

## **Sea Water and Scholarly Success? Private Venture Education for Boys and Male Entrepreneurship Along Adelaide's Coastline During the Victorian Era**

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### **Rediscovering Coastal Private Venture Schools in South Australia During the Victorian Era.**

Some of colonial Australia's private venture schools for girls have been the subject of very detailed academic studies (Reid). Private venture schools for boys in Victorian-age Australia have received relatively little attention (Ross). Scholars have covered schools where good records are available, such as in Diana Chessell's study of John Lorenzo Young's non-denominational boys school (1852-80), Reg Butler's book on the Lutheran Hahndorf Academy (1857-1912), and Bob Petersen's work on Way College (1892-1903), but many private school records no longer exist.

For many decades research related to these privately owned schools was based on the few remaining written and visual records held in private hands or acquired by state libraries and local history collections, as well as access to advertising and location entries in fragile copies of almanacs and directories held by public libraries. More original records of early government-supported schools and corporate schools have survived to the twenty-first century (Young *Presentation*). However, nineteenth-century newspapers provide us with different lenses to view the development of Australian education during the Victorian era (Young "More"). This article examines private venture schools for boys in South Australia, focussing on four such schools.

The original process of finding advertising and articles related to private venture schools for boys in colonial newspapers was an extremely taxing pursuit. Research undertaken before the start of the second decade of the twenty-first century relied on reviewing original print-on-paper copies and microfilmed copies of Victorian-era newspapers, a physically demanding process that could be rather hit and miss at times (Young *Presentation*). However, the digitisation of Australian newspapers, a major part of the National Library of Australia's Trove program, has been a game-changer. Australian researchers in academic, professional, community and genealogical history circles can now develop more sophisticated online keyword search strategies. Trove's digitised newspapers have surprised Australian researchers with previously overlooked information (Diaz). Nineteenth-century Australian newspapers can help researchers to rediscover our educational history and our understanding of connections between schools, physical landscapes, colonial cultural life and the ways that gender representations were defined.

### **South Australia: Schools, Locations and Water – Across the Sea, by the River, to the Coast.**

Newspaper advertising in South Australia underlined the importance of location for head-teachers during the Victorian era. The survival of a school in a nineteenth-century British colony could be influenced by the transport routes and communication links within a colony, or between colonies and Britain. The British colony of South Australia was unlike other Australian colonies because it was not founded with a formal program of direct convict transportation from Britain. South Australia's English migrants and visitors thought of this location as an English province rather than a colony. Local commentators regarded the

opening of local schools as a way to differentiate social life in South Australia from life in other convict-based colonies. Settlers in South Australia's capital of Adelaide considered other Australian colonies to be more unruly and coarse (Whitelock 107-108; Young, *Presentation* 72, 256-64).

Water was, of course, a vital element for early South Australian settlers. Whalers were operating along the South Australian coast before British settlers arrived in 1836. Migrants crossed the oceans to reach the colony, usually from Britain and Western Europe (Parsons, *Southern* 13-41, and *Migrant* 8-38). Migrants also crossed the seas from eastern Australian colonies to relocate to South Australia. (Young, *Presentation* 260) Early transport from some rural South Australian areas such as Mount Gambier in the south east of South Australia to Adelaide was easier by undertaking a coastal voyage. (Parsons, *Southern* 97-98, 179-187; SA Memory *Mount*). Boats on the River Murray became a vital means of moving passengers and agricultural goods (Parsons *Ships* 18-40; SA Memory, *The River*).

Colonial South Australia was praised as a settlement that enjoyed a drier, Mediterranean style of climate (Nottle 61-67, 96-105) and parts of the Adelaide coastline became popular for settlers who had health problems or who wanted a restorative holiday (Abell; Perry 64-65) The Victorian fear of respiratory illnesses and the overwhelming desire to avoid a decline due to consumption, or tuberculosis, became associated with commentary that regarded a 'change of air' as beneficial for patient comfort. Acceptance of the miasmatic theory of contagion meant that many colonists believed that damp, foul-smelling or stale air could result in the spread of infections. Victorian-era commentators suggested that a move to clean air in mountainous regions, by the seaside or a drier climate would provide physical ease, boost chances for better health and aid convalescence (Nottle 61-67, 96-105).

The surveying team responsible for setting up the South Australian capital considered a range of different locations across the colony, but ultimately decided to place the capital on the Adelaide plains. The final site selected for the capital was close to the coastline, so that shipping could find anchorage, and the Adelaide central square mile was placed next to the River Torrens, as a location next to a source of river water was regarded as desirable. However, water supply was also problematic for early settlers (Clarke 27-108). Port Adelaide, located on the Adelaide coastline and the Port River, became the chief anchorage point for Adelaide's shipping (Whitelock 49-50), but it also was also dubbed Port Misery due to early difficulties with mud and mangroves (Parsons, *Port* 3-41 and *Southern* 32-41). Water levels in the River Torrens fluctuated, so it could be a fragile water source during dry months. Sadly, many early colonists also used the river to dispose of materials that resulted in pollution. Winter months could bring new problems for early Adelaideans. Winter rains could result in roads that were difficult to traverse and cellars could flood. The crowded nature of parts of the central Adelaide square mile meant that colonists were confronted by foul water and odours associated with sewerage or animal remains from local processing businesses (Whitelock 74-75; Young, *Presentation* 266). Private venture schools for boys situated along the Adelaide coastline provided the advantages of fresh sea air (Young, *Presentation* 269).

### **The Private Venture School and Educational Entrepreneurs During the Victorian Age.**

What constituted a private venture school in colonial Australia? These schools were private educational businesses. The head teacher was a business proprietor who would hope to earn a living, provide a financial base for any dependent family members and, if possible, even earn a profit that could be used to sustain a comfortable living in old age, when teaching activities were no longer physically possible. Private venture schools were established by both men and

women. Some private venture schools were owned by one person and some were operated by a family group, such as siblings, a married couple, or a parent and one or more children. Some private venture schools were operated by a small partnership, usually consisting of two individuals. Private venture schools could be bought and sold. They could also be inherited or the role of head teacher could be passed from one family member to another. Private venture schools were moved from one location to another. Some head teachers opened, then closed and subsequently reopened one school after another in different locations. Private venture schools could be quite limited in scale and set up in small buildings, such as cottages. Private venture schools could be day schools where the pupils attended lessons during mornings through to early or mid-afternoon hours.

Some of these schools were also established as boarding schools and they were usually located in larger domestic residences, such as two storey mansions. Very few private venture schools in colonial South Australia were set up in places that had been specifically produced for educational purposes. When this did occur, it indicated the ambitions and finances of the school proprietor (Young, *Presentation* 120-22, 125).

Private venture schools were amongst the first schools in the South Australian education marketplace. However, South Australia was a competitive marketplace for individuals who sought teaching work. Male teachers competed with female teachers for the enrolment of very young boys. The head teachers in private venture schools competed for students with tutors and governesses who were prepared to teach children in their homes either by visiting students on a regular basis or by living with a student's family. The private venture school set up in a domestic residence could attempt to compete with education in a child's home by suggesting that the school was in a homely environment (Young, *Presentation* 290-94).

The earliest corporate schools for boys were on the Adelaide plains. The Collegiate School of St Peter or St. Peter's College was set up in 1847. Prince Alfred College was opened in 1869. However, private venture schools for boys had already opened in Adelaide's central business district, neighbouring villages across the Adelaide plains, the Adelaide hills and in regional agricultural and mining centres such as Gawler to the north of the capital of Adelaide, or as far south-east as Mount Gambier, close to the border with the eastern neighbouring colony of Victoria. Schools from eastern colonies advertised in South Australian newspapers for student enrolments. Given the uncertain nature of South Australia's colonial economy, some private venture school head teachers eventually applied for government support and were prepared to accept government inspections and reporting after the passing of a government ordinance in 1847 and the establishment of a public Central Board of Education (Young, *Presentation* 2-9, 126, 209).

Early male educational entrepreneurs had higher profiles than female educational entrepreneurs in South Australia's colonial public sphere (Young, *Presentation* 119, 121, 144-48). Entrepreneurs have always been defined as risk-takers. Setting up a private venture school in South Australia required the risk of stepping into the public spotlight and spending money for a school property, teachers and school resources in a colony with a boom-and-bust economy. To deal with risk, entrepreneurs embrace the role of promoter. Keeping private venture school doors open required promotion, either through private networks or by public means such as press advertising and school ceremonies.

Some of the teachers in Adelaide came to teaching work after trying other pursuits. Some left teaching work to seek success elsewhere. Some early male migrant teachers in Adelaide had obtained formal qualifications from tertiary institutions in Britain. However, as widespread opportunities to obtain tertiary teaching qualifications did not exist before the 1870s, some of

migrant male teachers in South Australia had only served a pupil-teacher apprenticeship, or entered educational circles as more subordinate classroom teachers outside South Australia's borders. Several male teachers in early South Australia took up teaching because it was a family pursuit. The model of teaching family formation typically relied upon a child as a pupil-teacher being mentored by a teacher-parent.

Newspaper coverage of private school proprietors also underlined the ways that they implied that their private schools were social gateways. Head-teachers with the support of important social circles drew upon those associations to highlight their influence. This coverage suggested that parents and students could cultivate links to prominent individuals and associational circles within seaside settlements or elsewhere in the colonial capital (Young, *Presentation* 417-21).

The ranks of male private venture school proprietors in colonial South Australia were filled with an assortment of men from a wide variety of backgrounds. South Australian colonists were aware of the spectre of poor-quality private venture schools depicted in Charles Dickens' stories, and the odds of a 'Wackford Squeers' surviving for a lengthy period were not positive (Young, *Presentation* 139). Some private venture school head-teachers were involved in more than one pursuit. Several Protestant ministers of religion combined parish duties with their own private venture school operations (Young "From"). A few private venture school head-teachers linked their school duties with careers as writers, producing either fiction, non-fiction or school texts (Young, *Presentation* 227-36).

Private venture school proprietors were cultural entrepreneurs (McKendrick 9-144; Plumb 265-315), because private venture schools provided curriculum options that were part of the cultural consumption of different forms of knowledge and skills. To survive in competitive school markets, they used newspaper advertising and coverage of special events to promote their willingness to teach subject selections and support co-curricular activities (Young, *Presentation* 117-39, 161). Colonial press coverage underlined the links between subject teaching and co-curricular activities for boys to Victorian era gender definitions of masculinity (Young, *Presentation* 348-52, 379-84).

The Classical curriculum, Western European languages as well as music and drawing were associated with the model of the Christian gentleman that had prevailed since the Renaissance. The model of the practical man was one who was competent to deal with arithmetic, mathematics and accountancy, plus science subjects and studies in surveying, mapping and related drawing skills. This was considered to be desirable for boys who were likely to enter business and construction activities. The practical man was deemed to be a desirable citizen within colonial British settler societies as he was perceived to be a cornerstone in the process of establishing new family fortunes, as well as a valuable contributor to the expansion of the colonial economy (Campbell "Adelaide"). Elocution lessons were important for the Christian gentleman and the practical man, especially if a family harboured aspirations for a son to participate in the professions or associational circles (Perry 102, 103; Young, *Presentation* 376). The increasing emphasis on co-curricular sports and military drill was linked to the rise of Muscular Christianity and desire for boys to cultivate self-discipline and esprit de corps (Campbell "Physical"). Sports and drill were also considered to be part of a pathway for boys to build physical resilience and robust health (Young, *Presentation* 348-52, 379-84).

### **Finding Birds of Passage by the Seaside. Edward Lindley Grundy and the Brighton Academy, John William Billiat and the Lancing School, Glenelg**

Women often ran private venture schools before or after periods of domestic activities within a family home (Young, *Presentation* 144-148, 151). Men were able to run their own private venture schools for lengthy periods, but many ran a private venture school for a relatively short time. A few of the men who set up private venture schools by the Adelaide coastline were, in effect, birds of passage who passed through the ranks of local head-teachers for a limited period.

Teaching was not a lifelong vocation for Edward Lindley Grundy. Grundy's private venture schools were part of a string of commercial pursuits during his lifetime. His schools preceded other business activities involving accountancy, auction sales, real estate and commercial agencies. Grundy is now remembered for his association with the *Gawler Bunyip*, a rural newspaper, as well as his involvement with local and colonial politics in Gawler (Young, *Presentation* 142).

One recent account of Edward Lindley Grundy's life suggests that he only ran one school in colonial South Australia, and this account notes that his school was on the Adelaide coast ("Edward Grundy"). However, advertising in the colonial South Australian press revealed that he ran at least two schools. Before he moved to Brighton on the coast, he set up the Adelaide Central Academy, next to the north west corner of Victoria Square in the heart of the Adelaide central square mile. Grundy prepared lengthy advertisements for his schools in the Adelaide press, and advertising for his Central Academy was printed at the start of the 1850s.

The Central Academy's advertising supplied an outline of his curriculum and his aims for student behaviour. Grundy did not promote any qualifications or experience teaching within a school of note outside or inside of South Australia. What he did promote was his experience as a tutor and his claim of a personal knowledge of educational requirements. He seemingly believed that he would be judged by his capacity to bring boys to manhood by fitting them to be Classically-trained gentlemen. Grundy promoted lessons in Latin and Greek, plus reading and writing skills with English grammar and composition. He highlighted his ability to alleviate any sense of hard grind created by dull, outmoded learning methods. He was also willing to supply more utilitarian offerings to set up boys to be practical men in a settler society. The emphasis on arithmetic, mathematics, geography, natural philosophy, natural history, astronomy, navigation, mapping and land surveying plus drawing were related to entry into commerce, land development and building work.

Grundy believed that the physical welfare of his students was important. Boys were able to eat breakfast in his academy. He also emphasised that his school in Adelaide would concentrate on cultivating the pupils' social behaviour and moral tone. His advertising underlined a belief that academic excellence could be undercut by vulgar manners and poor social attitudes. Empathy and consideration for others were important for social success.

Why did Grundy decide to leave Victoria Square and establish a seaside school by the mid-1850s? Perhaps the seeds for this change were sown with his first selection of a site in Adelaide. His advertising noted that his Adelaide school was adjacent to the newly constructed central Post Office building, so he was next to Adelaide's emerging official administrative hub, with important flows of horse drawn vehicles and pedestrian traffic. This central location may have been convenient for parents who had business in Adelaide, but it would also restrict student activities outdoors. While he was promoting the Victoria Square

school, the Adelaide press was carrying advertising for the expansion of property occupancies in Brighton ("Advertising" *Adelaide Times* 3 December 1850).

Newspaper coverage revealed that his decision to move to the coast was also taken at the urging of friends who wanted him to set up a seaside boarding school. Other sites on Holdfast Bay were considered as well as Brighton. The site for his new school, Brighton Academy, was close to a hotel, and consisted of a sizable building plus a garden and playground. Grundy promoted the advantages of water and hygiene in two ways. In 1855 he noted that a lady had charge of domestic procedures in the school, and there was a fee for student laundry work of washing and mending ("Advertising" *Adelaide Times* 10 January 1855). By 1856, Grundy used his advertising to note that his school was at the southern end of the Brighton coastline and a brief walk to the beach and the sea (*South Australian Register* 14 January 1856: 1).

Grundy's new school only accepted boarders ("Advertising" *Adelaide Times* 10 January 1855). He advertised a curriculum that included literacy studies with spelling, reading and writing, as well as English grammar, composition, plus Latin, geography, history and drawing. Grundy stressed a concern about the development of his pupils' moral development and encouraged family links by offering a reduction in fees if more than one son from a family was enrolled.

Despite these promotional activities, Grundy began to entertain ideas about other commercial pursuits while he was running the school ("DOMESTIC"; "Advertising" *Adelaide Observer*). By 1857 he was lodging advertising for a land and house agency in Brighton. The agency focused on property sales and leases, land surveys, building plans, building specifications, building contracts, property agreements, as well as wills ("Advertising" *Adelaide Times* 14 December 1857). Eventually he abandoned teaching and left for Gawler (Young, *Presentation* 142-43).

Like Grundy, John William Billiat did not spend the main portion of his life in school classrooms. We can trace some aspects of his life in South Australia through digitised newspapers, but his life has also been chronicled by a prominent South Australian, Shirley Cameron Wilson (2006). Billiat was born in 1842 in England. He initially arrived in South Australia in 1861. In 1873, he brought his family back to South Australia. He set up his private venture school by leveraging knowledge of his early Australian experiences as an explorer with John McDouall Stuart to overcome an important reversal with a later migration scheme to Paraguay. He opened the Lancing School at Glenelg, which he kept open until his family's return to England in 1889. J.W. Billiat abandoned teaching and remained in England. He died in 1919 (Wilson 71-182).

Billiat eventually found a school site to maximise the advantages of a seaside location, while still avoiding coastal problems with water. Seaside areas west of Adelaide were prone to flooding until the mid-1930s. ("Torrens"). Billiat was able to obtain access to Government Cottage, which had been originally constructed as a Customs House. It was subsequently a summer home for the colony's governor. Billiat leased the residence from 1883 to 1890. When he returned to England, the property was then leased to one of his chief competitors, Frederick Caterer, who used it for his school between 1890 to 1893. The model of the coastal private venture school for boys survived into the first half of the twentieth century as Government Cottage was leased by W.K. Smart from 1905 for his school for boys ("HISTORY").

By choosing to name his Glenelg school after Lancing College in England, Billiatt wanted to highlight his own childhood link to an elite English educational institution (Wilson 163-64; Young, *Presentation* 268). Opening his school in Glenelg did not prove to be a transition to a completely carefree new existence (Wilson 164, 166, 177-178). At one stage during the 1870s, advertising in the Adelaide press revealed that Billiatt was competing in Glenelg against two dedicated private venture teacher-proprietors to be discussed further on: John Mordey Mitchell and Frederick Caterer, mentioned above. (“Advertising” *South Australian Register* 17 January 1878). However, the press revealed that Billiatt was supported by Reverend James Pollitt, who was prepared to examine Lancing School pupils in 1880. Pollitt was a Church of England minister in the Adelaide central square mile (“LANCING”). Pollitt had also gained experience as a private venture school teacher (Young, “From” 81-83).

A newspaper description of Billiatt’s student prizes underlined the importance of good student conduct. Billiat was prepared to provide students with gymnastics and military drill (“LANCING”). This emphasis on structured physical exercise and drill may well have been linked to his background as an explorer. However, newspapers showed that Billiatt’s decision to work by the sea enabled him to pursue an extra physical activity as a yachtsman in the Holdfast Bay Yacht and Boat Club. This fitted the emphasis on a positive male identity with self-discipline through structured physical activity plus group loyalty through organised male exercise and team activities (“THE COMING”).

The Adelaide press highlighted the social prominence of Billiatt’s supporters and only printed brief notes on Billiat’s student prize winners. Reference was made to student homework, neatness and examinations, suggesting a rigorous approach to teaching. English language skills were important, as achievements in essay writing, recitations plus a command of the French language were acknowledged. (“LANCING”) Billiatt’s interest in literacy was also underlined by newspaper coverage of his involvement in another part of coastal associational circles, the Glenelg Literary Association (“Latest”). The impression gained was that Billiatt’s students were being provided with the confidence to communicate effectively when they eventually entered adult social circles. Despite these newspaper reports, Billiatt’s hold on students from prosperous backgrounds was not assured. A family could easily choose to transfer their son to a corporate school for boys in Adelaide, located closer to the centre of the city (“PERSONAL”). On the other hand, Glenelg had developed markedly over the century, with its harbour, Holdfast Bay, serving as a major port into the 1870s and 1880s, and early on the settlement had attracted prominent and wealthy families who established recreational and summer residences there (Perry). These circumstances are relevant also to the careers of the other two venture school proprietors to be discussed.

### **Lifers Holding Fast Along the Coast. John Mordey Mitchell and the Glenelg Educational Institution, Frederick Caterer and Glenelg Grammar School**

Given the tumultuous nature of the local colonial economy, dedication to teaching work was valuable for survival. Unlike Grundy and Billiatt, John Mordey Mitchell and Frederick Caterer devoted most of their lives to teaching work. Mitchell’s attempt to run a private venture school for boys in Glenelg ultimately failed, but he remained in teaching circles. Frederick Caterer came from a teaching family, and his high-profile private venture school lasted for many years. Family dependants increased the need for school success, but family links also provided support with school management.

John Mordey Mitchell clearly regarded his decision to run a school in Glenelg as a positive. He enjoyed an outdoor lifestyle as he was involved in local regattas and rifle shooting during the late 1850s ("Classified"). His Glenelg Educational Institute on Holdfast Bay was promoted during the early 1860s ("The Weekly"). In 1869 he advertised another school, the Magill Educational Institution, which was probably part of the area near Adelaide's eastern foothills ("Advertising" *The Express*), but he reverted to life and work in Glenelg by the mid-1870s, and once again there was press advertising for his Glenelg Educational Institute ("Advertising" *Evening*). The fact that Mitchell was prepared to spend money on advertising his Glenelg school in the South Australian rural press underlined his desire to boost boarding student numbers. His rural advertising stressed his school's seaside location ("Advertising" *The Mount*). Press coverage noted that Mitchell ensured that there was playground space ("No title") and, like Billiatt, he believed that drill instruction was beneficial (Perry 104). Like Billiatt and Caterer, Mitchell was also prepared to move his school to different sites in Glenelg. During the early 1860s his school was located on a property of five acres of land with two cottages. He subsequently relocated his school to a larger residence. (Perry 104-105)

Press coverage of a prize ceremony for Mitchell's pupils stressed their public speaking skills, as well as their capacity to cope with examination processes ("No title"). In addition to providing his students with elocution lessons ("The Weekly"), press coverage of his students receiving prizes revealed that his students were taught the classics, mathematics, and drawing. ("ST. PETER'S"). Advertising showed that Mitchell was prepared to engage the services of specialist teachers and provide instruction in languages other than English, such as German ("Advertising" *South Australian Register* 14 January 1864).

Mitchell's Glenelg Educational Institution failed shortly after the death of his wife in 1884. ("Family Notices"). Given that she had been mentioned in the press as a supportive presence, her death must have been a significant loss. ("No title"; Perry 105) Creditors then moved in to deliver the final blow to Mitchell and his Glenelg school ("Meeting of Creditors"). Mitchell had supporters in the Glenelg area ("OUR"), but the closure of his school must have been a crushing blow as he had previously moved in elite social circles in Adelaide. ("ANNIVERSARY"). After the demise of his Glenelg school, Mitchell stepped back from a high-profile leadership role to work as a teacher in another non-government school for boys, Hahndorf College in the Adelaide hills ("OUR"), and then he taught in a smaller government school in the rural north of South Australia ("The State").

Frederick Caterer was born in 1840. He initially established his seaside school under the title of Glenelg Academy, then renamed it Glenelg Grammar School. His death in 1892 was premature. He went missing and at the end of days of searching, his body was found exposed to the elements in Semaphore, another of Adelaide's beachside areas. Press coverage of Frederick Caterer's death suggested that he had been dealing with a range of challenges, including issues with student enrolments, as well as personal financial and health problems ("Advertising" *South Australian Register* 6 January 1871; Obituaries). However, if one of the ways of measuring the success of a private venture school is discovering whether it survived in some form after the proprietor was no longer present, then his Glenelg Grammar School did not fail. The identity of his school was carried forward by others during the early twentieth century ("GLENELG GRAMMAR SCHOOL" *The Register* 21 December, 1906).

Frederick Caterer came from one of early Adelaide's most important teaching families. Thomas and Frederick Caterer were brothers who migrated from England and both became private venture school proprietors on the Adelaide plains and along the Adelaide coastline. At



one stage Frederick, who was younger than Thomas, worked in one of his brother's schools before branching out on his own. Thomas and Frederick were the sons of Isaac Caterer, who left teaching work to enter the Congregationalist ministry. The teaching family tradition included female relatives in the Caterer family and then Thomas Ainslie Caterer, who had been educated by his father Thomas (Perry 101; Young, *Presentation* 137-39).

Grundy, Billiat and Mitchell clearly believed that newspaper coverage of their teaching activities was valuable, but Frederick Caterer's Glenelg school filled even more newspaper space. Student ceremonies were described in the press with details of the presentation of prizes to students and the participation of school supporters in the prize giving process. Accounts of these prize ceremonies provided lists of successful students and overviews of how classes were structured as well as curriculum offerings. These descriptions also included outlines of various ceremonial activities such as the mounting of the displays of mapping and pages of text plus art works and details of musical performances to stress the inclusion of additional teaching for cultural capital through the visual arts and music.

Frederick Caterer followed the practice adopted by other private venture head teachers by offering subjects that matched the masculine model of the Christian gentleman or subjects that suited the masculine model of the practical man. He promoted sound teaching from lessons in literacy and numeracy and lessons in science. He also promoted his capacity to prepare boys for entry into business and administrative circles, but with the advent of the University of Adelaide, he was prepared to adapt his school's teaching programme (Perry 101-102; Young, *Presentation* 209). Press coverage of the school prize ceremony was also used to highlight the success of his former Glenelg students in senior examination schemes. This implied that the school served as an appropriate gateway for tertiary studies. He also claimed that he had developed a teaching program designed to prepare students for further studies without cramming ("Glenelg Grammar School." *Evening Journal* 20 December 1884; see also *South Australian Register* 17 December 1886 and 21 December 1888).

Various factors contributed to Glenelg Grammar School, notably the Caterer family's strong allegiance to Congregational worship, in a settlement where that denomination was especially strong and many members were committed to intellectual pursuits (AdelaideAZ "Charles Manthorpe"; AdelaideAZ "Thomas and Frederick"). Other factors included Frederick Caterer's commitment to student well-being, school sports, and his school's seaside location, with access to spaces for different sports. Press coverage of Frederick Caterer's school included accounts of swimming matches ("SWIMMING MATCHES") and the school's athletic sports competitions, the last of which were held on Glenelg's Colley's Reserve and accompanied by brass band music. Glenelg Grammar had a pitch for cricket ("GLENELG GRAMMAR SCHOOL." *Evening Journal* 20 December 1884; "GLENELG GRAMMAR SCHOOL ATHLETIC SPORTS."). Glenelg Grammar School's football matches against other school teams were played in Glenelg ("FOOTBALL." *South Australian Register* 14 June 1882) and elsewhere on the Adelaide plains. Glenelg Grammar School fielded a football team in a match played against Norwood Grammar School headed by Frederick's brother Thomas ("Football." *Evening Journal* 18 June 1881).

Frederick Caterer was supported by prominent social networks. The names of local politicians and students' family names listed at Frederick Caterer's ceremonies indicated the social circles that prospective students and their parents could enter by securing an enrolment in the school. Descriptions of the behaviour of the students during these ceremonies also suggested that enrolment in the school would provide a boy with more than subject knowledge and skills. Commentary pointed to the behaviour of students being so creditable that the school could fit them to be hard working, honourable men with good social manners

and positive moral attitudes. Caterer promoted the expectation that boys who attended his school would become social leaders ("Glenelg Grammar School." *Evening Journal* 20 December 1884; see also *South Australian Register* 17 December 1886 and 21 December 1888).

Seaside schools were promoted as an unspoken contrast to other school locations on Adelaide plains, especially those in and around some parts of the central Adelaide square mile. The underlying theme was that a school located in Glenelg avoided the perils of the miasmatic theory of contagion. The difference between the promotion of seaside schools such as Glenelg Grammar School and other private venture schools for boys situated away from the Adelaide coastline was related to the promotion of swimming, sporting activities and school grounds that permitted outside exercise, presumably with the advantages of fresh sea air. Frederick Caterer was also prepared to move his school premises to different places in Glenelg, so that he could enhance the physical location on offer to students ("Advertising" *South Australian Register* 29 March 1881; Obituaries).

### **Conclusion.**

Historians need to be conscious of physical location and elements such as water as major factors in the establishment of a school during the Victorian era. Digitised newspapers from the Victorian era can now provide much better access to information about educational entrepreneurship, school promotion, private venture schools and the connections between schools and natural or man-made physical locations. Digitised newspapers can also help researchers to trace links between schools, social networks, cultural capital, gender identities and teachers' reputations.

The male proprietor of a private venture school during the Victorian era was an entrepreneurial risk-taker and promoter. Colonial South Australia's educational entrepreneurs had to survive through boom-and-bust economic cycles. Some seaside private venture school owners were 'birds of passage' or temporary 'wayfarers'. Others were 'lifers', who dedicated themselves to classroom work. The private venture school by the sea devoted to shaping boys to become Christian gentlemen or practical men bore similarities to a private venture school situated away from seaside areas. However, private venture schools for boys by the sea could provide fresh sea air, access to clean water for personal hygiene, seaside walks and swimming as well as coastal space for outdoor sports or drill exercises related to the gender definition of the Muscular Christian gentleman.

Colonial boys' schools promised to produce knowledgeable, skilled pupils capable of eventually dealing with the spotlight of the associational world in the public sphere, enhancing family success and contributing to the growth of a settler society. Newspaper coverage of private venture schools for boys by Adelaide's coastline also implied that growing up surrounded by sea air and near sea water would mean that a boy would approach manhood with a healthy constitution combined with physical self-discipline and a sense of esprit-de-corps. A robust, resilient son was vital for family fortunes during the Victorian era. Press promotion for a school's seaside location had a market edge before today's advanced pharmaceuticals and public health systems.

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