'I believe in fair and bonny play': David H. Drummond and State-aid: 1930–1962

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This paper analyses the impact of pressure group activity on policy formulation regarding the introduction of State-aid to independent schools in Australia. Both Catholic and Protestant pressure groups targeted D. H. Drummond, Minister of Education in New South Wales, over this issue. In response to pressure group influence, he changed his stance on State-aid to religious schools between the 1920s and 1960s. In turn, Drummond influenced the State-aid debate and indirectly placed pressure on Menzies' Liberal-Country Party coalition Government to initiate State-aid through the political arena and behind the scenes with his network of friends in New South Wales.

Introduction

One of the most divisive issues in the history of Australian education has been that of State-aid to non-State schools. The controversy was fought during the nineteenth century on the basis of moral principle and religious conviction, and during the twentieth on the grounds of political expediency and to a lesser extent sectarian prejudice. During the 1950s and 1960s State education departments in Australia were confronted with an education crisis created by rising levels of immigration, a growing birthrate, a higher school leaving age and an accelerating tendency of young people to remain at school resulting in a serious shortage of teachers, classrooms and other essential facilities. Consequently an increasing share of the resources of the States were being allotted to education. Smart claims that: 'increasingly, pressure groups and the public looked to the relatively affluent federal government to contribute to the solution to this "crisis" by the provision of federal aid to schools'.[1] The non-State school sector of the Australian community experienced to a greater extent than the State schools the problems of the 'education crisis'.

This paper analyses the impact of pressure group activity on policy formulation regarding the introduction of State-aid to independent schools in Australia. Both Catholic and Protestant pressure groups targeted David H. Drummond, long-serving Minister of Education in New South Wales, over this issue. In response to this pressure group influence, Drummond changed his stance on the issue of State-aid to religious schools between the 1920s and 1960s. In turn, Drummond influenced the State-aid debate and indirectly placed pressure on Prime Minister Robert Menzies' Liberal-Country Party coalition Government to initiate State-aid through the political arena and privately behind the scenes with his network of friends and acquaintances in New South Wales.

Drummond, the son of an immigrant Scottish stonemason, was born in Sydney in 1890 and educated briefly at Scots College. He worked as a share-farmer in the New England area before entering politics. A foundation member of the Australian Country Party (ACP), he entered the New South Wales Legislative Assembly in 1920 at the age of thirty. He held the seat of Armidale for twenty-two years. Being the most junior member of the prospective Cabinet when his party came to power in 1927, Drummond was given the least glamorous and least politically significant area: that of education. He claimed to have been allowed 'an open go' in the portfolio. From October 1927 to November 1930 and again from May 1932 to May 1941, he served in five ministries: one term under Bavin, three under the Stevens-Bruxner coalition and finally in the Mair-Bruxner coalition. He remained the state member for Armidale until 1949, when he won the Federal seat of New England. He retired from politics in 1963.

Drummond was deeply interested in education and often wrote on educational matters. As Minister, he believed that he: 'should be in control of his department, but he went a step further and sought to steer the State along a route corresponding to his own ideas'. Drummond soon became widely known 'as the most active, interventionist Minister for Education in any Australian education department'. He was the first Minister in Australian politics to promote education to a position of prominence at the Cabinet level, and by taking such a stance, he attracted considerable attention from pressure groups.

The influences of pressure groups on Australian politics can be seen in a variety of ways, including proposed, lapsed, amended and re-introduced legislation, changed regulations and restated policies. In this context, the debate over State-aid to religious schools in New South Wales between 1920 and 1965 displays a three-phase pattern of interaction between pressure groups and the political system. Those phases, which occurred sequentially, were confrontation, consultation and cooperation. Drummond's personal and ministerial papers are replete with examples of these interactions.

Confrontation occurred between pressure groups seeking to persuade the government to implement change to the education system (in this case the Catholic hierarchy and school educators) and those wishing to retain the status quo (State School educators, Teachers' Unions, Protestant religious leaders and Independent school educators). When groups realised that constructive policy change could not be achieved through altercation the diametrical opposition of confrontation was not sustained but gave way to consultation between the opposing sides in an effort to reduce differences and to draw up an acceptable policy proposal. The transition from consultation to cooperation occurred when the policy was hammered out and all sides worked towards gaining community acceptance and hence its implementation. The history of the introduction of State-aid to independent schools in Australia supports the view that there is a correlation between pressure group success and concurrence with the ideological fabric of society. Pressure groups that frame their demands in terms of the social value system seem to be more successful in achieving their goals than those that run counter to it. Pressure group theorist David Easton, for example, recognised that not all pressure groups demands were of equal importance and that a system could not cope with the sheer volume or demands arising in the social environment. The input of demands is regulated firstly by many wants never reaching the stage of being voiced as demands, secondly by their reduction even further through combination, modification or elimination. Very important in this regulative process is ideology or what Easton refers to as 'the cultural norms that inhibit or promote conversion'.

Confrontation: Drummond's involvement with State-aid

Drummond's first serious consideration of the State-aid issue began when Premier B. S. Stevens requested that he investigate the issue in response to requests from Catholics for aid for their schools in the late 1920s. The issue was politicised in November 1934 when the Catholic hierarchy 'demanded' that the Premier reply to their request for aid in April of the same year. They informed him that the Leader of the Opposition had replied in a kind and courteous manner to their request and warned Stevens that they would:

> exercise their duty of directing the people under [their] spiritual guidance ... to refrain as a matter of conscience from voting for any candidate ... who does not positively promise ... to remedy the educational injustices which the Catholic tax-payers of New South Wales have suffered for over fifty years.

As the political head of the Education Department, the Catholic hierarchy regularly approached Drummond on this matter. The interaction

between Catholics and the Government at this time illustrates the way that pressure groups can apply pressure on the legislature by trying to influence the outcome of elections and by pressing their causes on cabinet ministers.

The following year, the Lang Labor Party placed the issue of State-aid on the political agenda by promising to make subsidies available to denominational schools if given the mandate to do so. Lang's kite flying was in response to the complaint of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Macrory. As he departed Sydney in January 1935 Macrory lamented that the treatment Australian Catholics received in regard to government finance for education was 'deplorable' and claimed that 'Catholics are in a very bad way in Australia in this matter'.

There was strong opposition to the approaches of the Catholic hierarchy both from within the Cabinet and the press. The editor of the *Armidale Express*, a prominent newspaper in Drummond's own electorate, reported that Lang's attempt to win power by 'unfurling the banner of "Subsidies for Denominational Schools" ... would involve the scrapping of the State educational system, a revolutionary move that would unquestionably divide the community'. Catholics were warned not to become pawns in a political game by a Party that sneered at religion and had within its constitution 'ideals' that would convert the country to Sovietism, where Christianity and churches were anathema. In the face of this political agitation, the Premier again called on Drummond to supply a report.

Drummond expressed admiration for the sacrifices that the Catholic community made in educating their children, but he argued against State-aid on economic and historical grounds. He highlighted the confusion that existed during the previous century where the dual system of control had resulted in bad accommodation, low quality of teaching staff, inefficiency and general economic wastefulness. Using historical examples, he claimed that the State could not economically assist both the Church and State schools in a young country, with huge expanses and a scattered population. Also he was convinced that to comply with their wishes would merely 'blow to flame the dying embers of sectarianism' and divide those forces in the State which were united against Communism. By employing historical and anti-communistic arguments Drummond and the Government avoided the difficult economic-political-sectarian issues.

In Drummond's mind there was one possible solution to the controversy. The community needed to accept that the school system should be divided into two sectors consisting of the Catholic schools and the existing State schools to be considered as Protestant schools. Drummond reiterated his position when he responded to arguments put to him by a leading Catholic educator, Reverend Father Thompson. Thompson pressed Drummond by arguing that parents had a primary right to educate

their children as they considered best for them. Drummond left Thompson in no doubt that 'the State would never again commit itself to the policy of State-aid to denominational schools' for 'to return to the days of sectarian bitterness and inefficiency is quite unthinkable'.

While Catholics pressed Drummond in the political arena, privately he was respected by the State's leading Catholics. They could not but be pleased with his fight in the mid-1930s to ensure that the third year Intermediate Certificate Examination was not abolished and a fourth year added to the post-primary years. He appreciated that these changes would have been an impossible burden for the small struggling Catholic post-primary sector. He ensured that their concerns were not ignored in any proposed examination or curriculum changes by allowing them representation on the Wallace Committee of 1933 and the newly established Board of Secondary School Studies in 1937.

Leading Protestant Churchmen also pressed Drummond on the State-aid issue. After receiving lengthy correspondence from Dr R. G. Macintyre of the Presbyterian Church, he sharpened his arguments. Macintyre argued that the State educated not in *loco parentis* but in its own interests. He believed that 'taxes are paid not as Protestants or Catholics but as citizens. The State is not bound to, nor I think entitled to, provide religious training.' Drummond warmed to Macintyre's arguments.

Under the constant pressure of debate from various Protestant Church representatives, he used Macintyre's arguments to urge the Anglicans, the largest religious community in the State, to use their 'outstanding influence to gather the other Protestant Communions together for the purposes of bringing them into agreement' on the issue. Drummond feared that unless the Government made a move, the elections over the next 15 to 20 years would be fought not on economic or political issues, but on 'either obvious or hidden sectarian issues'. At this time, the Anglican Bishop of Goulburn, the Right Reverend E. H. Burgmann was pressing Drummond to solve the debate. The Bishop promised to take Drummond's proposal to a meeting of provincial bishops in July, 1937. Burgmann reminded Drummond that the Anglicans wanted the education system to assist national unity.

Drummond established a warm friendship with Burgmann who, in 1941 wrote, 'Please never pass through Goulburn without calling in. Our past happy relationship is not at all related to, or affected by, changing governments'. Drummond viewed Burgmann as a radical who was keenly interested in social issues and well able to assist with educational innovation. But ultimately Drummond was disappointed with Burgmann's efforts, as he failed to unify his constituency on the issue.

Consultation: Drummond's change of attitude: 1940s and 1950s.

Ironically, it was the Protestants rather than the Catholics who reactivated the State-aid issue during the War, though the question was never far from the minds of the Catholic hierarchy or long suffering Catholic parents. In March, 1941, Drummond received a deputation led by the Anglican Archbishop that advocated that tax-payers' money should be used to teach religion in State schools. The fear of Nazism and Communism and the disastrous nature of the war effort played upon the minds of these leaders. The Anglicans had been encouraged by Drummond's recent statements on the value of the non-State schools and the importance of religion at the laying of a Foundation stone at the Armidale Presbyterian Ladies College (PLC). When Gilroy, the Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, was informed of the Anglican deputation, he also requested an interview and attacked Drummond over the lack of State funds to Catholic schools. Drummond was troubled by the Archbishop's attack, for he believed that his Armidale speech had been a positive one.

It would seem that following this encounter, Drummond began to moderate his stance against the Catholic claim. He realised that his Armidale PLC address contained inconsistencies. He had emphasised that non-State education was vital to the well being of the Nation and that schools were a necessary bulwark against supposed Communist threats, yet the State was not prepared to help with the cost of such a valuable asset. The Catholic pressure led by Gilroy tipped the balance. Slowly, Drummond became a committed and determined supporter of the case for State-aid.

In July of 1956, when Menzies promised Federal aid on the interest paid on capital loans by Independent schools in the Australian Capital Territory, the State-aid issue was brought to the political stage one again. Drummond received letters from all over Australia. Now a Federal MHR, he became the ACP spokesperson on the issue and accepted the task of answering the letters of all party members. Protestant leaders pressed Drummond with the view that the issue was now of such national importance that it should be decided by Parliament, not by Cabinet. They would have been alarmed to discover that the Australian Capital Territory initiative was basically Menzies' alone and that his close personal friend E. O'Brien, the Catholic Archbishop of Canberra-Goulburn, had made representations to Menzies.

The Victorian Methodist Conference's Standing Committee on Education wrote Drummond that; 'it is wrong in principle for public money to be allocated for denominational purposes ... the policy of the Methodist Church is one of continued opposition to direct grants to all Church Schools'. They believed the Australian Capital Territory concession would 'be a fulcrum, used to squeeze further concessions' by Catholics. Not surprisingly, Drummond received no Catholic correspondence. They knew

they were winning the battle in Canberra, if not the war. Pressure groups that frame their demands in terms of the social value system seem to be more successful in achieving their goals than those that run counter to it.

Catholics fell into this category because of their stand against Communism. Drummond repeatedly argued that the regimentation and uniformity of education was the prime weapon of tyrants and dictators and that Australia was singularly vulnerable to such trends because of its intensely centralised system of State education.

From the mid-1950s Drummond wearied of the debate and began to send correspondents standard letters he had developed on State-aid. All he changed were the title and a new introduction to fit each new situation. In the 1930s–1940s, he had invited reaction to his arguments, but now he ignored the familiar Protestant arguments. In particular, he rejected the argument that if Catholics chose to educate children outside the State system they should do so at their own expense. From this time, Drummond began to seek out persons who would aid him to press for the introduction of State-aid.

Cooperation: Influence of the Catholic case: 1960s

After the 1956 Canberra initiative, Drummond became aware of the political advantage to be gained from the State-aid issue. He realised that Menzies would eventually give direct aid to non-State schools. Menzies had received a political shock when the Australian Labor Party (ALP) included educational issues in its platform, and came within one seat of deadlocking the Federal Parliament at the December 1961 elections. Further, the Democratic Labor Party was also able to win votes on the issue, so Drummond, fully aware of the crisis in all sectors of Australian education, ensured that State-aid was placed on the agenda of the ACP Annual Conference in readiness for the 1962 New South Wales State elections.

By now, Drummond had stopped debating the issue; his mind was firmly set, and he now endeavoured to win support in the wider community for his position. He realised that the 'bet of the day' was to gain support from within the ranks of Catholicism. The Anglicans had rejected his radical offer of leadership on the scheme to divide the State's schools into two parallel systems. Burgmann was very hospitable, but as the Anglican Archbishop of Goulburn, he did not have sufficient influence or the desire to fight for aid for denominational schools, so Drummond began to work with leading Catholics behind the scenes. O'Brien, the Archbishop of Canberra and Goulburn directed him to Bishop James Carroll, a Catholic Canon lawyer in Sydney. Carroll was a strong advocate of State-aid, but he supported the ALP. In June 1961, Drummond arranged to meet him privately at the Presbytery in Bondi Junction rather than at St. Mary's Cathedral in the city.

The meeting was highly successful.

Drummond was concerned initially at the rising level of Protestant opposition as evidenced by the reports appearing in the Sydney press. During 1961, *The Sydney Morning Herald* was alight with letters on the issue. Two of them were Drummond's own. While repeating the arguments he had used over the previous decades, he now began to highlight a 'fair go' argument together with his anti-Communist drive. Drummond attacked the unfairness of the policy of 'pay for ours and your own as well'. Carroll was pleased with the press coverage. The issue was receiving a public airing, and it indicated that the Protestant hierarchy and ministers appeared to be giving up the fight. Leading Catholics were also well pleased with Drummond's public stance and his behind-the-scenes encouragement.

Drummond visited Carroll over the Christmas period of 1961 to discuss the various forms that State-aid might take. They discussed an increase in bursaries, the financing of new buildings and building maintenance and the introduction of bonds for trainee teachers to teach in non-State schools. The relationship was perceived to be beneficial to both parties. But early in the next year it was discovered that the Catholics in the Lismore area were supporting the ALP candidate in the March 1962 State elections. Drummond was concerned that the ACP was not gaining the widespread political support from the Catholic community he had hoped. Carroll brought the situation to the notice of various parish priests.

Drummond was pleased with Carroll's assessment that his Party emerged from the recent controversy in the press in a positive light while the ALP and the Liberals had run for cover in the face of the press coverage. The criticism by the Protestant churchmen fell rather flat. The Anglicans, in particular, appeared to be in disarray. Carroll assured the troubled Drummond that he would gain support for his Party, though time was needed for the legitimacy of the case to be understood by the people. Moreover the Catholic community would take time to accept that the ACP was serious about federal aid.

Carroll had taken Drummond's advice on the need to fight the issue on the basis of 'a fair go'. Carroll instructed the Catholic hierarchy to drop expressions like 'rights, justice, equality' and to present the case on the basis of current needs, educational standards, and 'a fair go'. Drummond encouraged Carroll to continue to assist in educating the public mind on the issue. Carroll was swift to assist Drummond and spoke on aid to Church school parents at the opening of a new school in the outer Sydney suburb of Seven Hills in February of 1962. This address was featured as the lead story in the *Catholic Weekly*. Carroll rhetorically answered the question; 'Why is the Dual system more in accord with the Australian democratic way of life than a monolithic system controlled at every point by the State?'. The

speech gained Drummond's approval. While the editorial noted that the ACP had publicly stated that it was in favour of the reimbursement of interest paid on building capital, the visits and correspondence between Carroll and Drummond were, of course, not acknowledged. The editorial claimed that 'anyone with the slightest knowledge of the Catholic Church knows that the bishops cannot and will not regiment the votes of Catholics and hand them as a bribe to any political party'. Drummond was delighted with the campaign, and praised Carroll for Catholic restraint over the issue, particularly among radical elements. The Drummond-Carroll partnership dovetailed due to their fight to ensure that the danger of a regimented system of state education disappeared and that the smouldering sectarian resentment of a large proportion of the Australian people dissipated.

Drummond was subsequently disappointed with the result of the 1962 State elections. The assistance he expected from the Catholic vote failed to materialise. He confessed to Carroll that there were even some ACP politicians who thought that the aid issue had cost them votes. Counter to this position was the assessment that those who were responsible for ensuring that the issue became ACP policy performed well in the election. The political gamble failed for Drummond. On the other hand, the Catholics were successful in that aid to non-State schools became inevitable. Notwithstanding these results, Drummond told Carroll that while he wished to retire from the Federal parliament before the next elections, he intended 'to draw attention in unequivocal terms to the increasingly onerous and unfair burden the Independent Schools are being called on to bear'.

Carroll and Drummond received a rude shock at the events of the Goulburn lockout in the Catholic school system in July 1962. Carroll tried to defuse the issue. He rang Bishop John Cullinane of Goulburn advising him to reverse his stance, but Cullinane told Carroll to mind his own business.

Both Drummond and Carroll underestimated the intensity of the Protestant opposition. A minority of vocal Protestant clergy continued to argue strongly against Drummond's case. They used their influence wherever they saw an opportunity. H MacNeil Saunders, an old friend of Drummond, having been the Presbyterian Minister in Armidale over a number of years, represented the Council of Churches in New South Wales, which included the Anglicans, Baptists, Churches of Christ, Congregational, Methodists, Presbyterian, Free Presbyterian and the Salvation Army. He was troubled by the effect of the debate: 'it is all the more grieving that the issue fostered by the Roman Catholics has erected a difference between us'. He was forthright in his anti-aid stance: 'on the gravest principles of conscience, I could never agree that such support is justified or advisable, to do so would mean an uprooting of the foundations of my faith, and a denial of the history on

which our society rests'. He claimed that the pressure was coming from one source and one source only: the Catholics. He strongly opposed Drummond's belief that the strengthening of the non-State education sector would assist the anti-Communism fight. He claimed that 'Communism is strong in those lands where religious bodies have controlled education for centuries'. He hoped it was not too late for Drummond's party to change its stance.

After the 1962 State elections, MacNeil Saunders wrote that he was 'deeply grieved' to have to warn Drummond again that any government that tried to change the scheme of co-operation between the State and the Churches would suffer the consequences. Drummond replied courteously to MacNeil Saunders and included his standard letter. It made an impression, and MacNeil Saunders wrote a warm reply, much subdued in tone. Drummond seems to have had the art of calling on old friendships and defusing disagreements with a common touch. His insistence that he would not debate on sectarian grounds, insisting instead on a fair go for Catholics, was a masterstroke; it removed the strongest argument the Protestants possessed.

In spite of MacNeil Saunders' deep-seated concerns, the Protestants were not as united as his fellow ministers wished to believe. A number believed that prejudices against State-aid to Catholic schools needed to be overthrown. For example, Alan Dougan, the former Moderator-General of the Presbyterian Church, prior to the State elections stated that all prejudices against Church schools should be 'thrown away'. Dougan believed that great benefit to society would eventuate from a variety of Denominational, Independent and State schools.

At the close of his Federal Parliamentary career Drummond made two major speeches on the issue in the House of Representatives. He had wearied of the State-aid issue, and his retirement was approaching. Nevertheless, he gained satisfaction from the fact that he was obviously winning not only the battle but also the war. In the budget speech of 1962–63, Drummond called for a Committee of Enquiry on the changing nature of education and the heavy burden carried by the non-State school sector. He warned that Catholic schools would not be able to continue to make their fine contribution to education if Government help was not forthcoming. During the Appropriation Bill discussion of September 1963, he reminded members of the Prime Minister's white paper of November 1962 entitled 'The Commonwealth and Education'. He castigated the Menzies government for paying for the education of only three out of four Australian children. It was not good enough for the Government, he argued, to be pleased with the educational achievements of the non-State sector and continue to tax them with a double burden. This only created bitterness, he claimed.

The speech was Drummond's best on the issue. No Catholic could have presented the case better than this Presbyterian who had been a relatively late convert to the cause. Drummond's conversion, while it was complete, did not happen quickly. But once convinced by persistent pressure from some strong Catholic advocates of the strength of the case and the possibility of political advantage, he fought for the introduction of government aid with fervour.

Conclusion

The events surrounding the State-aid debate in New South Wales support the thesis that there is a correlation between pressure group success and concurrence with the ideological fabric of society. Pressure groups that frame their demands in terms of the social value system seem to be more successful in achieving their goals than those that run counter to it. After decades of confrontation and consultation about State-aid, nothing had changed. However, by the time of Drummond's departure from political life, the cooperation between previously contending groups meant that reform was not only possible but also probable. What ensured that reform would proceed was that the wider community supported the proposed changes. Pressure group activities rarely occur in isolation or in a vacuum. Pressure for aid to Church schools occurred within the Australian social milieu. The economic stringency of the first half of the 1930s dampened the will of the community to implement change, but the desire for reform persisted, and supporters of reform gained the attention of political leaders. Moreover, the basic enigma that produced the agitation remained—the basic unfairness of a double payment for non-State school parents.

A similar scenario developed after the next period of heightened concern regarding the State-aid debate that followed the 1965 Goulburn crisis. During this period, the disruptions to schooling and social life in Goulburn led to the issue being placed directly before the Australian people. After the crisis, during a revival of reform agitation and an attempt to improve the physical facilities of educational institutions, those with the authority to allow change urged a re-examination of the issue.

Religious leaders were at the forefront of the persistent agitation over State-aid throughout the five decades from the 1920s. Leading Catholic educators pushed for reform while their Independent school counterparts generally opposed change. A number of Catholic leaders were primarily responsible for ensuring that State-aid became a reality. Protestant leaders, on the other hand, were part of a group that opposed the reform. The Catholic leadership was in a position of influence because behind the scenes they could gain the attention of and apply pressure to Catholic Labor parliamentarians.

Reform eventuated when the two major religious groups agreed to disagree on reform and Protestant leaders acquiesced on the issue. At the political level, the final catalyst in tipping the balance of the Government in favour of the reform was the ability of the Catholic hierarchy to gain the support of politicians such as Drummond. The surprising unity expressed by the Catholic representatives and Drummond was a significant factor in the widespread acceptance of the change within the community. As the sitting member for New England in the 1960s, he gained a forum to present his views at a time when the issue of Federal-aid to non-State schools arose as a significant debate in the community. The timing of Drummond's speeches in the Federal Parliament and in the community corresponded with moves by Catholic leaders to push the same issue. Drummond's own change of stance was remarkable. In the 1930s, he had emphatically stated: 'the State would never again commit itself to the policy of State-aid to denominational schools' and yet three decades later—in the peoples' house—he plead the State-aid case on the basis of an appeal to 'fair and bonny play'.

On the other hand, as his views on the issue crystalised, he was instrumental in providing Protestants with an opposing, reasoned, and non-sectarian view of the debate. As a Protestant himself, he was able to critically evaluate the Protestant arguments, allowing his fellow Protestants to receive his assessments, in the main, in a spirit of generosity. They did not perceive him as a threat until he steered the ACP to include the issue in its policy platform. At that time the Protestant leadership finally became fully aware of his sympathy with the Catholic cause and began reluctantly to give a measure of support.

Correspondence and press coverage indicate that there was strong public support for reform. By the time of Drummond's final speech a ganglion had developed in the history of the State-aid debate. Social, political and educational forces had matured and combined to the point where change was certain. The views of the Catholic leadership had spread to the wider public. Concurrence had come to pass between the demands of the reformers and the ideological fabric of society. The community was ready for reform. The Catholics knew it. Drummond and his Party favoured it. Menzies and his Government finally implemented it and the people accepted it.

NOTES

1. Don Smart, 1978, *Federal Aid to Australian Schools*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 26-7.