Australian Liberalism, the middle class and public education From Henry Parkes to John Howard

Geoffrey Sherington and Craig Campbell
University of Sydney

Introduction

In a recent study Judith Brett has raised the 'problematic' of the middle class in Australia and its support for a liberal tradition where the prime focus is on the individual citizen rather than the state. She suggests that Australian liberalism was drawn from the heritage of British Protestant dissent with its ethic of independently minded individuals free to follow their own convictions. This tradition became associated in Australia with a 'moral middle class' — a 'projected moral community' — founded in Protestantism and committed to civic duties of sacrifice and service. It is the post-war destruction of those values that in part explains the rise of 'neo-liberalism' which preaches the rights rather than the duties of individuals.[1]

Paralleling the study of Brett is the book of Marian Sawer who has drawn attention to the tradition of Australian social liberalism prompting the development of an 'ethical state'. In this tradition state intervention in economic and social affairs prompts a 'positive liberalism' designed to protect and ensure individual freedoms and liberties. The recent rise of neo-liberalism, the liberalism of the 'market', has led to many forgetting this earlier ethically-based tradition.[2]

The relationship between the individual and the state and its effect on social class formations has long fascinated Australian historians of education studying the creation of colonial schools in the nineteenth century. In a recent paper we have sought to provide an analysis and also contribute to that historiography by concentrating on the formation of the colonial middle class and the emergence of schools as public institutions.[3] Drawing on some of the insights of Brett and Sawer, in this paper we attempt a more discursive discussion of Australian liberalism, the middle class and 'public education' (with a focus on school education although we make mention of 'public' universities).This contribution is not intended as a final word on the subject but rather is suggestive of how under the

general influence of British ideologies and culture Australian liberals came to adopt and sponsor public education in the nineteenth century both as a common good as well as being in the interests of their own social class only to abandon such commitments in the late twentieth century with the rise of a more globalised form of market liberalism.

Colonial Liberalism

In his comparative study of 'New Societies' Louis Hartz argued for the importance of the 'fragment cultures' drawn out of older forms of European civilization. According to Hartz, once removed from the home cultures, such fragments became frozen in time and culturally rigid. Thus Hartz suggested that the dominant political tradition in the American colonies was essentially 'liberal' in the manner of Locke because of the timing of the colonial foundations in the seventeenth century. Working from the 'fragment culture' theory, Richard Rosecrance, a colleague of Hartz, argued that, in contrast to the American liberal tradition, the dominant political fragment in Australia was essentially radical and working class.[4] In effect, it can be suggested that Australia has had many fragment cultures through immigration many of which were 'liberal' rather than radical in origin. It was in the colonial context that such cultures often adapted rather than remaining 'frozen'.[5]

'Fragments' of middle class British liberalism were particularly influential in the creation of 'public' systems of education in the Australian colonies. These were not variants of the Lockean liberalism of the seventeenth century with its focus on the social contract and natural rights. Rather they were fragments first of a British liberalism of the nineteenth century often infused with the need for state action. Those immigrants who arrived in Australia during the early to mid-nineteenth century brought with them the agenda for political change of Britain from the 1820s to the 1840s. Believing in the 'autonomous self-sufficient individual' acting in a rational and moral way, the colonial politicians of the 1850s to 1880s ensured that the ideals of representative government, the universal male franchise, a free press and public funded 'secular' education would also be significant issues for the Australian colonies.[6]

The role of the state in this agenda arose partly out of the early nineteenth century liberal tradition influenced by 'philosophic radicalism' and the ideas of Jeremy Bentham and his followers. The Australian state has thus often been portrayed as Benthamite designed to ensure the material happiness and welfare of the 'greatest number' of individual citizens. In this respect the role of the central state in Australian education was crucial. A Benthamite vision of an efficient state creating secular schools was brought here by such administrators as William Wilkins,

of the Benthamite Kay Shutteworth. Perhaps the best known of all the mid nineteenth century colonial 'servants' of state formation, Wilkins did much to create the ideal and practice of the centralized system of state schools which marked colonial education.[7]

It is also clear that colonial liberalism was founded in Protestantism. As we have argued elsewhere, colonial middle class liberal Catholics were maginalised by the increasing opposition of the Catholic Church to secular forms of education. After the revolutions of 1848 the Papacy was hostile to liberalism while the increasing number of Irish-born Catholic bishops in Australia were opposed to the experiment of 'national education' which they had experienced in Ireland.[8]

As Brett has suggested, the liberal tradition in Australia came to be associated with middle class Protestant dissent which saw Roman Catholicism as a threat to liberty.[9] British liberalism was often infused with a suspicion of Catholicism. The radical Presbyterian minister John Dunmore Lang came out of the Scottish enlightenment tradition based at the University of Glasgow. He had also learnt to distrust Rome because of his early experience of Irish Catholics in Glasgow. The Australian College Lang founded in the 1830s was thus based on both the Scottish enlightenment and a faith in common Protestantism.[10]

A further exemplar of such a tradition is Henry Parkes, perhaps the best known of all Australian colonial politicians. Brought up in Birmingham in the climate of political radicalism in the 1830s, the views of Parkes owed much to both Congregationalism and the radical Political Union of Thomas Atwood. In Birmingham he also learnt to distrust Roman Catholicism. As an immigrant of the 1840s, Parkes was involved in the political radical causes of the colonies including the campaign to end convict transportation and establish the universal male franchise. By the 1850s his interests included support for secular education even though from political expediency he initially continued to resist efforts to remove public funds for Church schools.[11]

Liberal politicians such as Parkes helped to define colonial 'public education'. First, they defended the schools which the state provided against the attacks of the Roman Catholic Church that secular education was essentially becoming 'the seed plots of future immorality, infidelity, and lawlessness, being calculated to debase the standard of human excellence, and to corrupt the political, social and individual life of future citizens'.[12] More positively they offered a vision of 'public education' being for 'every sect' and for 'all children of all classes' so that 'the child of the poor and the child of the rich sit side by side' learning to be 'free citizens of a free commonwealth'.[13]

The legacy which the establishment of colonial public schools left was thus closely associated with the nineteenth century colonial liberal middle class Protestant agenda. Bureaucratically and centrally managed in the apparent interests of efficiency and good order, Australian public schools offered a secular education which was essentially a form of common Protestantism. Left out of this settlement, the Roman Catholic Church and its communities had to build schools based on local parishes and religious orders pledged to uphold the faith against the threat of the secular state.[14] It was this sectarian divide that remained one of the legacies of colonial liberalism to Australian education.

Finally, public education came to be associated with the aspirations of parts of the colonial middle class. Almost two decades after the first 'national schools' were established in New South Wales Wilkins could claim in a publication defending the 'national system' that the children attending such schools were 'of all denominations, and among their parents may be found representatives of all classes of society — *ministers of religion*, merchants, professional gentlemen, tradespeople, mechanics and labourers'.[15] Indeed, Wilkins even had to assert that such schools were not merely for the rich, rejecting the claims that 'in these schools, *instead of the poorest*, the middle and even some of the highest classes are found'.[16]

Along with the creation of the secular education acts, forms of public secondary education thus emerged as state endowed grammar schools, public high schools or 'superior public schools', all serving the interests of the middle class.[17] Such schools also shared many of the cultural and academic values of the principally Church founded Australian corporate schools which concentrated on character formation and other elements of the English grammar and public school traditions. In this way there was an inter-action between the public and 'private' sectors of secondary schooling each helping to sustain middle class values.[18]

New Liberalism

A positive legacy of colonial liberalism was the importance of the central state acting to create the basis for democratic citizenship. By the early twentieth century this colonial legacy had merged with the influences of the 'New Liberalism'. Much of the literature on the New Liberalism in Australia has focused on the federal Governments of Prime Minister Deakin in the first decade of Australian federation. Australian New Liberalism has often been associated with the tariff policies of 'New Protectionism' offering benefits to both industrialists and workers. Employers were protected from international competition. Through the Australian devised arbitration court system male workers were offered a living wage. This has become regarded as the Deakinite Liberal 'settlement' which would last for

over half a century. As Brett argues, 'Protection, arbitration and state paternalism won the day, to join White Australia and reliance on Imperial protection as the five settled assumptions of twentieth century Australian political life'.[19]

New Liberalism also had implications for Australian public education. Marian Sawer has pointed out the role of a new generation of university professors in Australia who were influenced by the liberal idealism and the new 'politics of conscience' of such mid to late nineteenth century Liberal philosophers as T.H. Green preaching state action to ensure individual freedoms as well as a moral civic culture. In particular, Sawer draws attention to Francis Anderson, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sydney (1888–1922). He had been a student of the University of Glasgow Professor Edward Caird, who was a disciple of Green. Anderson brought a version of philosophic idealism and New Liberalism to Australia. As part of his educational endeavours he assisted in founding the Australian branch of the Workers Education Association.[20]

Sawer does not mention that Anderson was also influential in helping to institute reform in public education in early twentieth century New South Wales. In keeping with the tenets of the 'New Liberalism', his famous speech in 1901 when he attacked the public school system, suggested that the main purpose of education was to produce 'good men and women and the good citizen'.[21]

The development of the 'New Liberalism' in Australian education usually rested with the actions of the new 'servants of the state' and particularly with the Directors of Education in the early twentieth century of whom much has been written. In this respect, the role of the state in early twentieth century Australian education has often been interpreted in terms of social control, efficiency and imperialism.[22] But we should not ignore the continuing significance of the new discourses of moral and democratic citizenship. The intellectual historian Gregory Melluish has suggested that philosophic idealism in Australia was part of a wider cultural movement in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century focused principally on the colonial universities and containing a number of features including an emphasis on the individual and the right to liberty, a belief in reason to explain the universe, a view of humans as essentially spiritual and finally a faith in evolution. According to Melluish, this cultural tradition came initially out the 'contest' between nineteenth century Free Trade liberalism found principally in New South Wales and a liberalism of Protectionism found principally in Victoria. Liberalism associated with Protectionism emerged triumphant partly because of the role of the state in Australian economic and social development. Australian intellectuals, including academics and other educationalists, became part of this process, not

because they endorsed protectionism, but because they saw their role as intervening to guide Australian society in a rational way.[23]

Melluish argues that Peter Board, the first Director of Education in New South Wales, was in this tradition of 'cultural liberalism'. To Melluish, Board's view of education was in part spiritual and moral, seeing the educational 'Renaissance' of the early twentieth century as following on from the democratization of the late nineteenth century. Board even re-interpreted the utilitarian tradition to emphasise that this could imply service of the individual to society. Democratic citizenship would function once individuals recognised mutual obligations to each other.[24]

In practice, the policies of Board and other Directors of Education promoted and made a new 'meritocratic' middle class through the growth of public secondary education based on principles of academic selection and credentials.[25] It could be suggested that this process also helped to sustain a civic-minded middle class. By the 1940s more than half the future social and political elite of New South Wales had attended public high schools with many of these high school graduates going into such areas of employment as teaching and public service administration.[26] More generally there was still a general interaction between the new public high schools and the existing private corporate schools in a middle class ethos which preached both character formation and the duties of community and civic service.[27]

The liberal tradition that emerged in the early to mid-twentieth century thus allowed space for both public and 'private' education. As one of the last Australian-born apostles of the New Liberalism wrote in 1953, extended education was part of the 'Equipment' a citizen required to become an 'efficient and creative member' of society improving 'human welfare' while maintaining 'freedom and responsibility'. The Liberal 'recognises that the State must be the main agent of education, but welcomes the fact that education is undertaken by other agencies'.[28]

In party political terms, by the 1940s the traditions of New Liberalism were sometimes now found more in the Australian Labor Party than in the non-Labor parties. Brett has argued that while Protestantism was associated with the Liberal side of politics, Catholicism was attached to the Labor Party. Rejecting earlier views that this political divide was because most Catholics were working class, she argues for a close association between political loyalties and religious faith.[29] Yet we should not ignore a commit-ment to social policies which cut across both social class and religion. This was particularly so after the collapse of Deakinite Liberalism and the emergence of conservative non-Labor parties with their attachment to the interests of capital and an ideology of anti-socialism. Sections of the Australian middle class gravitated towards support for more state-centred

policies promoting equity. One example was John Dedman, a 'most unexpected Labor man'. Scottish-born, a former army officer, farmer, leading member of the Returned Services League and the Presbyterian Kirk, Dedman became Minister for Post-War Reconstruction in the wartime and post-war Labor Government of 1941–49. Here he promoted major initiatives in nation building, industrial training and higher education.[30] But he was unable to convince his federal Labor colleagues to provide national funding support for public schools. In the area of public education, the Australian Labor Party was still in part compromised by its close associations with Catholicism. The issue would become even more complex with the politics of the Cold War and the emergence of the Democratic Labor Party with its policy of state aid for Catholic schools. The issue of federal funds for schools would bedevil the Australian Labor Party until the 1960s.[31]

Mid Twentieth Century Liberalism

The creation of the Australian Liberal Party in the 1940s under the leadership of Robert Menzies is often presented as an effort to revive and re-establish an ideology based on the individual rather than the state. In helping to form the new Australian Liberal Party Menzies appealed to the 'forgotten people' — the middle class of small businessmen and prof-essionals.[32] It was their enterprise which in his view promoted the common good. As prime minister of Australia from 1949 to 1966 Menzies' view of the state was based more on the acceptance of Keynsian economics and the need for governments to intervene to promote prosperity rather than being founded on the moral vision of state action that had promoted the New Liberalism of the early twentieth century.[33]

Menzies' own values were formed from both Australian and English influences. He was born into an Australian Presbyterian middle class background which had its continuing distrust of Catholicism. He also benefited from public education winning a state scholarship to attend Wesley College in Melbourne. At Wesley he had been educated in the ethos of 'character formation' that marked the early twentieth century Australian corporate schools.[34] In this respect he does illuminate the relationship between the 'moral middle class' and liberalism. More generally the Liberal Party that he helped to found still carried the legacies of the nineteenth century settlement on public education as well as the effect of middle class schooling. As late as the mid-1960s, almost two-thirds of federal Liberal Party parliamentarians had attended non-Catholic secondary schools in the private sector, just under one third had been in government secondary schools but only 7 per cent had a Catholic school education.[35]

Menzies' statements from the 1930s suggest that he saw the foremost purpose of education as being to provide the individual with a broad ethical framework. In 1945, he argued in Parliament that 'The first function of education is to produce a good man and a good citizen'.[36] The educational philosophy of Menzies also related to his continuing fascination with what he saw as the cultural values of England and the tradition of an English 'liberal education' for social and political leaders that stretched back into the eighteenth century.[37] As early as 1939 Menzies was advocating that those with the privilege of extended education should use their acquired knowledge for social benefit: 'The English tradition that education involves public responsibilities is a healthy one'.[38] In his address on *The Forgotten People* in 1943 he argued that universities could not be 'mere training schools' but should preserve 'pure learning' so bringing into train 'a comparative sense of the mind, and leading to what we need so badly—the recognition of values which are other than pecuniary'.[39] As prime minister, Menzies provided strong support for development of such ideals in the Australian Universities. Thus Menzies personally arranged for Sir Keith Murray of the British Universities Grants Commission to head an enquiry into the future of Australian universities leading to a report which advocated increased funding by enshrining the principle of an English liberal education: 'It is the function of the University to offer not merely a technical and specialist training but a full and true education, befitting a free man and the citizen of a free country'.[40] Perhaps more than any other policy area Menzies saw his legacy in politics resting on what he achieved for the development of Australian universities.[41]

As prime minister in the period of post-war prosperity and growth Menzies was also aware of the increasing social demand for education as well as the need for human capital in a modern economy. He accepted that levels of education had to increase. In tertiary education this came through the creation of the Australian Colleges of Education, partly as a means of protecting his conception of the university.[42] But his support for expanded tertiary education did not extend to public education in general. In the 1940s as Leader of the Opposition, he had proposed an education commission to consider an extended education system to cope with the problems of post-war reconstruction.[43] As prime minister he continually resisted the call for more funds for the public system of schools in the individual Australian States. Rather, from the early 1950s Menzies provided increasing support for the private sector of schooling through such means as tax deductions for school fees and interest payments for school building projects.[44]

Menzies' decision in 1963 to introduce of federal aid for science laboratories in both public and private secondary schools has been

interpreted in two ways: first, an effort to meet the challenge of the Soviet Union in science education but also a way to embarrass the Federal Labor Party Opposition which was divided over the question of state aid to Catholic schools.[45] More generally the introduction of federal aid to Catholic schools marked a major shift in Australian liberalism. The old colonial sectarian divide between Protestantism and Catholicism was being ended. Increasingly, Liberal politicians such as Menzies began to emphasize that education should be based more on specific Christian principles which could even embrace Catholicism. Church schools were the best way to produce self-reliant, enterprising individuals with an appreciation of their responsibilities towards others.[46]

The erosion of Protestantism as a foundation of middle class liberalism was associated with other changes. The campaign for state aid to Church schools helped to mobilise the Catholic middle class bringing them more into the main stream of political debate and discussion. This was the beginning of a move of middle class Catholics towards the conservative side of politics. Initially voting for the Democratic Labor Party, many middle class Catholics later transferred their loyalties to the Liberal Party.[47] On the other hand, Brett notes that after the long period of Menzies' domination of federal politics a new middle class had emerged produced in part by expanded higher education. 'The new educated middle class, many of them employed in the public sector, depended for their social power on the control of knowledge rather than on their capital or character'.[48] Many of this new 'concerned middle class' were part of social movements involved in such issues as campaigns for Aboriginal and women's rights. They were also attracted to the 'new liberalism' of the Australian Labor Party now under the leadership of Gough Whitlam, particularly with its agenda of social and educational change.[49]

But what had changed forever was the colonial settlement on public education. The Labor Government of 1972–75 came to power on a programme of promises for the federal funding of education related to issue of equity. Australian schools would be supported on the basis of need not on whether they were in the public system. The extension of public funds to Catholic schools created a precedent in an Australia which was becoming more ethnically diverse with the impact of post-war immigration.[50] In this sense the early 1970s marks the apogee of the old forms of public education associated with Protestant liberalism that had emerged in the nineteenth century.

Market Liberalism

The emergence of market or 'neo' liberalism in Australia over the last decades of the twentieth century was essentially the result of changing international events and influences. The oil crisis of the 1970s and the end of the long post-war economic boom threatened the Australian economy which had operated under tariff protection since the New Protectionism of the early twentieth century. The subsequent re-structuring of the Australian economy and the impact of an increasing global market also brought with it with new ideas. The messages of the 'New Right' liberal individualism of Europeans such as Hayek or the American school of economics associated with Milton Friedman had a major impact. Government intervention in the economy and social affairs was seen as the problem to be solved; markets as the answer.[51]

The effect on the Australian political system and political ideologies has been profound. Much of the new policies of economic rationalism and the dismantling of the old ethic of public enterprises occurred under the federal Labor Governments in power from 1983 to 1995.[52] In the Australian Liberal Party an even more radical form of market liberalism has emerged. At the beginning of the 1980s there remained elements of a social liberal tradition within the federal political system. Many of those who had become known as the 'Deakinite Wets' still supported the traditions of state supported public education.[53] By the end of the 1980s, most of this group had left the Liberal Party or had been driven out.

The old associations of liberalism with Protestantism had also disappeared. Even those framing social policies did so from new perspectives. Nick Greiner, of Hungarian descent, and the first Catholic Liberal Premier of New South Wales, now spoke for 'Australian Liberalism in a Post-Ideological Age': 'practical' and 'empirical' and concerned with governing in the 'public interest'.[54] Stripped of its prior religious and ethical associations it seemed that Australian liberalism was in part returning to its colonial utilitarian roots.

Of even more significance was the new discourse of 'choice' and individual 'rights', fundamentally undermining the older notions of duty and service of citizenship of the mid-twentieth century middle class.[55] As prime minister of Australia since 1995 John Howard both typifies and consolidates these views even though he is in some respects a product of the old 'moral middle class'. Son of a small businessman, one of Menzies' 'forgotten people', Howard sees himself as the heir of 1950s social conservatism. But he has none of the commitment of Menzies to the English liberal tradition in education. Neither did he share the hostility of old Liberal Protestant dissent towards Roman Catholicism. Rather he saw one of his main achievements in the 1960s as convincing the elders in the

Liberal Party to embrace middle class Catholics through support for state aid to Church schools.[56]

Despite its length of 795 pages the formal biography of Howard gives little indication of his specific educational values. His family background seemed to promote a view of schooling and university as the entry to the 'real world' of work and a career.[57] His political views in the area of education have been more developed over the past two decades in the climate of market liberalism. From at least 1984, he was arguing that the principle of state aid to private schools should not be decided on the proposition that there were 'wealthy' and 'non-wealthy schools' but rather on the different economic needs of parents. Policies should be directed to 'assisting parents to exercise something which is not a matter of charity but a matter of right ... the right to choose the type of education they want for their children'.[58] At the same time, he began a continuing critique of public education arguing that middle class Australians were deserting the public system because of the rise of 'secular humanism' in government schools.[59] As prime minister, he has continued to support this agenda re-directing more federal funds to private schools on a formula which supposedly recognizes the social profile of families while continuing to raise questions about the standards and values of public schools. Overall, this has become an agenda that the market place should rule in education as much as in other areas of economic and social life — 'Our belief in self-reliance and individual responsibility means that we favour private initiative, competition and choice over government direction of resources and society'.[60]

This market liberalism appears to have a profound effect on the social composition and values of the Australian middle class. With the decline of the public sector and public bureaucracies, parts of old 'middle Australia' feel betrayed by the erosion of public institutions.[61] The 'new' middle class has become more located in small business and private enterprise.[62] The representatives in Parliament of this 'aspirational' middle class — 'Howard's battlers' — now preach a new view of Australian liberalism. The 'good citizen' is now someone concerned for the welfare of his own not the fate of others. 'Family' has replaced the state as the site of attention.[63]

Within these new political contexts it is not surprising that the Australian middle class now seems to be increasingly deserting public schools. Over the past two decades the drift to the 'private sector' has become particularly noted amongst the middle class in the expanding suburbs of Australian cities. And while parts of this drift could be related to new forms of cultural diversity it is significant that much has been due to the rise of small schools attached to Christian religious fundamentalism.[64] Older forms of utilitarianism may be being revived but it

would seem that the Australian Protestant tradition in middle class liberalism has finally forgotten the reasons why its forefathers supported public education in the first place.

Some Conclusions

Australian liberalism was first built around British traditions and cultures. Initially utilitarian in emphasis, colonial liberalism was also infused with elements of Protestant dissent. Both these elements supported the growth of a public education system which assisted the development of a significant section of the colonial middle class. By the early twentieth century, an Australian version of the 'New Liberalism' promoted a civic culture focused on the development of public education. But middle class public education also lived alongside other form of middle class schooling. The meritocratic middle class sustained by state action shared many of the civic and 'moral' values of those educated in the corporate schools of the private sector.

Since the mid-twentieth century Australian liberalism has undergone two major shifts. The liberalism of the Liberal Party which Menzies founded was built around governments assisting private enterprise and endeavour. While Menzies himself was still attached to earlier English and colonial traditions associated with liberalism, post-war economic and social changes would ultimately undermine the former 'settlements' which had created public education systems. Over the last decades of the twentieth century a 'liberalism of the market', created by international events and influences, has effectively helped to transform the composition and values of the Australian middle class. A revived Australian version of utilitarianism is now associated with new discourses of individual 'rights' and 'choice'. Public education which sustained large parts of the Australian middle class for over a century now seems in decline. The certainties and values of the old moral middle class seem to be being replaced by aspirations of individualism in an uncertain global age.

NOTES

1.   Judith Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class: From Alfred Deakin to John Howard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
2.   Marian Sawer, *The Ethical State? Social Liberalism in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003). See also Gregory Melleuish, *Cultural Liberalism in Australia: A Study in Intellectual and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For earlier views of the relationship between the Australian state and the individual see Craig Campbell,

'Liberalism in Australian History: 1880–1920', in *Social Policy in Australia: Some Perspectives 1901–1975*, ed. Jill Roe (Sydney: Cassell Australia, 1976); Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland, 1984); and Tim Rowse, *Australian Liberalism and National Character* (Melbourne: Kibble Books, 1978).

3. Geoffrey Sherington and Craig Campbell, 'Middle Class Formations and the Emergence of National Schooling: An Historiographical Review of the Australian Debate' (paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, 2004).

4. See Louis Hartz, ed., *The Founding of New Societies* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1964).

5. Geoffrey Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants 1788–1988* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990).

6. Stuart Macintyre, *A Colonial Liberalism: The Lost World of Three Victorian Visionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). See also Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835–1851* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1965).

7. Clifford Turney, *William Wilkins: His Life and Work* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1992). See also Geoffrey Sherington, 'Education and Enlightenment', in *Under New Heavens: Cultural Transmission and the Making of Australia*, ed. Neville Meaney (Sydney: Heinemann, 1990) and Bruce Smith, 'William Wilkins's Saddle-Bags: State Education and Local Control', in *Family, School and State in Australian History*, ed. Marjorie R. Theobald and R. J. W. Selleck (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990).

8. Sherington and Campbell, 'Middle Class Formations and the Emergence of National Schooling: An Historiographical Review of the Australian Debate'. See also G. Gregory Haines, *Lay Catholics and the Education Question in Nineteenth Century New South Wales: The Shaping of a Decision* (Sydney: Catholic Theological Faculty, 1976).

9. Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class*, 41.

10. D.W.A. Baker, *Preacher, Politician, Patriot* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998).

11. See A. W. Martin, *Henry Parkes: A Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980).

12. 'A Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops exercising jurisdiction in New South Wales June 1879' in C.M.H. Clark, ed., *Select Documents in Australian History 1851–1900* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson), 722.

13. Henry Parkes, *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History* (London: Longmans Green, 1892)., 318–19.

14. Thomas A. O'Donoghue, *Upholding the Faith: The Process of Education in Catholic Schools in Australia, 1922–1965* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001).

15. William Wilkins, *National Education: An Exposition of the National System of New South Wales.* (Sydney: Alexander W. Douglas, 1865), 17.

16. *Ibid.*, 18.

17. Craig Campbell, 'The State High School in History', *Change: Transformations in Education* 4, no. 1 (2001); Craig Campbell, Carole Hooper, and Mary Fearnley-Sander, eds., *Toward the State High School in Australia: Social Histories of State Secondary Schooling in Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia, 1850–1925* (Sydney: ANZHES, 1999); and Rupert Goodman, *Secondary Education*

in Queensland, 1860–1960 (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968).

18. Geoffrey Sherington, 'Public Commitment and Private Choice in Australian Secondary Education', in *Public or Private Education? Lessons from History*, ed. Richard Aldrich (London: Woburn Press, 2004).

19. Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class: From Alfred Deakin to John Howard.* 21.

20. Sawer, *The Ethical State*, 36–41, 45–48.

21. Francis Anderson, *The Public School System of New South Wales* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1901).

22. Bob Bessant, 'The Emergence of State Secondary Education', in *Australian Education in the Twentieth Century: Studies in the Development of State Education*, ed. J Cleverley and J Lawry (Melbourne: Longman, 1972) and Bob Bessant, ed., *Mother State and Her Little Ones: Children and Youth in Australia 1860s–1930s* (Melbourne: Centre for Youth and Community Studies, Phillip Institute of Technology, 1987).

23. Melleuish, *Cultural Liberalism in Australia: A Study in Intellectual and Cultural History*, 17.

24. *Ibid.*, 72–75.

25. Campbell, Hooper, and Fearnley-Sander, eds., *Toward the State High School in Australia: Social Histories of State Secondary Schooling in Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia, 1850–1925*; Craig Campbell, 'Family Strategy, Secondary Schooling and Making Adolescents: The Indian Summer of the Old Middle Class, 1945–1960', *History of Education Review* 22, no. 2 (1993); and Andrew Lynch, 'Democratic or Problematic?: An Examination of State Secondary Education Reform in New South Wales under Peter Board' (University of Sydney, 2002).

26. See Mark Peel and Janet McCalman, *Who Went Where in 'Who's Who 1988?': The Schooling of the Australian Elite* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1992).

27. Campbell, 'Family Strategy, Secondary Schooling and Making Adolescents: The Indian Summer of the Old Middle Class, 1945–1960'; Janet McCalman, *Journeyings: The Biography of a Middle-Class Generation 1920–1990* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993). See also D. L. Webster, 'Kilgour of Fort Street: The English Headmaster Ideal in Australian State Secondary Education', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, no. 1981 (1981).

28. F.W. Eggleston, *Reflections of an Australian Liberal* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1953). Politician and public servant, Frederick Eggleston was one of the few genuine liberal intellectuals in twentieth century Australia. See W. Warren Osmond, *Frederic Eggleston* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985).

29. Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class: From Alfred Deakin to John Howard*, 35–40.

30. A. D. Spaull, *John Dedman: A Most Unexpected Labor Man* (Melbourne: Hyland House, 1998). See also A.D. A. D. Spaull, 'John Johnstone Dedman: Australia's First Federal Minister for Education (1941–1949),' *History of Education* 21, no. 1 (1992).

31. H.S. Albinski, *The Australian Labor Party and the Aid to Parochial Schools Controversy, Pennsylvania State University Studies* (Pennsylvania State University, 1966).

32. R.G. Menzies, *The Forgotten People and Other Studies in Democracy* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1943). See also Judith Brett, *Robert Menzies Forgotten*

People (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 1992) and Gerard Henderson, *Menzies Child the Liberal Party of Australia* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 1994).

33. Nicholas Brown, *Governing Prosperity Social Change and Social Analysis in Australia in the 1950s* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995). In his 'memoirs' Menzies claimed that the 'basic philosophy of Australian Liberalism is that the prime duty of government is to encourage enterprise, to provide a climate favourable to its growth, to remember that that it is the individual whose energies produce progress and all that social benefits derive from his efforts': R.G. Menzies, *The Measure of the Years* (London: Coronet Books, 1970), 40.

34. A. W. Martin, *Robert Menzies a Life Volume 1 1894–1943* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 1–31. See also B. Bessant, 'Robert Gordon Menzies and Education in Australia', *Melbourne Studies in Education 1977* (1977)., 97–101.

35. B. Bessant and A. D. Spaull, *Politics of Schooling* (Melbourne: Pitman, 1976), 116.

36. Cited in B. Bessant, 'Robert Gordon Menzies and Education in Australia', 79–80.

37. Sheldon Rothblatt, *Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education an Essay in History and Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976).

38. R.G. Menzies, *The Place of the University in the Modern University: An Address* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1939), 28.

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41. A. W. Martin, *Robert Menzies a Life 1944–1978* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1999), 388–99.

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43. *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 184 (26 July 1945) pp. 4612–19.

44. Bessant, 'Robert Gordon Menzies and Education', 89. See also Don Smart, 'The Pattern of Post-War Federal Intervention in Education', in *Federal Intervention in Australian Education*, ed. Grant Harman and Don Smart (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1982).

45. Don Smart, 'The Industrial Fund: A Highly Successful Model of Big Business Collaboration with the Headmasters Conference in the Interests of School Science', *Melbourne Studies in Education 1984* (1984) and H.S. Albinski, *The Australian Labor Party and the Aid to Parochial Schools Controversy.*

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48. Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class*, 141.

49. *Ibid*, 144–47.

50. Janice Dudley and Lesley Vidovich, *The Politics of Commonwealth Schools Policy 1973–1995* (Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, 1995).

51. Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class*, 148–79. See also Simon Marginson, *Educating Australia: Government, Economy and Citizen since 1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

52. Simon Marginson, *Education and Public Policy in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Michael Pusey, *Economic Rationalism in Canberra: A Nation-Building State Changes Its Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

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55. Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class*, 172–79.

56. Henderson, *Menzies Child the Liberal Party of Australia*, 136–37.

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