (Brewer, 1997; Carline, 1968; Young, 1985)

Prominent eighteenth century cultural entrepreneurs such as Josiah Wedgwood developed strategies that included a range of interconnected techniques to promote their work. Ceremonial occasions were associated with press advertising, the production of trade publications such as prospectuses, and the cultivation of networks of patronage and support from prominent identities. Even though they frequently worked in smaller arenas, private teachers in eighteenth and nineteenth century England also wove a similar series of promotional techniques together in order to attract the ongoing support of students and their families (Agnew, 1993; Brewer, 1997; Bermingham and Brewer, 1995; Brewer and Porter, 1993; McKendrick, 1982; Money, 1993; Robinson, 1963-64).

Many private teachers in colonial South Australia were shrewd and canny operators, quick to observe social preferences and trends as well as needs in the colony. These colonial teachers also tried to shape attitudes and activities involved with education and associated cultural activities in the colony. A number of licensed teachers were equally astute and eager to promote their work. Those teachers who sought to become licensed head teachers in government-supported schools under the Central Board of Education and its successor the Council of Education were still members of a competitive marketplace for educational services. A government licence was granted only after the teacher had been involved in the process of developing a school. Even if

support for the school had been obtained from a local religious group or a district council, the teacher had to attract and retain ongoing support from parents, and maintain a viable number of student enrolments. Nor could these teachers rely solely on the government stipend that came with the licence for financial security. Teachers had to continue to seek student fees, even though the Board sought to limit the level of the fee received from each student. Biographical accounts and records from the Board have revealed that licensed teachers did not always restrict their enrolments to children from working class populations. They were also prepared to undertake a range of other money-making ventures, such as writing, in order to increase their financial status. Colonial South Australian newspapers frequently featured advertisements for private and corporate schools side by side with advertisements for licensed or public schools and classes, and private and licensed teachers or their agents also used advertising columns in newspapers to seek buyers for their schools. Both male and female teachers demonstrated that they were keenly aware of a need to elevate and protect their own reputations as well as the prestige of their schools (Hyams, 1992, p.1; Saunders, 1965; Whitehead, 1996; Young, 2005).

### **DISPLAY, EXHIBITION AND EDUCATIONAL PROMOTION**

The inclusion of exhibitions of student work in early South Australian school ceremonies and the descriptions of these exhibits in local press reports were part of a broader colonial interest in exhibitions and display. Social historians and cultural historians have attached considerable importance to the intensity of interest in the development of public displays and exhibitions during the Victorian age. Colonial South Australians were not immune to the allure of exhibitions and displays. Local retail traders mounted decorative displays and exhibitions, particularly for special occasions such as Christmas. Local displays and exhibitions of art, craft and technology were reported in the press, especially from the 1850s. The importance of the educational display was established during the Victorian age by the Great Exhibition of 1851, and colonial interest in major international and colonial exhibitions was reflected in press articles and parliamentary reports. The school ceremony was a major outlet for the display of work by children, but interest in this type of presentation was not isolated, as local so-called 'juvenile' exhibitions of artwork and horticultural items were reported in the local press from the 1860s (Young, 2005, pp.63-64, 244-245, 260-262).

One of the most important consequences of Foucault's interest in relationships between social boundaries, knowledge and power has been the application of this concern to the consideration of the Victorian love of display (Bennett, 1992; Bennett, 1995, pp. 60-61, 72-73). For Bennett (1995), whose work has encompassed the areas of cultural history and cultural studies, this association between display, structures of knowledge and power, as well as the desire to implement social regulation resulted in the rise of what he called an "exhibitionary complex". Bennett's research in this area concentrated on examining this "exhibitionary complex" in connection with the growth of the international exhibition, major public ceremonies, museums or galleries, and even seaside resorts in Victorian Britain. The importance of cultural display and school promotion in connection with Australian schools during the late twentieth century has also been recognised (Kenway, 1987, pp. 313, 389-390; Kenway and Bullen, 2001), and historians of education could usefully consider Bennett's focus on the use of the exhibitionary complex if they wished to examine the development of private, corporate and government-supported schools during the nineteenth century. Two of Bennett's (1995) own subjects for investigation, Victorian exhibitions and museums, were developed in great part for their potential to provide mass education as well as entertainment. The history of art and design education during the nineteenth century also showed that educational administrators and teachers in colonial Australia became swept up in the development of public exhibitions of student work (Young, 1985).

## EXAMINATION AND PRIZE CEREMONIES IN COLONIAL SCHOOLS

Examination and prize ceremonies became the subject of the leading editorials in colonial South Australian newspapers. Newspaper managements clearly regarded school ceremonies as important opportunities to scrutinise educational developments in the colony, and the press provided considerable space for the publication of accounts of local ceremonies. The formats used for these events and the associated presentation methods employed to publish information about schools were also important in their own right. Both ceremonies and subsequent newspaper accounts of these ceremonies became the means to promote educational services.

As with educational advertising in newspapers, the practice of producing prize lists and holding prize ceremonies and open examinations had been transferred from Britain. The *Advertiser* suggested that Mr. Francis Haire introduced the practice of holding a regular public school examination ceremony into the colony, and Haire used his newspaper advertising to draw attention to his student examinations during the 1850s. Colonial teachers such as James Bonwick were educated and trained in British educational institutions where competitive internal examinations and prize ceremonies had been developed, and student examinations and prize ceremonies were part of the Sunday School Movement. The use of educational prizes had also been transplanted to other English-speaking areas, such as the United States, and information about prize ceremonies held in England as well as colonial schools in eastern Australia was occasionally published by the South Australian press. (Edmonds, 1991; Entwistle, 1994; Entwistle, 1995; Hoskin, 1979; James, 1979; Kane, 1972, pp.31-34; Young, 2005, pp.137-144, 212-213, 251).

Mr. Sommer's first examination ceremony at his school in Flinders Street was advertised and reported in the Adelaide press. However, Sommer did not prepare a specific report of his own for the ceremony, and he suggested that recommendations from audience members would be more valuable. Information about ceremonies was no doubt transmitted through word-of-mouth or private letter, but the publication of accounts of school ceremonies in newspapers could be fitted into newspaper advertising strategies (Young, 2005, pp.129-144).

Newspaper reports of these ceremonies in colonial South Australia showed that private and corporate schools for boys were the most constant adherents to the use of ceremonies. From the late 1840s, government-supported schools run by licensed teachers for both girls and boys joined their ranks. More detailed accounts of ceremonies at schools run by women or schools for girls were only featured on an infrequent basis from the late 1840s to the 1870s. This was rather curious situation given that ladies' schools in the United States held complex annual internal examinations before audiences during the last decades of the eighteenth century. In early colonial South Australia, other social occasions were often used to mark the end of a school period in girls' schools. The press carried reports from schools run by female head teachers that outlined the staging of charity concerts or performances, as well as social functions such as picnics. This was linked to attitudes about women as the caregivers or guardians of morality, good taste and grace in social matters during this period. Regular reports that concentrated on the actual prize ceremonies from girls' schools did not become a feature until the late 1870s and early 1880s. This delayed development may have been connected with the essentially private, familial nature of many of these schools during the period and linked to a widespread unease with women being heavily involved in academic pursuits and public displays of competition during the Victorian age. Female activities associated with social events and philanthropy were far more acceptable during the mid-nineteenth century. The increased incidence of the printing of reports of school ceremonies in girls' schools during the late 1870s and early 1880s coincided with press coverage of the development of the Advanced School for Girls, and the increase in opportunities for girls to become candidates in external public examinations (Edmonds, 1991; Jones, 1980; Mackinnon, 1984; Norton, 1980, pp.285-287; Young, 2005, pp.141-142).

School prize ceremonies became a regular feature in Adelaide newspapers after the opening of schools affiliated with the Church of England. The format for school examination and prize ceremonies in South Australia changed over time during the colonial period. The awarding of prizes was initially linked to internal school examinations, conducted within schools before audiences of parents and members of the local community. Sometimes accounts of examinations during the 1860s revealed the use of a mixture of written and viva voce examinations for the same group of students. From the second half of the 1850s, ceremonies were presented in conjunction with reports of examinations and associated newspaper accounts that featured prize lists.

Some accounts of school examinations and ceremonies were printed more than once in a range of newspapers. When newspaper proprietors were associated with both weekday and weekly newspapers they would publish the same material about schools in each of these different publications. By the late 1860s, material published in the *Register* and the *Advertiser* was often found elsewhere in other newspapers, such as the weekly *Observer* and *South Australian Chronicle*. The Adelaide press also printed accounts of school ceremonies produced by people called 'observers' or 'correspondents' from outside the Adelaide square mile who were supportive of particular schools in their locality, or reprinted accounts originally published in country newspapers such as the *Mount Gambier Standard* or *Walleroo Times*.

While it is clear that newspaper managements in colonial South Australia were prepared to send representatives to attend and report on events in schools, it is equally clear that entrepreneurial educators carefully constructed school ceremonies and tried to shape the published accounts of these ceremonies. Colonial newspaper proprietors had provided an outlet for educational entrepreneurs to publicise their work, and many eagerly seized these promotional opportunities with both hands. The lengthy lists of student prize winners were not included merely to extend the space taken up under a boldly printed school name. Newspapermen and teachers such as Frances Sheridan revealed that they were particularly concerned about the inclusion of student names on lists. A letter from Mrs. Sheridan suggesting that student names had been omitted in a newspaper report resulted in an editorial rebuke, implying that any error had come from her administration. However, newspapermen were also happy to print additional names associated with prize lists whenever required, and some pressmen actually participated in these school activities (Young, 2005, pp.139, 140, 142-144).

School prize ceremonies were frequently preceded by the publication of head teachers' advertisements or notices that featured information about the staging of these events. By December 1879, L.S. Burton's advertisement for end-of-year events at the government-supported Gawler School outlined a program that included a display of student work, the presentation of singing performances from the school's infant section, student athletics, and an evening entertainment that included prize presentations and further pupil performances. The *Gawler Standard* underlined the celebratory, theatrical nature of this school day by publishing this advertisement in a column under the advertising title of "Amusements" (Young, 2005, p.139).

Even internal school examination ceremonies that were held as private events continued to attract press attention. *The Gawler Bunyip* adopted a somewhat censorious tone when details of a private examination ceremony at the government-supported Willaston school were not provided directly to the press. An obituary for John Lorenzo Young suggested that he felt some unease with the demands of his prominent school speech day ceremonies in White's Rooms, and Young used a private function in association with the prize ceremony proceedings for his school at Parkside in 1872. However, a brief newspaper account of this scaled-down event was still published by the Adelaide press, and Young continued to prepare lists of prize-winning pupils for newspaper publication during the latter years of his teaching career.

Accounts of school examinations were initially placed in news columns that provided a collection of short paragraphs of information about recent events or prominent local figures. Some accounts

of school ceremonies were incorporated into reports of events in particular district or local council areas. Accounts of prize lists and ceremonies were occasionally printed in newspaper advertising columns, and during the 1870s, they were often printed as separate items with prize lists, but firmly identified by newspaper managements as advertisements paid for by school administrations. Here at last was outright recognition of the way in which these reports of school ceremonies served a commercial function.

Days set aside for examination and prize ceremonies were special and important places on school calendars. During the period between the 1850s and the start of the 1880s, advertising notices for school ceremonies as well as accounts of prize ceremonies in larger schools for boys were often published in Adelaide newspapers twice a year, once for the ceremony held before the mid-winter holidays in June, and again in December for the final ceremony that marked both the end of the school year and the commencement of the Christmas holidays. Country newspapers, such as those published for readers in the towns of Gawler and Mount Gambier, usually printed accounts of school ceremonies just before Christmas each year. Members of teaching circles in local licensed schools knew that newspaper accounts of their ceremonies were not as lengthy or detailed as accounts of ceremonies in major corporate or private venture schools for boys, and one letter to *The Adelaide Times* suggested that unfavorable comparisons and conclusions could be drawn from the disparities in column space and printing ink. Support for private venture and corporate schools promised greater financial returns for newspaper managements, but these circumstances did not stop the continued inclusion of reports from government-supported schools in South Australian newspapers as the decades rolled on (Young, 2005, pp.139-141).

The longest and most complex accounts often emanated from ceremonies held in corporate boys' school, such as the Collegiate School of Saint Peter. These reports could take up several columns of closely-spaced typescript. The complexity of an account of a ceremony may well have reflected the resources of the school conducting the ceremony. However, these accounts also suggested that the school administration believed that a particular effort was required in the quest to build enrolments, especially for male students. By the late 1860s and 1870s, St. Peter's faced competition from Prince Alfred College, as well as a series of active private entrepreneurs, such as John Whinham and his sons (Young, 2005, pp.138, 141-143).

As with press advertising, the Central Board of Education was shrewd enough to see potential benefits from the adoption of the established private school practice of the school prize ceremony. Licensed teachers such as William Cawthorne actually used the Central Board's support for annual examinations as a springboard for advertising and publicity. During the early 1870s, the Board was happy to use an official publication to encourage the use of ceremonies as a means to cultivate widespread interest in government-supported schools in the colony, and two board members, James Bath and John Hartley, were actually well-versed in the practicalities and consequences of actually running school examination and prize ceremonies. J.A. Hartley had presided over school ceremonies when he had been headmaster of Prince Alfred College (Lock, 1981; Saunders, 1965; Young, 2005, pp.141, 288, 292).

Some educational entrepreneurs openly railed against the use of examination and prize ceremonies. Mr. Bonwick was critical of the pressures placed on students through the use of prize incentives and competitive examinations, believing that they could result in a lowering of student health and confidence. Between 1857 and 1858, *The Educational Journal of South Australia* and a prominent private teacher, John Whinham, likened the process of presenting prizes to a form of puffery, which promoted the reputation of a school in a manner that appealed to the affections and egos of doting families. Whinham's comments drew some qualified support from his fellow members of the Preceptors' Association, but if the rate of publication of accounts of school ceremonies can be used as any guide, the use of ceremonies continued unabated. Indeed, subsequent newspaper accounts of school ceremonies at Whinham's school for boys suggest that

he was quite prepared to adopt similar processes to draw attention to his own school (Young, 2005, p.251).

Newspaper accounts of school ceremonies usually included descriptions of the locations used to stage these events. Many schools conducted these ceremonies within the school. The most prominent of these was the Collegiate School of St. Peter, but even small government-licensed schools within and outside Adelaide opened their doors to parents, friends and local community members. Some teachers chose to hold these ceremonies in halls that were separate from the school location. The use of larger halls away from school premises may well have provided these educational entrepreneurs with more logistical problems, but they also furnished a special platform for a bolder presentation. White's Rooms were fitted with a form of platform stage. Founded by an entrepreneurial tailor and vigneron, George White, these Assembly Rooms had become one of the major venues for concerts, theatrical performances, public speaking engagements and visual displays in Adelaide during the colonial period. Whether the ceremony was held in the school or another location, teachers paid attention to the interior decoration of the room or hall. Evergreen plant material was positioned around the area, and displays of student work were set out for viewing (Young, 2005, pp.212-214).

Newspaper lists of prize winners revealed instructional levels and the curriculum activities on offer. The inclusion of information about conduct awards and their winners also indicated concerns about school discipline and moral education. Time was set aside in the school schedule specially to prepare students for their participation in these school examination and prize ceremonies. It is clear that the examination and prize ceremony required considerable planning and this could even result in the disruption of the teaching schedule. Far from removing a sense of showmanship in school prize ceremonies, the development of external examinations actually provided head teachers with additional means to make their school ceremonies glisten. The publication of external examination results in the Adelaide press amplified the process of drawing attention to school successes, as a student's name was listed alongside the school attended or the means of instruction used to prepare for candidature, so parents and students were able to compare the progress of candidates from different schools at a glance.

Researchers interested in colonial Australia's cultural history should not overlook accounts of school ceremonies. School ceremonies furnished vigorous educational entrepreneurs with a platform to promote the development of a wide range of cultural activities. Subsequent press accounts of ceremonies also revealed the ways in which cultural traditions had been transferred from Europe. Press accounts of school ceremonies provided descriptions of special exhibitions, decorative displays or student performances such as singing. Displays usually consisted of items from those sections of the school curriculum that were most conducive to producing work with a strong visual interest. This included student artwork, such as drawings and paintings, design works in the form of architectural and engineering drawings, mapping, examples of penmanship and calligraphy, and exercise books. Schools with female students also featured displays of plain and fancy needlework, or fashionable craft work such as leatherwork or artificial flowers.

The theatrical nature of the speech ceremony was emphasised by the reliance on the presentation of student recitations and music. Whinham's school in North Adelaide continued to feature displays of public speaking during the 1860s and 1870s. John Whinham's son, Robert, a prominent member of the school's staff, may well have fostered the speaking skills demonstrated by students at this school. Robert Whinham had become active as a public speaker and amateur actor. School prize ceremonies provided specialist music teachers with a platform to promote their work. These teachers prepared and presented a range of musical items, especially in the area of choral singing. A number of these specialist music teachers were peripatetic instructors, prepared to move between a number of schools, as well as form their own independent classes or teaching schedules with individual private students. For some independent music teachers,

performances at school ceremonies were part of a network of opportunities to foster and perform music in colonial society. T.W. Lyons' appearance at a school ceremony stood alongside his other musical performances in Adelaide, such as conducting an independent performance of choral singing.

From the mid 1860s, school ceremonies, especially in boys' schools or licensed schools, began to include displays of sport or physical exercises. In boys' schools, the inclusion of team games such as cricket and football were part of the cultivation of a so-called 'manly' spirit. The development of athleticism was viewed as a vital aspect of encouraging masculinity and loyalty to the school. The Adelaide press linked the inclusion of drill in South Australian private, corporate and licensed schools to military displays established by the local volunteer forces. Drill was offered by the private and corporate boys' schools, but displays of calisthenics and drill in licensed schools were also presented as proof of the development of good order and discipline, as well as evidence of the teachers' concern for the health of the pupils (Young, 2005, pp.248-252, 259-261, 265-274).

School ceremonies were used by teachers and their supporters to cultivate public interest in the social networks linked to their educational activities. In addition to publishing lists of student prize winners, newspaper reports of ceremonies could include references to special or notable guests and members of the audience, plus details of comments or speeches made by the specially invited chairman of the proceedings as well as the head teacher and invited examiners. In colonial communities such as those found in Adelaide, Gawler and Mount Gambier, where settlers were often well acquainted with each other by either direct or more indirect means, newspaper accounts showed readers the type of families and social networks prepared to support a particular school. By obtaining favourable attention in the press for a child, teachers were able to acknowledge the trust placed in their schools by parents, and possibly ensure the continuation of enrolments. The dependence on the public distribution of prize lists through press publication was extended when larger schools for boys also began to rely on the awarding of new prizes from their own old scholars.

Newspaper accounts of ceremonies often included references to special activities held in conjunction with these events, such as picnics, suppers, and commemorative acts. Accounts of examinations and prize ceremonies emphasised the care taken by teachers and school administrators to cultivate the support of prominent citizens. Published accounts noted the presence of colonial governors and their wives, members of government bodies and public officials, members of the clergy, and prominent landowners and businessmen. Early examination ceremonies required the active participation of well-educated men as examiners. The importance of this network of support was revealed by the way in which the accounts of these ceremonies were constructed. Special guests were invariably listed at the start of the account. Reports of subject examinations named examiners, who were usually figures from outside the teaching staff of the school, and either quoted or summarised their comments. Even when the examination process was separated from the ceremony, information about the examiners and their findings could be included in accounts of the ceremony. These events invariably included the presence of an invited chairman, usually a long-time supporter of the head teacher or a socially prominent member of the local community. Some of these chairmen were parents of members of the student body.

Individual colonists contributed prizes, and boys' schools that survived the first flush of enthusiasm over their establishment eventually benefited from the support of old scholars. Both corporate and private venture schools for boys encouraged the development of formally constituted associations for old scholars. Members of these groups attended school prize ceremonies, and also organised fund-raising efforts to supply additional scholarships or prizes for current scholars (Munt, 1983; Young, 2005, pp.140, 281-293, 295, 318-322).



## CONCLUSIONS

This account of school prize and examination ceremonies shows how colonial school ceremonies and associated newspaper accounts were deliberately constructed to attract attention to school operations as well as the aims and objectives of educators. It argues that the promotional techniques implemented by entrepreneurial colonial educators were important and influential. There was a strong connection between educational promotion and the risk-taking, entrepreneurial impulse of championing a particular activity through the use of advertising and printed literature. For teachers who had established their own private educational ventures, these events and accompanying newspaper items were part of carefully considered broader strategies developed to boost their own social and financial status. Entrepreneurial teachers were shrewd promoters. They adapted methods developed during the eighteenth century by British commercial entrepreneurs and drew upon the support of a range of social networks.

It would be foolhardy to view the development of school prize ceremonies during the nineteenth century purely through the lens of late twentieth century perceptions of educational marketing. That approach would undermine the enormous value of the primary sources that have provided us with accounts of these ceremonies. Early newspaper accounts of school ceremonies revealed that promotional activities underlined the strength of the intricate web of connections between private venture, corporate and government-supported schools in colonial South Australia. Knowledge about the presentation of ceremonies developed by teachers in private and subsequent corporate schools was adapted and taken up by public administrators and teachers to support the growth of the emerging system of government-supported education in the colony during the second half of the nineteenth century. The promotional activities of entrepreneurial licensed teachers under the Central Board of Education and subsequent Council of Education were extended under J.A. Hartley's administration of the Education Department. Accounts of school ceremonies in the South Australian press cast a beneficial glow over Hartley, his staff of inspectors, teachers and the political masters whom they served.

Educational promotion in colonial Australia revealed the links between the development of educational activities and the expansion of cultural consumption in the English-speaking world. Interest in cultural display influenced the manner in which educational promotion developed. There was an emphasis on particular elements of curricula and co-curricula activities that provided outlets for the exhibitionary complex, and opportunities for display and public performance. Some of the techniques used for the promotion of education also helped to extend the growth of colonial cultural activities.

Colonial newspaper proprietors provided outlets for entrepreneurs engaged in educational and cultural activities to publicise their work, and many of these entrepreneurs eagerly seized these promotional opportunities with both hands. Examination and prize ceremonies were special and important places on school calendars. School ceremonies highlighted the connections between educational promotion and the development of supportive and influential social networks for schools and classes. Educators were keenly aware that interest in local educational activities relied upon ongoing patronage and the cultivation of a positive reputation. School ceremonies actually helped to develop a civil colonial society.

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