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12, Albion St.,
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SA 5097.

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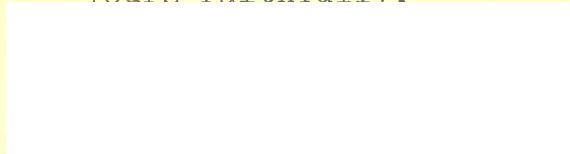
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Dear Mrs. Jones,

I have your request of 20/3/84 for permission to copy my thesis, "The Bated Shining Sword." Since I am still exploring the possibility of publication, I feel some reluctance to give such blanket approval as the form I received implies. However, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to know that the thesis is of some use to somebody, somewhere.

Accordingly, please find enclosed a spare copy which I had to hand. I would be grateful if you were to pass this on to the University of Canterbury, with my compliments. Should any further requests arise for a copy of the thesis, please do not hesitate to forward them to me.

Yours Faithfully.



Len Wilkins.



The Bated Shining Sword:
The Colonial Defence Force as a Mirror
of Colonial Society in South Australia,
1836 - 1901.

LEN WILKINS.

Thesis presented as part requirement for the completion of an Honours Degree in the Department of History, University of Adelaide, 1983.

Acknowledgements

Without the help of Allan Ward in his capacity as Director of Interpretive Services, Fort Glanville Historical Association Inc., this thesis may never have been written. His assistance with references and hints was priceless. On the subject of references, thanks also to Russell Sheldrick, President of Group North Historical Wargames Society, Inc. Jim Main and the 1983 Colonial History class at Flinders University were of much assistance in planing the rough ideas that this thesis began with into a workable shape. Without Ron Norris, of the Department of History, University of Adelaide, I could never have knocked the bad corners off the early drafts. Thanks also to the staff of the South Australian Archives, who were endlessly helpful and friendly; to Marie Wraight for typing the tables in the section "Defence and Demography"; to my wife, **Suzanne**, both for typing this and for goading me into completing it on the many occasions when I came close to giving up; and to Emma and Megan for putting up endlessly with the admonition, "Quiet, Daddy's studying!"

Finally, thanks to three men who I've never met - Richard Preston, Sydney Wise and Herman Werner, the authors of Men in Arms - for giving me the idea in the first place.

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PREFACE

When H.J. Zwillenberg wrote his Master's thesis, "Citizens and Soldiers: the Defence of South Australia 1836-1901", he inserted in his preface this passage:

The work deals with the problem of defence in a society of free settlers who had, by the middle of the nineteenth century, accepted the principle of universal military service.

Perhaps he was unaware of (his bibliography, at least, fails to mention) a slightly earlier work written by Preston, Wise and Werner and called - Men in Arms: A History of Warfare and Its Interrelationships with Western Society, whose preface contains this passage:

All too often the necessity for an adequate background of political, economic, social and cultural history for the full understanding of military events has not been realised.

My contention is that the last comment was correct.

"Citizens and Soldiers" narrates the strategic questions and public debates which shaped South Australia's colonial military, and draws a comprehensible word picture of a thoroughly confusing and convoluted subject. What that work does not show is that the public and parliamentary debates over the strategic issues were themselves symptoms of South Australia's unique social order.

It has become something of a truism - almost a cliché - that armies reflect the society from which they spring. In practical terms, it has been virtually impossible for any social system to produce a military force which is not a microcosm of itself. America, the agrarian home of democracy, produced armies in the Civil War which elected their officers, and which were crippled by men taking it upon themselves to go home at harvest time. The Boers, pious and upright individualists, could not bring themselves to shell

Mafeking or Kimberley on the Sabbath, and no one man was influential enough to order such a deed. The German army of the second World War contained men who had received, all their lives, a warped and vengeful State education in Nietzschean Social Darwinism, the Superiority of the German Race, and Germany's shame at Versailles.

In South Australia's case, the ideological pressures and constraints were mercifully different to those which shaped the army of Nationalist Socialist Germany, and their effect far less dramatic: nonetheless, they were of equal significance, at least to the people on whom they acted. In some ways they were unique to South Australia, in others typical of the British stock from which South Australians, for the most part, came. Whichever is the case, they bear studying in relation to the military for the light that such study can throw on the social and political mores - or the culture - of colonial South Australia.

To anyone familiar with the great liberal principles on which the colony was founded in 1836, the growth from colony to state may seem part of a planned progression. But if this progression is examined closely, we can see it in terms of an evolution which was by no means a foregone conclusion. Often enough it was a struggle which waxed and waned, fought out by small groups, progressive or conservative, watched (sometimes apathetically) by the majority of the colonists. This process is reflected in the evolution of an effective Defence Force in South Australia.

This thesis will not narrate the course of South Australian Colonial History. Nonetheless, four facets of that history do require close attention in a discussion of

the relationship between the colony and its defenders. The idealism which permeated the early days, and which echoed through the next sixty years, is one. The principles of freedom of worship, of speech, of the press, and self-government which were written into the South Australia Act had considerable influence on the formulation of the colonial Defence Force. It must be recognised, though, that these principles were no more than a philosophy on which to base socio-political decisions. So the next facet we must consider is the growth of maturity, in a political sense, of South Australia, from the bickerings of Light and Hindmarsh, to an integrated, urbanised modern parliamentary democracy which entered the new century as part of a new nation. This progression from uncertainty and amateurishness to confident professionalism - we might say, from Athenian democracy to party politics - was mirrored in the evolution of the Colonial Defence Force. At the same time, in relative terms, South Australia exhibited many of the differences identified by Preston, Wise and Werner between a primitive society and a modern one, as it evolved. A third facet for consideration is the social structure and hierarchy - were the officers of the Colonial Defence Force the same people who led the civil life of the colony? This thesis intends to show that, in general, this was the case. Finally, it will relate the composition of the military to the demography of the colony, to show how representative of the different groups the Defence forces were.

The thesis will study the Volunteer Movement more fully than the Permanent Defence Forces. The reason for this is that the Permanent Forces were only a minute proportion of the whole defence network, and were few in number compared

with the Volunteer Movement. Formed by Act of Parliament in 1878, they were only slightly more than 200 strong, (1) while at federation the whole Colonial Defence Force was ten times that. (2) Moreover, it is necessary to show not only an evolution of the military, but also that its similarities with the parent population persisted over time. The Volunteer Movement under various names, existed from 1840 or almost the whole life of the colony. This gives us a temporal span which is not provided by the Permanent Forces, which only existed for the last twenty years before federation. Nonetheless, where pertinent, reference to the Permanent Forces will be made since they formed the core of South Australia's defence for part of our period.

(1) Permanent Military Forces Act, 1878

(2) Perry, W., "General Joseph Maria Gordon", The Victorian Historical Journal



Defence and Democracy

One of the outstanding features of the South Australian Colonial Defence Force was the liberalism of the conditions under which its members served. The colony had the first body of Volunteers in Australia to receive payment for service. In 1888 its regular forces served under conditions which were notably less harsh than those under which soldiers of the British regular army served, even though the regulations for the South Australian Permanent Military Forces were modelled on British lines. This liberalism stemmed from the same spirit which pervaded the civil life of the colony. To understand why this spirit existed, and how it shaped the military, we must study the origins of South Australia at least briefly, and then discuss the distinctive culture to which those origins gave rise. Only then will we be able to move on to see how that culture was reflected in its defence forces.

The principles on which South Australia was founded in 1836, and which were encapsulated in the South Australia Act of 1834, can be summed up in a single heading - civil rights. These rights were not, of course, the kind claimed by black Americans one hundred and thirty years after, but a program of free worship, open suffrage and self-determination that was liberal, almost radical, for its day. The result of this was that many social innovations - full adult male suffrage, an innovative system of land title, paid members of parliament, votes for women - came earlier in this small colony than practically anywhere else in the British Empire, or indeed the world. Other places, even other Australian colonies, had some of the same liberties, but few had them all.

Two main principles contributed to this - those of freedom of worship, and just reward for honest effort. By the nineteenth century free trade ethic which pervaded middle class Britain (from which middle class the founders of South Australia were drawn), these were largely considered inseparable. John Brown, emigration agent in the 1830s wrote,

I have seldom known a rich Dissenter who was considered a black sheep...I am quite sure that there is a great deal of piety in banknotes and I have some doubts at times whether a man with a good fortune can be altogether bad. (1)

Hand in hand with Dissent, it seems, went other attributes, not the least of which was a strong faith in the benefits of trade. Edward Gibbon Wakefield himself, author of A letter from Sydney and a Quaker, a member of one of the oldest Dissenting Sects, in his original proposal of Systematic Colonisation called for a system wherein the colony itself regulated its own trade. Wages and land prices were to be sufficient to allow prudent labouring emigrants to better themselves by purchasing their own land in good time, becoming employers of farm labour themselves, thereby fuelling expansion of employment, migration, output and wealth. In the same spirit as Wakefield was George Fife Angas, a Calvinistic Baptist who had made a great deal of money through trade. (2) He wanted to

provide a place of refuge for pious Dissenters from Great Britain, who could in their new home discharge their consciences before God in civil and religious duties without any disabilities. (3)

Given this, it should come as no surprise that many of the first colonial officials were both Angas appointees and capable businessmen. The first manager of the South

(1) Quoted in Pike, D. Paradise of Dissent p. 107

(2) Pike, op cit pp. 124 & ff

Australian Company, David McLaren, his replacement, William Giles, the managers of the Company's banking branch, the Stephens brothers, and other notable individuals, including several emigration agents. Robert Gouger, too, was an Independent, and the list of those Adelphi planners and their ilk cast in the same mold could go on and on. But of equal significance were the political views of many of these folk. Though rarely Levellers or Chartists, many were liberals, or occasionally even radicals. William Hutt was an example, ⁽⁴⁾ so was Raikes Currie, ⁽⁵⁾ and they were accompanied by a host of lesser names, all of them voting members of the various committees and subgroups which planned the new colony. Thus Pike rightly observes:

"The most energetic members of the Association's Committee were utilitarians and philosophical radicals of the Benthamite school....." ⁽⁶⁾ He is even more explicit elsewhere: "the men selected to assist (James Fisher in drawing up certain bills for parliament) were outright republicans." ⁽⁷⁾

Thus South Australia was conceived, born and suckled in an atmosphere of middle class paternalist philanthropy, in which the founding fathers were to bestow peacefully upon their working class children freedom of religion and civil liberties such as had only been dreamed of since the French Revolution. In return, they expected a self supporting society and a healthy profit - indeed, the whole thrust of Wakefield's original idea was that the colony should become a granary, trading as equals with the mother country.

(4) Pike, op cit p. 85

(5) *ibid*, p. 88

(6) *ibid*, p. 89

(7) *ibid*, p. 106

Thus the colony came to be built on the principles of freedom, both of worship and trade.

The effect of this on the new colony was to provide it with a singular socio-political order of its own: almost a distinctive South Australian culture. To understand the relationships between this culture and the men who offered to defend it, we must examine it more closely. Its most significant single element was religion, or more specifically Dissent and the Voluntary Principle. A discussion of the religious atmosphere will be rewarding because in it can be seen most of the elements which helped to shape the South Australian Colonial Defence Force - democratic idealism, tolerance, a "user-pays" ethic and the evolution of a social order. There was also a less constructive apathetic indifference on the part of the colonists to any question unless there was an issue to focus attention, which we will return to shortly.

Dissent began strongly in South Australia: indeed, it was so popular and widespread that expressions like "Dissent" and "Non-Conformism" are out of place. They suggest departure from the norm, whereas in South Australia the "new" methods of worship very closely approached the norm. Anglicans and Roman church-goers formed the bulk of the population in 1844; some 60% of the whole colony. Ten years later they were just in a minority (49.48%) and their proportion vis-à-vis the Dissenting Denominations - Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans and others - has continued to decline ever since. (8) But what was it, and why was it so important to the new colonists?

Dissenters were people who refused to conform to the

(8) Hilliard, D., unpub data collected from S.A. Censuses

teachings of the Anglican Church. This teaching was, in the middle of the eighteenth century, quite strict, and observed the same dogma in this regard as practically every other established denomination, the Episcopalian system. By this system, the manner and style of worship was controlled by Bishops, who disbursed money collected from tithes as they saw fit for the better promulgation of their version of the Gospel. All taxpayers contributed to the tithes whether or not they were of the State religion - in the case of Britain, the Anglican church. It was a system rigidly embedded in the socio-political structure of Victorian England. It was authoritarian, and deeply resented by Dissenters.

By insisting on their right to worship as they chose, and thus placing themselves outside the established church, Dissenters had attracted numerous penalties and disabilities. Their statutory political disabilities were removed as late as 1828, and not until 1871 would any Universities officially accept a Non-Conformist. (9) Consequently, whether or not by 1836 there was overt oppression of Non-Conformists, there was sufficient history of disability for them to feel oppressed. Moreover, that they were seen to be different from the rest of British society is suggested by the fact that, along with Roman Catholics, Irish, and other "oppressed" minorities, English idiom held a number of cant words and derisive titles for them. (10) In such a sense, many (but by no means all) Non-Conformists formed a body which was very ready to leave for pastures in South Australia which looked greener and freer than those of Anglican

(9) anon. Every Man's Dictionary of Dates

(10) For example "Autem Prickears" for Dissenters generally; "Autem Quavers" were Quakers, "Bog Trotters" were Irishmen, and Roman Catholics were "Craw Thumpers".
1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue Rep. 1981 MacMillan Ltd.

Britain. This gave the colony an early population which was quite insistent on democratic liberties.

One of the most significant principles to which these emigrant British Dissenters attached themselves was that of congregations supporting their own clergy: the Voluntary Principle. It allowed complete freedom of worship, and at first, it achieved successes. A great deal of money was subscribed initially for the building of churches, pew rents seemed to offer much hope of self-support, and the spirit in which the original donations were made - often from other denominations - gave cause for optimism. Six solidly and expensively built churches were up and open within the first few years in Adelaide alone. ⁽¹¹⁾ The Quaker's Chapel was erected on a site donated by J.B. Hack in North Adelaide, and was maintained entirely by the flock and by contributions from the sect in England; ⁽¹²⁾ Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists and other sects resorted to a great deal of lay-preaching in private homes or small chapels, ⁽¹³⁾ and, ...in spite of pressing problems of existence places of worship had been provided in each of the (Lutheran) villages without resort to public appeals for assistance ⁽¹⁴⁾ by 1844.

But not all was to be so easy. The South Australian depression of the early forties rendered many of the flock incapable of supporting their shepherds, and as Pike concludes Although it was reckoned that more than £16,000 was subscribed for religious purposes in the first ten years of settlement, much of it was windfall and even more of it was unpredictable. Regular contributions could only come from regular incomes, of which there were few in an economy misgoverned by speculators. ⁽¹⁵⁾

The sophisticated mechanisms of "user pays" worship had yet

(11) Pike, op cit pp. 265 & ff

(12) ibid, p. 263

(13) ibid

(14) ibid

(15) ibid, p. 265 (my emphasis)

to evolve.

There was an alternative - tithes, or State Aid. However, most colonists were opposed to State Aid for any one sect at the expense of the whole population, even though Bishop Short, Anglican Bishop of Adelaide, was a supporter of State Aid ⁽¹⁶⁾ and fought a noisy court battle over it in the late 1840s. Perhaps the most significant indicator of the importance which the colonists attached to the Voluntary Principle is the drubbing given to the supporters of State Aid in the first election to the Legislative Council in 1851. Of the sixteen candidates who were returned, only four supported State Aid, ⁽¹⁷⁾ making it impossible for them to have it enacted as law in the new self-governing colony. This firmly established the Voluntary Principle in South Australia.

The rest of the century saw the steady evolution of a "user pays" system of worship, which was able to withstand the depression of the 1890s in a way that had not been possible in 1840. At the turn of the century, with the hardship of the early days buried among the archives, the raising of money for churches from the congregations had evolved a highly efficient organisation. Of one aspect of this organisation, David Hilliard writes

Leaders of trade and commerce were not prominent in the affairs of the Church of England...and in the Roman Catholic Church they were virtually unknown, but they played an important role in the Non-Conformist denominations... (18)

Such denominations constituted over half the population.

But large donations from leaders of trade and business were not their most important source of funds. At least as

(16) Brown, J. Augustus Short p. 74

(17) ibid

(18) Hilliard, D.L. The City of Churches p. 18

significant as the contributions of the Elders, Bonythons, Mitchells and such were the fund raising activities undertaken by each congregation. There were Sewing and Women's Guilds, concerts, benevolent societies, debating societies, choirs, and multitudinous similar ancillary organisations. It was partly the function of these groups to raise money through an array of church fetes, bazaars, fairs, garden parties, flower fairs, Christmas fairs, and concerts. That such functions were possible - and profitable - was due to the central role that the church still played in the social life of the colony. (19) Sixty years before, in the foundation years this network had not evolved; some level of prosperity was necessary before anyone could turn his attention away from survival long enough to join such societies. By the turn of the century, conditions had become sufficiently favourable. Thus some of the wealthier congregations could offer stipends of up to £600 a year for a minister (20) - a stately sum indeed in an era when ten shillings a day was a good wage.

So far, we have seen how important democracy was to South Australians, and how avidly they held to the "user-pays" notion, at least as far as worship went. We have also had an example of how a sophisticated network evolved through the accumulation of practical experience in putting heartfelt principles into action. The question of how tolerant of others the colonists were is germane to this topic of democracy, and remains to be discussed. In fact, there was considerable tolerance across religions. The census of 1891 indicated almost 4,000 non-Christians in

(19) Hilliard, op cit pp. 10 & 11
(20) *ibid*, p. 10

South Australia. (21) Many of these were Jewish, and Jews had been of some significance in South Australia up to this time. For example, the merchant, Emanuel Solomon, in partnership with his brothers who worked from Sydney and Melbourne was not only prominent as a businessman but also built the first theatre - the Queens' - in Adelaide. (22) Phillip Levi, another prominent Jewish businessman whose funeral was attended by most of Adelaide's business world, was a founder and trustee of the Adelaide Club. He is also mentioned as a member of the Adelaide gentry in van Dissel's study of the social elite.⁽²³⁾ Since one of van Dissel's own criteria for eligibility to that set is acceptance by the peers, it must have been the case that Jews, at least, were acceptable to South Australians.

There was also much tolerance across Christian denominations. The first South Australian colonial chaplain, the Reverend Charles Howard, lost favour because he was not a very good preacher, regardless of the fact of his Anglican office in a Dissenting colony. His successor, the Reverend Farrell, acquired greater congregations because he was a good preacher. (24) Thomas Stow, the first Independant minister, attracted large cross-denominational congregations for precisely the same reason (25) and it became common for people to attend services they enjoyed hearing, regardless of the denomination of the preacher. Henry Johnson's welcome to the Roman Bishop Murphy, when he took up his See in 1844, observed the "friendly feeling that subsists between Catholics and the other religious denominations of the colony." (26) The various denominations assisted each other with the

(21) Pascoe, J.J., History of Adelaide and vicinity p. 60

(22) Richards, E.S., The fall and rise of the Brothers Solomon

(23) van Dissel, D. "The Adelaide Gentry, 1880-1918"

(24) Pike, op cit pp. 250 & 251

(25) *ibid*, pp. 256 & 257

(26) *ibid*, p. 276

building of their many churches, sometimes financially, and even to the extent of building a common chapel for several denominations, as the Wesleyans, Congregationalists and Anglicans of Houghton did in 1843. (27) The vexing issue of marriage ceremonies of the 1840s, may seem to refute the argument that a high level of tolerance existed. Anglican and Roman Church clergy could legally sanctify a marriage: pastors and clergy of other denominations could not unless they were accredited Public Registrars. (28) Moreover, when the colony subsequently became a Crown Colony in 1841, it inherited that same law from Great Britain along with all the rest of the great body of Westminster statute. But this disability was never the wish of any of the colonists; it was an imposition of first the Governor, and later of Imperial Parliament. The colonists eventually adapted to it, without it seeming to affect the level of tolerance they displayed for each other. This tolerance lasted at least until the turn of the century when, as Hilliard notes, (29) "there was a good deal of grass-roots co-operation between the different denominations", and "The trend among Adelaide's Protestants was towards finding common ground and common identity." This is a far cry from the sectarianism of the home country.

The religious question was not unique to South Australia, but only this colony was conceived with a free style of religious observance at its foundation. In 1851 South Australia became the first colony to abolish State Aid. It may be that political liberties extended from that;

(27) Auhl & Millstead, Tea Tree Gully Sketchbook pp. 52 & ff

(28) Pike, op cit pp. 276 & ff

(29) Hilliard, op cit pp. 14 & ff

perhaps they stemmed from the liberalism of the founders; or perhaps a mixture. Whatever, there were some notable political areas in which South Australia led the other colonies.

One obvious one was choice of constitution. South Australia compares very favourably with, for example, New South Wales and Victoria. In New South Wales, the work of constitution making was handed to a select committee headed by W.C. Wentworth, King of the Squatters. By his own admission, Wentworth had "no wish to sow the seeds of a future democracy", and he was "bound in honour to frame a Constitution, consisting, among other particulars, of a nominative Upper House." (30)

The resulting constitution first adopted in New South Wales was thus a relatively conservative document. Although there was a wide franchise, this was heavily offset by its other provisions. Any constitutional amendments required a two-thirds majority in the lower house, but only an absolute majority in the upper. The upper house itself comprised members nominated by the Governor, at first for a five year term, later for life. Hence, representation in it was beyond the reach of the mass of population, however wide the franchise was. Worst of all, domination of the lower house by the "squattocracy" was ensured by a ferocious gerrymander in their favour. Just as the select committee comprised sevenths squatters, so the whole of urban Sydney was to receive but one seat in the Legislative Assembly. Four others went to "towns", four to pastoral districts, and no less than nine to the counties. The large mining population received no representation at all. As Jim Main writes "as a Social document the constitution faithfully reflected the wealth

(30) Quoted in Main, J., "Making Constitutions in New South Wales and Victoria", pp. 375 & 376

and status of the pastoralists of New South Wales... (31)

In Victoria, the squatters were more insecure, thanks to the enormous influence of the gold mining population; consequently, there was little opposition to a bill which made the upper house elective, not nominative. But this important concession to democracy was largely eroded both by the severe property qualification for franchise to the upper house, and by the enormous powers vested in that house. Virtually, it was necessary to be a wealthy squatter to be eligible to vote for, or become a member of, the upper house. (32)

In South Australia, the situation was different. As with the other colonies, the job of drafting a constitution was handed to a select committee, as so much else in the colony's political life was to be. However, Governor Young himself put forward his own proposal, which was for a bicameral Parliament, of an elective lower house and a nominated upper house, very similar to that in New South Wales. The democratic faction in the Legislative Assembly bungled their arguments, and this was passed. The uproar from the colonists was immediate and noisy, echoing as far as Thameside, where a successful lobby persuaded the Imperial Parliament not to enact the proposal, but to refer it back to the colony for further refinement. What is significant about this is that the uproar was not orchestrated. It came spontaneously from the mass of electors who had previously been so uninterested in politics that of 3,000 electors on the Adelaide City Council rolls, only 250 voted in 1852. (33) However indifferent to Council elections they were, the voters were sufficiently enthusiastic about constitution-

(31) Main, op cit p. 379

(32) For this discussion on the Constitutions of New South Wales and Victoria see Main, op cit

(33) Pike, op cit pp. 461 & 462

drafting to summon their representatives from the Legislative Assembly that they may be heard properly, and to cause the press to "overflow with protest" (34).

At by-elections to the Assembly in 1854, the democratic faction in South Australia was strengthened, and returned to the constitution-mongering with the numbers and the experience to do the job properly this time. The result was one of the most democratic constitutions of its time - a bicameral Parliament, with both houses elected by secret ballots, and full adult male suffrage to the lower house. In contrast to the Victorian constitution, there was a reasonable property qualification for franchise to the upper house. With this democratic constitution achieved, the voters returned to their previous apathy, and one can only assume that this signified satisfaction with the outcome.

Two things to note here are the spontaneity of democratic outburst in the colony, and that, though initially they bungled the job, the democratic faction in the Legislative Assembly were strong enough to recover from an early defeat. This contrasts sharply with the complete control the conservative elements had in New South Wales, and to a lesser extent Victoria, right from the start.

There were other political advantages worthy of note. The right to more than one vote per voter for property held in another electorate never obtained in South Australia, but it was not abolished in any other colony until New South Wales did so in 1890. (35) Similarly, manhood suffrage was explicit in the 1854 constitution, which puts South Australia among the earliest in that area. France had this benefit in 1848, Prussia in 1850, the German Empire in 1871 and in the

(34) Pike, op cit pp. 468 & 469

(35) Loveday and Martin, Colonial Politics before 1890

home country, Britain, in 1884. (36) More important in terms of its practical application was the introduction in 1857 of the Torrens system of land ownership and tenure. The Real Property Act of that year was, in a colony which depended on agriculture, a real advance in its simplification of the process of changing ownership of land. Up until then this had been a long and costly business of tracing title back through endless documents, any number of which might have been lost or destroyed. After 1857, land transactions were cheaper and faster, and more within the reach of the less well-off folk trying to obtain land of their own. Given that land was both the means of economic production, and the qualification for franchise in the upper house, this was an important innovation.

The socio-political innovations continued throughout the remainder of the century, though not always before everyone else. The eight hour day came in 1873, seventeen years after it had been introduced in Melbourne; (37) South Australian members of parliament were paid for the job as from 1890, but Victorian MPs had had the same benefit since 1870. (38) On the other hand, such things did not occur in Britain until later again, and South Australia reclaimed something of a lead by having a Labour Party (the United Labour Party) formed in 1891, (39) at a time when the Labour movement in England was all but illegal; and by becoming the first place in Australia, and one of the world's first, to extend suffrage to women. (40)

That this democratic progressive emphasis was not

(36) Preston, Wise and Werner, *Men in Arms* p. 242

(37) Pike, *op cit* p. 483

(38) *ibid*, p. 484

(39) Dickey, Brian in *Labour in Politics* D.J. Murphy (ed) p. 234

(40) Jaensch, D. in *Emergence of the Australian Party System* Loveday (ed), ch. 5

merely a philanthropic flight of fancy on the part of the Adelphi Planners is clearly indicated by the longevity of the principle - after all, the Adelphi Planners were long dead by the time women were enfranchised. Liberal Democracy was part of the normal state of affairs in South Australia. This is not to imply that the colonists were all philanthropists. The mania for land speculation of the 1830s and 40s provides an early example of the other facet of the Dissenting unfluence, the profit ethic, at its purest. The dictum seems to have been that if a man had a service to provide, he was entitled to remuneration for that service, whether or not philanthropy suggested otherwise.

Education was one example. In the area of service provision, the government adopted a secondary role in education until the 1870s. The main schools, St. Peter's College (1849) and Prince Alfred's College (1867), were fee-charging private establishments begun, significantly enough, by the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist denominations respectively. Though the colonial government's Central Education Board of 1851 licensed teachers and paid some salaries, only the richest could afford schools like those mentioned above. Others had to make the best of small local schools, equally private, but far less able to hire the best teachers. To many who lived more than a mile or two from a school, or had too little money to send their children to even a small school, education was unobtainable. Though an Act of 1875 compelled children living near schools to attend, they still had to pay fees (unless destitute), and this remained the case until 1892. ⁽⁴¹⁾ Though this was more liberal than England,

(41) Gibbs, R.M., A History of South Australia pp. 174 & ff

where primary education was hardly available until the 1880s, and only compulsory around the turn of the century, it was far behind, for example, Germany, where state education had been available since the Napoleonic Wars. The example of Germany indicated what could be done by a government which was inclined to interest itself in education. However in South Australia, education was left to free enterprise.

Other examples of services for profit can be found. Public transport began as a private body, the Adelaide and Suburban Tramway Company, in 1876. Significantly, in such instances, the colonial government (made up primarily of entrepreneurs) could be persuaded to pass an Act such as the Tramways Act of that year to allow the company's founder, W.C. Buik, to launch his scheme. ⁽⁴²⁾ Not until 1906, when horse trams were hopelessly obsolete, did the government take over and create the Municipal Tramways Trust to provide electric trams, years after their introduction in Sydney and Melbourne.

The generation of fuel and power was another example of delayed state involvement. Though by the turn of the century Adelaide streets were being lit with gas and electricity, these were supplied by private companies - the Adelaide Electric Supply Company was not taken over by the State government until 1946, ⁽⁴³⁾ and the S.A. Gas Company is still a private body.

Clearly, the philanthropy of the Founding Fathers, together with their profit ethic, had combined to produce in South Australia a dualistic philosophy which pervaded the whole life of the colony. To the same extent it influenced

(42) Gibbs, op cit p. 168

(43) ibid, p. 242

the establishment, rules and conditions of the Colonial Defence Force. These rules and conditions were both typically South Australian, and at the same time more progressive in many ways than other contemporary defence forces.

That South Australia should have a defence force of its own was one of the first principles established by the National Colonisation Society. In 1831 when the proposed regulations were set forth, Regulation Number 5 read:

That the defence of the colony shall be provided for by a militia to be composed of the whole male population of the colony above the age of sixteen and under sixty. (44)

It was perhaps inevitable that this defence force should also be subject to the principles of payment for service which produced the phenomena of education, transport and services noted above. It is a corollary of the Voluntary Principle in religion: in the same spirit that the people of South Australia agreed to pay for their style of worship, they tacitly accepted that self-defence of the style they wanted necessarily entailed some expense.

A significant reflection of this was the early debate whether defence should rest on a regular force, a militia or a volunteer service. The government of 1854 could not afford a regular force; South Australians disliked the principle of a militia, but were no fonder of the idea of providing gratis service. The distinction between Militia and Volunteer needs to be drawn fairly carefully, for it is not an obvious one in South Australia's case. Basically, Militia in the South Australian context meant that all eligible males were liable to be called for service, the police would

(44) Pike, op cit p. 59

keep musters, and ballots would be drawn to pick those who would actually be conscripted into the Militia. The Militia would be subject at all times to Military Law and to the orders of appointed officers. There were also hints of the Mutiny Act, an Imperial statute with Draconian provisions such as a greater or lesser number of strokes with the cat o'nine tails for drunkenness, insubordination, and so on. Further, Militamen would be paid for their time with the colours. By contrast, Volunteers were generally not subject to the Mutiny Act, but they were not strictly speaking eligible for pay from the government either. Outside the colony the volunteer concept was one of moneyed individuals raising and equipping units of men at their own expense, or alternatively of a number of men pooling their resources.

To South Australians, neither a Militia nor a Volunteer force was acceptable. A Militia was too authoritarian; yet why should a man volunteer to serve his homeland without expecting to be paid for it? The Defence Force which immediately resulted was a hybrid most commonly called today a Volunteer Militia. It was tailored to fit the requirements of the South Australians. The men would serve as Volunteers, not subject to the Mutiny Act, but they would be paid for that service. As a consequence, South Australia had a paid Volunteer Defence Force in 1854, whereas it was only in 1878 that partial payment was introduced in the New South Wales Volunteer organisations, and 1883 in Victoria. (45) Even then, it was not full payment, as in South Australia.

The liberal and democratic principles which had guided

(45) Wedd, Monty, Australian Military Uniform, 1800-1982, pp. 18 & 50

the South Australians in their design of a constitution were by no means overshadowed by this sordid question of money. Although there were some aspects of discipline, hierarchy and organisations which the South Australian Colonial Defence Force shared with other Volunteer formations, both in Australia and elsewhere, there was a distinctively South Australian liberal thread running right through the colony's military.

The 1854 provision for the election of officers by the men was similar to the practice in New South Wales, and even in American units during the Civil War there (1861-5). Moreover, this provision was withdrawn from South Australians in 1859. The colonial government had a reasonable desire for some influence over who should lead its soldiers; thenceforth, the Volunteers were permitted to nominate their officers, and the Governor appointed them. But the behaviour of the Volunteers towards those officers was typical of South Australians. They made a practice of calling meetings to censure the officers they had chosen. For example in 1862 the Observer noted that the Kapunda Rifles had censured their captain for failing to fix the date of a parade, and the Reedbeds cavalry had accused their Captain of disregarding the health of their horses after a period of duty. (46) By any standard, such behaviour towards Commanding Officers was mutinous, but in South Australia it was acceptable. They were actions which were strongly redolent of the summoning of Members of the Legislative Council by their electorates to answer to them during the Constitutional debate. Public meetings were called for all kinds of issues in colonial South Australia. It was at a series

(46) Zwillenberg, H.J. "Citizens and Soldiers, the Defence of South Australia (1836-1901)" p. 173

of public meetings that the proponents of State Aid were defeated; Governors Hindmarsh and Grey had been roundly criticised at similar meetings. The Volunteers in South Australia's Defence Force had no reason or incentive to act differently just because the men they criticised enjoyed periodic and very temporary authority.

The substitution question is another example of the prevailing liberalism. The Act of 1854 made provision for Volunteers who were liable for service, but who were unable to come forward, to pay for a substitute - that is, hire another man to do their service for them. This was not repealed until the Defence Forces Act Amendment Act of 1890. Substitution itself was a method of ensuring that somebody was available for service, a practice which had been normal in England for a century. However, far from seeing it as normal or even useful, South Australians were incensed that the wealthy man might be able to shirk his public duty by the simple flexing of his economic muscle, while the less wealthy served. C.H. Bagot, a prominent politician and a captain in the Volunteers, insisted in the Legislative Council that men who hired substitutes were shirking their public duty, and had no right to vote. Writers to the Observer held that the whole population should be compelled to bear their fair share of the burden of defence, and a letter was quoted in Parliament: "Mark ye, Sir, no exemption - let wealth and poverty join shoulder to shoulder." (47) The practice of equal rights for all men evidently extended beyond religious freedom, into other areas as well.

(47) Zwillenberg, op cit p. 159

The discipline under which the Colonial Defence Force operated was equally reflective of the prevailing South Australian liberal ideology. It was only in 1895, when the distinction between Volunteer and Regular was dropped (48) that Volunteers became subject to the Mutiny Act. By this time, the trend in defence circles throughout Australia was towards a Regular Australian army, and the Commandant, Colonel Joseph Maria Gordon, was attending conferences in Melbourne from time to time to discuss precisely that issue. (49) Federation was looming, and a regular national army had to have some sort of provision for uniformity of discipline. Also, successive Imperial governments had moderated the Mutiny Act's worst disciplinary excesses. But until this time it was anathema to South Australians, as is shown by "A Bill to provide for the Establishment and Maintenance of the South Australian Guard" of 1865. This attempted to make Volunteers serve under the same conditions as a Militia, which necessarily implied subjection to the Mutiny Act. The response in parliament and the press was such that the bill was voted back into committee and never heard from again. (50)

Yet another example of the liberal conditions which attended the South Australian military was the Military Forces Act of 1878, and its regulations. This established a regular force of soldiers in South Australia. At first sight, the Act and its regulations seem to deny this liberalism, but this is misleading. The Commanding Officer was empowered to confiscate pay or confine men to barracks,

(48) Zwillenberg, op cit p. 194

(49) Perry, W., op cit pp. 144 & ff

(50) Zwillenberg, op cit pp. 176 & ff

both for up to thirty days, in the event of any breach of the regulations. Courts-martial could be constituted and soldiers gaoled for serious offences. Regulation number 18 laid down that officers should attend Divine Service with the men: (51) other regulations forbade non-commissioned officers to fraternise with the men, forbade the men to approach officers unless accompanied by a non-commissioned officer, and laid down strict instructions as to who should salute whom and when. (52) At first sight, this is a far cry from the easy going situation of the Volunteers, wherein officers could be verbally chastised by a mutinous assembly for neglecting the horses. But this must be seen in perspective. The regulations governed a regular, full time military body, not a citizen volunteer force. They were modelled along the strict hierarchical lines of the British Army, which was only natural in a British colony.

Yet even in its disciplinary provisions, the Permanent Military Force in South Australia was notably more liberal than the Imperial soldiery from which it was modelled. In both armies there was a system of fines and confinement to barracks for minor infractions of discipline. However, penalties in the British army could be much more severe - flogging or even the death penalty. This was not the case in South Australia. Sir Garnet Wolsely, the "very model of a modern Major General" who formed the basis for Gilbert and Sullivan's character, wrote of the British army early in the second half of the century:

(51) "Regulations under the Military Forces Acts 1878" S.A. Govt. gazette 31/8/1882, reconfirmed 6/9/1888

(52) *ibid*

For the due maintenance of discipline in an army raised as ours is by voluntary enlistment, a more drastic code of laws is required than for one raised...on the principle of universal service...and we cannot prevent serious cases (other) than by resorting to the penalty of death. (53)

Another British officer, summed up the attitude to punishment which prevailed in the British army thus: "I never knew an instance of any man suffering ill effects from receiving fifty lashes." (54) Flogging was entirely at the discretion of the Commanding Officer of the soldier's Regiment. Though it gradually fell into disuse by 1881, it declined under pressure from outside the Army. This pressure was strenuously resisted by senior officers within the Army. (55) Moreover, the death penalty remained a punishment for British soldiers right through the Great War. Neither flogging nor the death penalty ever obtained in South Australian military circles, in spite of Sir Garnet's belief that such things were necessary in a voluntarily enlisted army.

South Australians were also more willing to pay their soldiers a decent wage than were those who controlled the British army. The South Australian soldier, whether Regular or Volunteer, was better paid and provided for than his British counterpart. Since British Volunteers were never paid, and other Volunteers in Australia only received partial payment, comparison of South Australian Volunteers' rates of pay with that of British Regulars is the only one that can be made without discussing the pay in non-British colonial armies. The relevance of such ex-Imperial comparisons is questionable. Thus, in 1854, South Australian Volunteers received 5/- a day, (reduced to 3/6d a day in 1859) plus "marching money" of 4/- a day if they had to serve away

(53) Quoted in A. Skelley, The Victorian Army at Home p. 125 (my emphasis)

(54) Lt. Col. W.G. Alexander, quoted in Skelley, op cit p. 125

(55) For this discussion on discipline in the British Army, see Skelley, op cit pp. 125 & ff

often paying thousands of pounds to become a subaltern in a fashionable Regiment. George Bingham, soon to become Lord Lucan and later to order the Light Brigade to its decimation at Balaclava, paid £25,000 for the colonelcy of the 17th Lancers as early as 1826. (62) By the latter half of the century prices were inflated far beyond this. In addition to such sums, British officers had expenses relating to dress, mess, and recreation which bankrupted practically every officer who was not in receipt of an income from land, tenants or business in addition to his salary. Thus, in Britain, to be an officer, it was necessary also to be well connected. Few men could rise from the ranks to be officers, and even after purchase was abolished, the expenses attached to a commission, as well as the ingrained prejudices, kept this effect alive long after the system was dead. This shows clearly how, in permitting any technically qualified man to become an officer, the democratic influences in South Australia produced an officer system far more liberal than that of the home country.

If pay and conditions in the South Australian Colonial Defence Force contrasted favourably with other colonies and with the British army, how favourable were they within South Australia? That is, was the South Australian soldier better or worse off than, for example, a South Australian labourer or bank clerk? In fact, he was comfortably placed. The wage of £2/4/6d per week for a married private soldier, quoted above, compares very favourably with, for example, a lime cutter and burner who, in the 1870s, earned between 7/- and 18/6d in the same seven days. At the same time, a

(62) For an excellent discussion of this system, see Cecil Woodham Smith, The Reason Why

farm overseer earned about £2/14/- (63) in a seven day week, or the same as a private soldier. Moreover his was a supervisory job which would have been more like that of a sergeant than a private soldier. A sergeant, of course, was paid more again (a little over £3 per week, including allowances). (64) Shearers received, in the late 1870s, £1 to £2 for every 100 sheep, or roughly a day's work, (65) but shearing is both skilled work and seasonal, so the wages would have been high to provide for their time when work was not available. A mason received about 15/- a day, but this too was in a skilled trade. Hence, while he was not as well off in actual wage as the skilled element in the South Australian labour force, the soldier received a wage slightly above that of his unskilled civilian counterpart. Moreover, he had free food and fuel. With mutton at 6d/lb, bread 5d a loaf and coke at 7/6d a bag during the late 1870s, (66) this single provision had the effect of substantially increasing his disposable income. Hence the regular soldier was well ahead of his civilian counterpart in economic terms. Volunteers, of course, did not have such allowances unless they were serving away from home. However, in their case, it must be remembered that their rates of pay were very similar to those of the Permanent Forces for the time they spent in uniform. Also, this pay was in addition to that from their own civilian jobs.

We can see from this how South Australia had a Defence Force which, in its liberal and progressive provisions, mirrored the attitudes of the society from which it was drawn. In paying handsomely for this Defence Force, South

(63) Heinrich, R., Governor Fergusson's Legacy

(64) S.A. Govt. Gazette 6/9/1888

(65) Grolier Australian Encyclopaedia, V. 8, p. 88

(66) Heinrich, op cit p. 132

Australians got the style of defence they wanted, and in doing so they applied the same "user-pays" ethic to it as they did to their style of worship. Clearly then, the most prominent factors which shaped South Australian society - liberalism and fair pay for fair effort - also influenced the shape of the South Australian military.

Defence and Inertia

If the South Australian Colonial Defence Force was heavily influenced by the progressive and liberal ideology which underpinned the colony, it was also significantly affected by another aspect of colonial South Australian Society which was far less happy. In a very real way, the efforts of those men in the colony who planned and laboured in parliament or the newspapers over the question of defence were undermined by the vast indifference of the rest of the population. In short, South Australians were apathetic about a range of topics, including defence. For example, we noted earlier that of 3,000 voters on electoral rolls for the Adelaide City Council in 1852, only 250 voted. In another election six months later, this shrank to 113. (1) We also mentioned briefly, that once the uproar over the constitution had achieved its initial purpose of blocking the first conservative draft, the same electors who had summoned their representatives then once again settled down to let those representatives do the work. Indeed as Pike says:- "The Legislative Councillors... (exhibited) a zeal that compensated somewhat for the indifference and scepticism of the people they were supposed to represent." (2) The same indifference applied even to religious questions. When there was an issue - State Aid, the Cathedral Acre incident, for example - the population was effectively noisy. But when no issue was at stake, people apparently lost interest. Thus there is a comfortable placidity about religious debate at the turn of the century. (3)

(1) Pike, op cit p. 462

(2) *ibid*

(3) Hilliard, op cit pp. 15 & ff

The issues were more theological than popular - Baptismal regeneration, unity versus schismatism, and so on. The lay worshipper was so indifferent to such issues that he was happy to see an extension of Sunday entertainments which ate heavily into church attendances. (4) The public religious debates of the 1840s and 1850s, once the questions that occasioned them had been settled, were practically forgotten.

Perhaps even more indicative of this general indifference was the implicit recognition given to it by the colonial government when it first introduced its defence Acts. The Volunteer Act of 1854 was followed within months by the Militia Act, the purpose of which was specifically to lay the heavy hand of implied compulsion on South Australians to Volunteer. (5) While Volunteers were to be exempt, anyone else was, on proclamation of the Act, liable to be conscripted into the Militia should it ever be called out, and the police were empowered to keep rolls. It was a simple choice - volunteer or be drafted. The lesson, however, was not entirely learned. By June 1865, enrolments in the volunteers were well below the stipulated minimum, and the Militia Act had to be rattled again to encourage numbers. Even then the effect began to wear off after a year or two more. (6)

It seems that just as with other questions in the colony, when there was an issue (or more accurately, a war scare) interest in the colony's defence waxed. The regularity of the war scares can be gauged from the dates

(4) Hilliard, op cit pp. 22 & 23

(5) Zwillenberg, op cit p. 158

(6) ibid, p. 179

of the Acts relating to defence. Thus, the Militia and Volunteer Acts of 1854 coincided with the Crimean War and scares of Russian invasion. The Volunteer Amendment Act of 1859 coincided with a European crisis in which France was the perceived threat. The Volunteer Act, 1865, coincided with the American Civil War, during which the Confederate raider Shenandoah anchored for a time off undefended Melbourne. When it was realised how easily Shenandoah could have held Melbourne to ransom, the colonists there and in South Australia positively quaked. Similarly, the Rifle Companies Act and the Military Forces Act, both of 1878, coincided with a Russo-Turkish war in which Britain almost intervened as she had done in 1854. During the course of each of these scares, there was debate in the press on a range of xenophobic topics, defence included. (7) This raised the interest and the consciousness of the colonists, and for a brief time units would fill up or new ones be raised under the aegis of such new Acts as had been passed. Then the war scares would die away, the press fall silent, and the newly raised or filled units would wither away over the next couple of years.

That this apathy was common among the colonists, and not confined to a few politicians or journalists, is shown by the number of men who left the Volunteer units within a short time of joining. For example, in 1879, the Civil Service provided a company of men 80 strong: 24 had left before the end of the year, 13 more did so within another twelve months, and by the middle of 1882 only 20 are not recorded as having left. Of the 60 who left, 49 did so of their own

(7) Zwillenberg, op cit pp. 83 & ff

free will, 4 were struck off, (for desertion, so the muster roll says), others had been unable to continue for reasons of their own, such as leaving the colony. The unit thus shrank by three quarters, simply because its members wanted to leave.

Civil Service (No. 2) Company was by no means the only example. Here are some others.

Georgetown Rifle Company - raised 1878, 26 strong;

15 resigned within 18 months of the unit's formation.

Adelaide Mounted Rifles - of 101 names on the roll in 1877 there was not a single one not crossed through by 1881.

Angaston Rifle Company - raised 18/3/1880, 45 strong;

15 had left before the end of 1881, only 18 were still on the roll by April 1884.

Port Germein Rifle Company - raised 1883-4, of the 43 names on the original roll, only six appear on that drawn up in 1885.

Tatiara Rifle Company - raised 1879, 51 strong; by 1883 it had 30 men, of whom 18 were originals; only 12 new members had been attracted in that time.

In 1882, when the Maitland Rifle Company offered free uniforms in an attempt to attract new members, the members of the unit hoped for forty volunteers: they got thirteen. (8) On the 16th March 1863, when the Tea Tree Gully Rifles fired salutes at the opening of two bridges, at Inglewood and Chain of Ponds, precisely four men and the captain were available for the ceremony. (9)

Indeed, apathy towards defence was a very serious

(8) Heinrich, op cit p. 179

(9) Auhl & Millsted, op cit p. 44

problem. It was dangerous enough to jeopardise colonial defence policy, especially when combined with the entrepreneurial notions mentioned before. In 1888, there were plans for a third Coastal fort at Glenelg to augment those at Largs and Glanville. However, the land owner of the proposed site was far from enthusiastic about defence and public service. He held out for more money than the government was prepared to offer, materially contributing to the demise of the scheme. (10)

This shows that while the concept of a Defence Force for South Australia in the nineteenth century was governed by the same democratic principles as the rest of the colony's business, there were less happy facets of South Australian lifestyle which deeply affected the implementation of those high-flown principles. The theory was fine: the practice was sometimes found wanting.

(10) Anonymous article, "The History of the Military Forces in South Australia" Aust. Army Journal August, 1953
Vol. 5 No. 51 p. 20

Towards Maturity

The great liberal principles on which South Australia was founded, and which pervaded the Colonial Defence Force, changed very little during the nineteenth century. There was change in the application of those principles. South Australia's political base evolved gradually into a modern parliamentary democracy as the colonists learned new techniques, most importantly a party structure. At the same time, this growth of the parent society toward political maturity was mirrored by a similar growth toward military professionalism on the part of the Colonial Defence Force. In the same way as the body politic learned new political techniques, so too did the legislature have to learn how to devise an effective defence policy.

What course did this learning process within the body politic take, and how was this reflected in South Australian defence policy, and in the Colonial Defence Force?

There was a grand simplicity about South Australian colonial politics before the 1890s. Like so much else about the colony, it showed signs of the freedom of speech and action so important to the founders. Every man should have a vote, and every elector was eligible to stand for office. He needed no platform, no policy, no philosophical structure to his outlook. Above all, he needed no party membership. All he needed was incentive and the money for a deposit. Only Athens could have given the world a more classical definition of democracy. In the 1840s and 1850s while the population was small and localised, and the economy very simply based primarily on agricultural produce largely consumed by the grower, with a margin for export, the system was just feasible.

In essence, it was the primitive society of which Preston, et al wrote; or if the word "primitive" is too harsh, it was certainly an unsophisticated one. Given the pressures acting on and from within the colony in the second half of the nineteenth century, this system had to change.

Those pressures were severe. South Australia's population more than quadrupled between 1855 and 1901, and the colony became more urbanised. This necessitated a more complex and sophisticated bureaucracy. A smaller proportion of the population grew food supplies, while an increasing proportion began to operate as sellers of those supplies, as middle-men, and as providers of services to the population. The increasing inflow from the later industrial revolution was having its effect. People were needed to operate railways, telegraphs, telephones, trams, and all the paraphernalia associated therewith. Thus the "Commerce, trade and Manufacture" sector increased from 11% of the population in 1861 to 16% in 1881, a shift of almost 50%. The proportion engaged in Agricultural, Horticultural or Pastoral occupations shrank by the same amount in the same period, from 18% to 12%. (1) The effects of these demographic shifts were exacerbated by slow swings in the economic base, from agriculture to mining and then, as the copper mines slowly ran down, back again to agriculture. The agricultural sector itself swung from the dominance of the pastoralists in the late 1840s to the dominance of wheat thereafter. Faced with a changeable economic base, and a swelling population which altered its character over time, the quasi-Athenian style of primitive democracy was far too ramshackle to

(1) S.A. Census, 1861 & 1881

provide the predictable style of governance which the multiplying special interest groups, such as pastoralists, miners, merchants, labourers, temperance workers and so on began to demand. As early as the 1850s, right after the grant of responsible government, the Colonial legislature was in trouble. Says Pascoe:

The instability of parties is demonstrated in the statement that in the first twelve years of responsible government there were fifteen absolute changes of Ministry, besides several Cabinet reconstructions. (2)

Put simply, because there was no party structure within which to unite individuals, the ministries were composed of men who were free to press their own viewpoints. They were thus both the apex of democracy, and at the same time riven by disagreement. A majority could be won or lost because one or two individuals changed their minds, took sick or lost their seats. A Premier could only be so if he was able to unite sufficient individuals beside him. All too often this could only be done for a particular issue, after the resolution of which the united front could all too easily collapse. The legislature was dominated by such factions, all with their own perception of what constituted the major issues. These factions themselves contained men who prized independence above anything else. A party structure was necessary before these disparate opinions could be united. (3)

The concept of parties and party policies was slowly gaining ground. In the 1860s and throughout the 70s, the pastoralists and other rural interest groups combined to form associations to fight specific issues of importance

(2) Pascoe, op cit p. 133
(3) Jaensch, op cit p. 250

to them - the Pastoralist Association during the 60s, the Farmers Mutual Association of the 70s, for example. (4) Though these were steps towards political maturity, they were halting ones at best, for these associations collapsed once the issues they fought for had been resolved. Though they were temporarily unified, they were not parties in the strict modern sense. A more definite step was taken with the formation of the United Trades and Labour Council (UTLC) in 1884, and its Parliamentary offshoot, the United Labour Party (ULP) in 1891. The ULP was in many ways a modern political party. It had a coherent platform, and a recognisable political philosophy, on which its members agreed to vote in unison. Above all, it did not collapse within a few months. Moreover, this move by the labouring element in the colony catalysed the conservative elements into forming some sort of united opposition - the National Defence Council (NDC) was formed from amongst wealthy pastoralist interests a year after the UTLC, and the Independent Country Party in 1887.

The evolution was not complete at that stage, however. Neither of the conservative associations had a coherent platform, and indeed the Independent Country Party lay dormant until 1901. (5) Moreover, the colonial parliament was still dominated by Independents, to the extent that when the ULP had electoral successes in 1892, it could only influence the legislature by allying itself with a gaggle of Independents led by Charles Kingston.

The Kingston ministry which came to power in South Australia in 1893 was able to do so partly because it had the support of the ULP in the Assembly. Its life is worth

(4) Jaensch, op cit p. 268

(5) ibid

studying briefly, because it shows clearly how influential the principle of Independence still was even as late as this. Kingston led a faction of Independents who, as a group, broadly held to the same moderate left-wing philosophies as the ULP. However, there was not a single ULP man in his ministry. The ULP was very much a poor cousin. It depended upon Kingston's Independents to get labour policies enacted, but the Kingston bloc could hope for sufficient support from unaligned Independents in the Assembly to be able to do without ULP support if the ULP at any time decided to withdraw. Thus, Kingston's hand could not be forced, and the ULP had to rely on the similarity in philosophies to obtain support for any measure they suggested. The alternative was to ally themselves with the NDC who had the support of some of the Conservative Independents. In view of the fact that the NDC had been formed specifically to oppose the UTLC, this was unthinkable.

With ULP support, Kingston's ministry was the longest lived until that time, lasting six years. The ULP also supported Holder's ministry subsequently. However, even this late, the ULP was unpredictably cast out by precisely the same kind of change of heart, amongst a few individuals which had shackled the ministries of the 1850s and 1860s. The Ministerial bloc lost some members to the new federal parliament. Those who replaced them had been left wing years before, but with age had grown more conservative. Hence the attitudes in the ministerial bloc slid sharply to the right, and the ULP found itself out of favour. (6)

Nonetheless, they had shown the way. The Independent

(6) Jaensch, op cit pp. 266 & ff

Country Party began to operate along similar unified lines to those of the ULP in 1901, and by 1907 the principle of faction politics in South Australia was well on the way to replacement by party politics.

Such a modern parliamentary democracy had however, grown slowly to maturity, and the effect of this prolonged period of political adolescence on the Colonial Defence Force was profound. The disunity of approach which split ministry after ministry was reflected in the fragmentation of defence policy, and in the uncertain manner in which Volunteer units were first raised.

Between 1854 and 1895, the years of the earliest and latest colonial Acts providing for the establishment of some form of domestic defence force, there were at least thirteen such Acts or amendments. Given that the worst of the divided opinions and uncertainties were slowly overcome as the colony grew and gained experience, we should expect there to be a large proportion of these Acts in the early years, and indeed this is the case - five, or almost half, between 1854 and the end of 1860. (7)

So divided in its opinions on defence policy was South Australia's parliament, and so unschooled in the making of one, that there was a constant searching throughout the second half of the century for advice and opinion on what should be done. Hence the thirteen or so Acts were in part the result of no less than fifteen Select Committees, commissions, or individuals appointed or requested by the South Australian government to report and advise on defence. Four of these occurred in just two years, 1865 and 1866. Moreover,

(7) Zwillenberg, op cit pp. 119 & ff

of the fifteen reports commissioned between 1854 and 1895, almost half were prompted by disagreement over the recommendations of an earlier report,⁽⁸⁾ and at least one committee submitted practically one report from each of its members. A practical example of this indecision can be found in the defence appropriations. In 1868, two nine-inch muzzle-loading guns were imported from Britain at enormous expense to be used for coast defence. By the time they arrived, minds had changed and the guns were not mounted for another sixteen years.⁽⁹⁾ Not until the late 1870s did South Australia follow a coherent defence policy, and even then it was only with direct professional aid from Britain.

Colonel W.D. Jervois was seconded from the British Army to report and advise. He arrived in 1877, and in his deliberations, he came to almost the same conclusions as those who had reported before. This time, perhaps because of Jervois' authority and qualifications, they were acted upon. Moreover, the precedent of seeking professional advice was set and a great deal of military expertise and technical advice was thereafter imported from Britain. So heavily did the colonists come to rely on the mother country for guidance that, of the nine commandants appointed to South Australia's military, seven were serving or retired British officers, and only two were colonists. Many of their staff and subordinates were also British Regulars.⁽¹⁰⁾ Of this phenomenon,

Zwillenberg writes

It seems strange that the defence schemes of the late eighties should have been recommended solely by outsiders, with no apparent participation by South Australians.⁽¹¹⁾

Given the inexpert ditherings of the colonial legislature,

(8) Zwillenberg, op cit pp. 119 & ff.

(9) Observer, 26/4/1884

(10) Zwillenberg, op cit pp. 200 & ff.

(11) ibid, p. 132

this is not strange at all. The colonists were so divided in their own opinions that it required some authoritative outsider to say the same thing before they could finally realise its true value.

In this way, a defence policy was finally arrived at in the late 1870s. Give or take some slight variations from report to report, this policy was to defend Adelaide against raids from seaborne squadrons by a string of fixed defences - coastal forts supported by a gunboat for inshore defence, booms and torpedoes (which was then the name for what, today, we call mines) for the harbour, and a Volunteer field force to operate against any landing parties which may get ashore. The likelihood of all-out invasion was discounted, given the distance of Adelaide from any likely enemy, and the strength of the Royal Navy. Thus in the early 1880s, the gunboat HMCS Protector was purchased, the forts begun, and the Permanent Military Forces Act of 1878 passed to create a garrison for the forts. This policy was expensive - on delivery, the Protector alone cost £73,309/3/6d, without considering maintenance costs. ⁽¹²⁾ Running costs for defence in 1893-4 were £21,878. ⁽¹³⁾ Consequently, it was not something which, once embarked upon, too many politicians were willing to reverse, with the necessary wastage that would attend such reversal.

However, in the same way that the formation of parties heralded political sophistication, but did not immediately bring it about, so consensus thus achieved at the military level by no means cleared up the divisions among the policy makers. That they were still divided in their opinions,

(12) Zwillenberg, op cit p. 227

(13) Perry, op cit

even late in the century is clear. In 1887, the Castine Committee was appointed to enquire into the state of military preparedness in the colony. It laid very little stress on fixed defences, and much on mobility. Because this disagreed with the opinions of the Military and Naval Commandants, two further opinions were sought, and they were different from both the Castine Commission report, and from each other. (14) It was not to be until 1895, with the formation of the Local Defence Council, that the rash of conflicting reports and recommendations ceased.

The Local Defence Council was formed as a centralised administrative body to oversee the implementation of defence policy in South Australia, under the joint control of Naval, Military, Police and political chiefs. It was the last step towards military professionalism that the administration of South Australia's Defence Forces would take as a colony. Almost immediately, the Military Commandant, Colonel Joseph Maria Gordon, was embroiled in negotiations for the final step up to the goal of complete military maturity - the establishment of a centrally directed Australian Military force.

Clearly, early defence policy in colonial South Australia was as fragmented as every other political issue, a fragmentation caused by both division within the legislature, and lack of expertise in the defence field. It became efficient at the same time as the legislature achieved some degree of sophistication - the late 1890s and very early 1900s. In both areas, the colonists had to learn by their mistakes, learn from others and evolve their own working systems.

(14) Zwillenberg, op cit p. 133

Eventually, they arrived at a satisfactory solution. But defence policy is only one aspect of defence. What effect did the uncertainties of policy have on the Defence Force itself, and how did the Colonial Defence Force reflect this learning process, this evolution of sophistication?

The method of raising units demonstrated the degree to which lessons were learnt and built upon very clearly indeed. The colonists tried several unsuccessful experiments in the 1840s and 50s. They found something that worked in 1865, and then improved on that in 1878, until reaching the level of centralisation and professionalism displayed in the nineties. Just as the political system and defence policy both grew to maturity, so too did the military system itself.

The first units were raised in 1840, when the South Australian Government Gazette informed all that enrolments were open in the Volunteer Militia, that officers were to supply their own "arms, accoutrements and complete clothing", while non-commissioned officers and men were to be "furnished with arms, accoutrements, jackets and caps from the Public Stores." (15) Volunteers were to attend at Brigade office, King William Street, between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays for fittings. (16) However, the colony was struggling to survive in 1840, and the uncertainties of this period are reflected in the fate of this earliest attempt to found a defence force. The units raised in 1840 collapsed within months; no one had realised that there was nobody available to train them. Later units were raised in two or three different ways, and the experiment of simply advertising for them was not repeated.

(15) S.A. Govt. Gazette, 26/3/1840

(16) ibid, 9/4/1840

The next step was taken in 1854, with two Acts, the Militia Act and the Volunteer Act. The Militia Act 1854 was a document worthy of study in some detail, since it was the first - and for a long while the only-success the legislature had in establishing a Defence Force. It set provisions which remained essentially unchanged even after the Defences Act of 1895. The Militia was to be called out by the Governor, should it ever be needed. The Governor was empowered to divide the colony into muster areas, to set a quota for each area, and to ensure that the number of men called up would reach the required limit without one part of the colony being totally deprived of its eligible manhood. Men in Volunteer units would be exempt; all others were liable for service. The police would compile and keep muster rolls and ballots would be held to pick the men in a very similar fashion to that during the years of National Service in Australia in the 1960s. This was no innovation: it had been introduced in England a hundred years previously. (17) It was a long Act, running to somewhere in the region of 150 clauses. It was both precise, as an Act of Parliament should be, and comprehensive, which Acts of Parliament sometimes are not. In this instance, time proved its worth and validity. The only real change made by the Defences Act 1895 was to substitute appointed enrolment officers for policemen as the keepers of district lists. However, if it was an early success, it was only a success in a technical sense. The Militia was never called out, in spite of the long life of the Act, and the only use it ever saw was as a stick with which to drive unwilling colonists into the

(17) Zwillenberg, op cit p. 10

Volunteers by threat of conscription.

If the Militia was regulated by a wordy Act, the Volunteer Movement suffered from too many short Acts. Moreover, whereas the Militia Act stood the test of time, the early provisions made for Volunteer enrolment most certainly did not. The Volunteer Act of 1854 was amended in 1859 and again a year later: an Auxiliary Volunteer Act was passed in 1860, and the whole lot was repealed by the Volunteer Act, 1865. Then an entirely new system was inaugurated with the Rifle Companies Act, 1878.

The Volunteer Act, 1854 followed a time-honoured pattern. The Governor would divide the colony into districts and appoint in each an enrolling officer, whose duty it was to drum up enthusiasm for the units, attest the signatures of the volunteers, and swear them in. In general terms, given the contribution of uniform and horse by the Volunteer, this is very similar to the commissions of Lieutenancy which Elizabeth I used to raise her armies. ⁽¹⁸⁾ Indeed, it was not so very different in concept to the county-based regular regiments of the time in England sending sergeants and drummers out into the streets to recruit new soldiers, from the gutters and taverns. Among the free citizens of nineteenth century South Australia, few indeed heeded such a call.

The Auxiliary Volunteer Act, 1860, tried to gain efficiency by adding a new dimension. While the provisions of the 1854 Act remained in force, the Auxiliary Volunteer Act, which became known as the "Free Rifles Act" ⁽¹⁹⁾ provided an alternative to it. Persons who wished to serve, but did not wish to do so under government conditions, were permitted

(18) Cruickshank, C.G., Elizabeth's Army pp. 17 & ff

(19) Zwillenberg, op cit p. 171

to enrol, equip and to train themselves in whatever way they saw fit. The only snag was that while the 1854 Act offered pay, this had been reduced a year before, and the Free Rifles Act offered none at all. Very few men took up this option.

Up to this time it had proved singularly difficult to attract men to the Volunteers, pay or no pay. The colonial legislature recognised this and the next Acts governing the raising of Volunteer units attempted to provide some incentive. The Volunteer Act, 1865, though it repealed all previous Volunteer legislation, did not materially alter the method by which units should be raised, but it did provide for prize competitions for marksmanship. Rifle shooting was a popular sport, but even so, there was still a shortage of Volunteers. Nonetheless the 1865 Act set the groundwork for a significant advance. It was followed by the Rifle Companies Act, 1878, which implicitly recognised both this drive for incentive and the individualism of the South Australian free settlers in the following clause:

Any twenty or more persons desirous of taking the benefit of this Act may form themselves into a rifle company by severally taking and subscribing an oath...and by signing a memorandum ..., and such oath and memorandum shall be forwarded to the inspecting officer who, on being satisfied that the same are regular and that the subscribers are fit and proper persons to be members of such a rifle company, shall issue to same person on behalf of the company, a certificate of enrolment...

They were also allotted a rifle and one hundred rounds a year, and the 1865 provisions for marksmanship competitions, now at government expense, were repeated. This Act represents a most important change. Previously government agents had gone forth to enlist others; now the "others" were being told to their own recruiting, and merely let the government know about it. This loose but centralised control over the

raising of units was a stride towards professional administration. Also, it both recognised and exploited the popular sport of rifle shooting, and for the first time there was a rush to join the new units by men who wished to partake of this sport at government expense. Possibly they were encouraged by the implicit recognition of their native common sense and honesty. They were thenceforth to be allowed to band together, with arms and ammunition and pay provided by the government. In many societies, even some Australian ones, this would have been an open invitation to mutiny and insurrection. But in South Australia, with its free origins and placid history, there never was a Castle Hill or a Eureka Stockade.

At last a method of raising Volunteer units had been found which worked. The Defence Forces Act, 1886, did not change this procedure, though it offers another example of the application of lessons learned. It set age limits and changed the minimum size of a unit. The twenty-man companies of the 1878 Act were difficult to form into larger units, so the minimum size of a rifle company was changed to thirty men, or one platoon, three of which made up a regular line company. For cavalry, the minimum became 18 (half a troop). But this was merely polish on the surface of what was essentially a finished product. The only other change to enrolment procedures came with the Defences Act, 1895, which set a very similar routine, with the added bonus that henceforth the uniform would be supplied by the government, not by the Volunteer. This put the final, superficial, seal on the professionalism of the South Australian Volunteer Movement, and was a necessary concomitant of the growing move towards federation of those later years. Central control of a



Federal military system implied uniformity, not only of organisation, but also of dress. If the Colonial government supplied uniforms, it would make the changeover that much easier. Australian soldiers should at least look like Australian soldiers, rather than a polyglot collection of idiosyncratic rifle clubs in kaleidoscopic uniforms.

Clearly then, the South Australian Colonial Defence Force, while staying within the liberal and progressive ideologies discussed in the first chapter, nonetheless went through many changes. These changes kept pace with those in the socio-political sphere, and overall, the defence force reflected the growth of its parent society. As South Australia grew to maturity, and learned and applied new and more sophisticated techniques, so too did its military system.

Officers and Gentlemen

The question, "Who were the officers?" must be addressed if it is to be shown that the Colonial Defence Force was an accurate reflection of its parent society. If it is true that the military accurately reflected its parent society, then we should expect to find that the officers within the military were drawn from among the leaders of that society. Indeed this was the case in South Australia; but this is a generalisation which must be carefully qualified. The participation of the social leaders in the Volunteer Movement was strongly influenced by the prevailing egalitarianism in the colony, by their own recognition of their status, and by the general apathy which was mentioned earlier. But before discussing this, we must identify who, precisely, constituted the social leaders.

We must to a large extent disqualify the "gentry", the aristocracy as defined by Dirk van Dissel. ⁽¹⁾ There are several reasons for this. A few of the gentry did serve prominently in the Volunteers. For example, C.H. Bagot appears on van Dissel's list of gentry, and he was for many years most prominent in the Volunteer Movement, holding the rank of Captain in the 1860s. B.T. Finniss, prominent politician and land-owner, was Colonel of the Adelaide Regiment during the 1870s, and ultimately the first colonist to become Commandant. But as Zwillenberg rightly observes "the 'gentlemen' of the colony, unlike their counterparts in England, were scarcely interested in supporting, let alone sponsoring, their own units." ⁽²⁾ Besides the existence of this handful above, there was a mass of Captains and

(1) van Dissel, D. The Adelaide Gentry, 1880-1918

(2) Zwillenberg, op cit p. 172

Lieutenants of less favourable fortune in command of units raised right across the colony. As a group, the "gentry" had neither the numbers nor the minute-by-minute local influence in towns beyond the Adelaide suburbs to become the officer class. In the thirty eight years covered by his work, van Dissel identifies just over one hundred individuals and their families who meet his qualifications for "gentry". Given that half of van Dissel's period falls outside our own, we must surmise that the number who could actually have been Volunteer officers between 1854 and 1901 were smaller still. Furthermore, some of those who could, would have been at some time or another disqualified from military service by virtue of their age. Hence, there were simply too few of them to have been, as a group, the leaders of the Volunteer Movement. More important disqualification than number is geographic location. Practically all of the "gentry" lived in or around Adelaide,⁽³⁾ where they could live their lavish life and pursue a political career. However, the majority of the Volunteer units were raised in the country, or in satellite towns a day or more away from Adelaide. For example in 1861, of 33 units, 26 were in the country.⁽⁴⁾ Thus the "gentry" could not possibly have been both politicians and Volunteer officers, since to perform the duties of both simultaneously was impossible in an age of horse travel. They could not have the same local influence in, for example, Crystal Brook or Robe as they did in Adelaide. The local affairs of these far-flung communities were more influenced by local dignitaries. In spite of the telegraph, it was the man on the spot who made friends and visited business

(3) van Dissel, op cit ch. 7

(4) Zwillenberg, op cit appendix W

acquaintances. It was these same local notables who officered their community's Volunteers.

Thus, when we seek to relate the leaders of colonial South Australian society to the Volunteer Movement, we must not consider only the very top of the social pile. We must also consider the mass of folk, less well connected, who nonetheless had substantial political, social and economic influence, locally and across the colony. van Dissel calls such a group the 'Ruling Class', by which he means

...those who are the economic and political rulers of the society. The gentry of a society need not be its ruling class either in the political or economic spheres... the majority of the ruling class may well not be members of the Gentry. (5)

'Ruling Class' is an expression laden with unwanted implication, so we will continue to refer to this group as "local notables". But who, exactly were they if they were not of the "gentry"?

Dean Jaensch (6) identifies the small farmers as the dominant political and economic group in South Australian society. This stands to reason - in a society whose economy depended on agriculture, who else could we expect to have control? But their control does seem to have been almost absolute. Unlike New South Wales and Victoria, South Australian farmers and pastoralists did not conflict with one another's interests, and they presented a large and unified front. Of 54 Members in the House of Assembly in 1890, 40 were from country areas, 36 of them from the wheat belt. Moreover, they had control of the Legislative Council. This had enormous powers of veto over bills introduced in the House of Assembly, and at the same time its control by the agriculturalists was assured by a fierce gerrymander. In

(5) van Dissel, op cit p. 7

(6) Jaensch, op cit pp. 250 & ff

1893 urban areas, with almost half of the colony's population, held seven seats, rural areas held twenty. Urban seats had an average enrolment of 4,013 voters, rural seats an average of 2,276. (7) Thus, effectively, rural voters had six times as many votes per person for the Legislative Council as did urban voters. We can add to this controlling group the Bankers, Solicitors and such highly qualified city folk. They too, for the most part, were qualified to vote for the Legislative Council, in respect of property they held, and in addition, they controlled the bureaucracy by virtue of their qualifications. By virtue of this control of the economy and of the bureaucracy, these sectors also had substantial local influence. As such they constituted an important element in the ruling elite.

Given the above, we should expect the officers of the Volunteer Movement to be drawn heavily from the farming and professional sector of colonial society, since their influence was both local and colony-wide. As we shall see very shortly, this was in fact the case. Before discussing the Volunteers in particular, however, two further points remain to be made.

The first point is that given that the Volunteers nominated their officers, we would only expect them to nominate social leaders if they recognised them as such. That is, they must have recognised, at least implicitly, the status differences between those leaders and themselves. Indeed, there were many signposts to these differences, as Richard Twopenny, writing in the 1880s, observed. (8) Status could be distinguished by dress, for example:

(7) Jaensch, op cit pp. 250 & ff

(8) Twopenny, Town Life In Australia

In summer...it is then that the poorer classes are able to dress best, the material being cheap. Winter stuffs are expensive, and to a great degree their effectiveness is in direct ratio to their cost; but during quite half of the Australian year the poor meet the rich...with regard to dress. (9)

The emphasis here is on cost, which implies that wealth was another significant status indicator. So were morals:

Generally speaking, one may say that, while our upper and lower classes are, if anything, rather worse in their morals than in England, we make up for the deficiency by a decided superiority amongst the middle - both the upper-middle and lower-middle classes. (10)

Status could also be distinguished by the nature of the contents of the house (11) - people "at the top of the tree" would have paintings on the walls, glass gas-lamp brackets, silver cutlery, and bedside cabinets as well as dressing tables. A clerk, by contrast, would have goods of which "the quantity and quality (were) inferior" - brass lamp brackets, photographs on the wall and a single bedroom dresser for all purposes. But what is even more instructive is that a man should actually perceive such distinctions clearly enough to be able to write such generalisations. Evidently, there were clear status differences, and implicit recognition of them.

The second point which must be made before we go on to discuss the military in particular is that such differences in status, clear though they may have been, were nonetheless extremely subtle. The sharp class divisions between aristocracy, middle class and labourers, which existed elsewhere, were blurred in South Australia. Though we spoke earlier of wealth as a status indicator, Twopenny wrote with great truth that

Wealth in South Australia is more equally divided than in the sister colonies. Hence there are only a few large mansions, but comfortable six to ten-roomed cottages abound... (12)

The great tendency of Australian life is democratic, i.e. levelling. (13)

(9) Twopenny, op cit p. 79

(10) ibid, p. 125

(11) ibid, pp. 39 & ff

(12) ibid, pp. 90 & 91

(13) ibid, p. 30

Certainly, the class conflict which existed in Britain and Europe at this time was less evident in South Australia. Stuart MacIntyre almost echoed Twopenny when he wrote "there was no working class consciousness (in Australia)...a coherent working class response is not apparent in the nineteenth century." (14) He may have overstated his case somewhat, for while there was no conflict, the very recognition of status implies class consciousness. What must be stated is that this class consciousness did not prevent many "local notables" from serving as private soldiers in the Volunteer units, or the sons of less well connected families from becoming officers. Charles Kingston, Premier in the 1890s, prominent solicitor and also on van Dissel's list, was a mere sergeant of Volunteers at the same time. (Significantly, one of Kingston's Ministers, Sir John Cockburn, was a captain. The Premier was thus outranked by one of his subordinates, which says much about the levelling spirit in South Australia.) (15) In other words although the officers were drawn to a large extent from amongst the high-status element, so too were the other ranks. At the same time, there was no opposition to people from outside the ruling elite becoming officers. The ruling sector of South Australian society had a significant stake in the Volunteer officer corps - it did not monopolise it.

An analysis shows the proportions of the various status groups in the Volunteer Movement over the period 1850s - 1880s from their occupations as given in the muster rolls.

(14) MacIntyre, "The Making of the Australian Working Class", Hist. Studies (71) 1978 pp. 233 & ff

(15) Pascoe, op cit p. 250

		<u>SAMPLE</u> <u>TOTAL</u>	* <u>%</u>
Farmers, Merchants, "Gentlemen", and professionals	-	469	25
Craftsmen and Tradesmen	-	863	43
Labourers, clerks, other	-	607	32
		<u>1923</u>	<u>100</u>

Although the largest single class was the Tradesman/ Artisan element, note that one Volunteer in four came from the group which contains the notable locals - Farmers, Merchants, Gentlemen, Solicitors, Doctors, and so on. This is significant. It is not feasible for one man in four to be an officer even if none of the other sectors of society occupied such posts. No military formation - and certainly not the South Australian Volunteer Movement - could sustain such a high ratio of Chiefs to Indians. The muster rolls show companies of thirty or more men with but three officers, and a similar number of sergeants and corporals. Therefore, many of the "local notables" must, of necessity, have been other ranks.

If we study the structure of a few units in detail, (see appendix III) we can see both this tendency towards the selection of the "local notables" as officers, and the influence of the levelling spirit at work. Of 38 officers in ten units, 25 (65.7%) were farmers, merchants, or professional men - that is, belonged to the body of "local notables" in colonial society. By contrast 13 (34.3%) were from the artisan or labouring element. Amongst non-commissioned officers, these proportions were

* See appendix I for details of this sample

precisely reversed - 8 out of 22 (36%) were from the ruling elite, and 14 (64%) were from the artisan and labouring element. This is very close to the kind of mixture which one would predict, given that there were both status and egalitarian factors influencing the selection of unit leaders. It strongly supports the notion that the "local notables" had significant influence over the Volunteer Corps, but not an exclusive hold on it. This was not unusual by any means. On the contrary, it is normal for people to turn to their most prominent local folk for leadership, and we should expect them to do so in a Volunteer military force. Indeed, exactly this argument was put forward in England in defence of the practise of wealthy aristocrats purchasing high ranking Army commissions.

These "local notables", though many of them became officers, were not as a body any more immune to the general apathy which dragged at the heels of the Colonial Defence Force than any other sector of South Australian society. If there were some among them who became, either naturally or by default, the officers of the Volunteer Movement, there were others equally (and sometimes even more) prominent who had nothing whatever to do with it. In other words, there were some local leaders who, by virtue of their status, we might expect to find heading such a worthy movement - but they do not appear, either as officers or as other ranks. One or two case histories will illustrate this.

The Maitland Rifle Company was raised in 1880. It was originally twenty strong, all ranks, and by 1885 thirty one men had passed through it, though not all stayed - in

September 1886, eighteen all ranks were available to parade before the Commandant of the South Australian Military Forces. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Maitland itself was only a little older - it was laid out in 1872, and the first buildings were not raised until the following year. ⁽¹⁷⁾

This late development is of some significance, for though the ages of the people we are about to discuss are not given in Heinrich's history of the area, ⁽¹⁸⁾ the late foundation suggests that by 1880, the majority of the "local notables" would have been in their prime, and thus within the age ranges stipulated in the Rifle Companies Act, 1878. In other words, few would have been disbarred from the Volunteers by virtue of their age.

Of the four storekeepers in 1878, middle-class pillars of the community, none appeared on the roll. J.O. Tiddy, a draper who became an important local businessman, was also absent. So too were the first hoteliers, James Driscoll and James Pearce. Though W.H. Opie began conveying passengers from Moonta to Yorketown via Maitland in 1877, and later extended his transport service greatly, his is another name missing from the muster roll. Even the local pioneering family of Rogers found no mention on the roll, nor did H. Lamshed, the Justice of the Peace appointed in 1877, or his brother, the area's first baker. In all, of the sixty eight men listed in 1885 as performing some important community service, only eight appeared on the Muster Roll of the Maitland Rifle Company. ⁽¹⁹⁾

That this was not an isolated example, nor one peculiar to the 1880s, is shown by the case of the Tea Tree Gully

(16) Heinrich, op cit p. 80

(17) *ibid*, pp. 118 & ff

(18) *ibid*, pp. 120 & ff

(19) *ibid*, pp. 138; Muster Roll, Maitland Rifle Coy.

Rifles, whom we last met bravely firing four-man ceremonial volleys. Auhl and Millsted in their potted history (20) are more forthcoming with ages than is Heinrich, and it is a little easier to identify those who were of eligible age when the unit was formed in 1861. Hence, the family of John Stevens, founder of the area (which was originally called Steventon) was unrepresented. The local farmer, Sudholz, holder of 1,500 acres of prime land in the Adelaide foothills, did not join, and neither did the sons of Joseph Ind, a pioneer, hotelier and fruitgrower.

Why should this have been the case? Why should those who we would expect to find leading the Volunteer Movement not support the Rifle Companies? At least part of the answer lies in their recognition of their own status. As some of high status were nominated as officers by those who were of lower status, so others of high status may have believed service in the Rifle Companies to be beneath themselves. If we turn once again to the Tea Tree Gully Rifles, we can see incidences of such apparently elitist behaviour. Tea Tree Gully's was the only muster roll to show substitutes in sufficient detail to study closely. Thus we learn that the wealthy pioneering Haines family paid for substitutes, as did the Tregagles. There is another incidence of this elitism which Tea Tree Gully provides. In 1887, twenty years after the events described above, the colonial government stopped subsidising Mounted Infantry units as distinct from Rifle Companies because the former were expensive, and sufficiently popular among the well-to-do citizens for subsidies to be unnecessary. William Thomas Angove, the

(20) Auhl & Millsted, op. cit

wealthy doctor - Vigneron of Tea Tree Gully, was a Captain on the retired list of the Mounted Rifles in 1899. R. McEwin, whose family owned the large Glen Ewin estate, was a Lieutenant (retired) of Mounted Rifles in the same year. (21) Not only were they officers and gentlemen, but they were also from expensive elitist units. This is only a glimpse, but one which strongly suggests that there was a recognised place for gentlemen, and that gentlemen occupied that place.

This elitism was not confined to the 1890s, for similar exclusive units existed in the 1850s and 60s. Precisely how exclusive can be seen from the examples of the Reedbeds Yeomanry, and the South Australian Mounted Rifles. The Reedbeds Yeomanry, contrary to the usual practice, each paid an enrolment fee of 2/6d (5/- if they volunteered after the end of February 1860), and a subsidy of a shilling a month to cover expenses. As with other Volunteers, each man provided his own uniform and mount, though presumably the government provided arms and accoutrements. The Reedbeds Yeomanry thenceforth considered themselves something of an elite (and from its appearance, the uniform must have cost a fortune without the horse), and remained in being for the next ten years. (22) Unfortunately, their muster rolls do not show the occupation of the units' members. However, the South Australian Mounted Rifles, formed in the 1850s did indicate occupation on their muster roll - the only roll surviving from the period which does so. The South Australian Mounted Rifles comprised 26 men, of whom 5 described themselves as "Gentleman" or "Esquire"; no less than 10 of the 26 were merchants or agents, and 8 were bankers, solicitors, surveyors and the like. There were no labourers, and only two were

(21) List of Officers and Warrant Officers of the South Australian Military Forces, corrected to July 1st, 1899, S.A. Govt. Printer, p. 37

(22) Monty Wedd, op cit pp. 46 & 47

farmers. This entire unit was composed of "local notables".

It would be both difficult and unwise to place too much stress on this matter of status. Many of the "local notables" did support the Volunteer Movement actively, either in the Rifle Companies or in more exclusive units. We cannot say that the ruling elite shunned the Volunteer Movement any more than we can say that they were its only source of officers. Nor can we say that they never served as other ranks. Moreover, we have already seen how generally indifferent to defence the entire population of the colony was, regardless of status and local influence. Most probably, those among the elite who neglected the Movement were not being snobbish, but simply as indifferent as their "lower class" counterparts. Both may have simply believed they had more important things to do, or may have been honestly disinterested. However, the important point for this thesis is that this mirrors South Australian society as a whole. In the same way as there was indeed a status hierarchy in South Australia, but a subtle and flexible one, so the differences in status appear in the Volunteer Movement. They were not exaggerated, indeed they were quite subtle, and the levelling spirit is everywhere evident; nonetheless, it can be seen.

Defence and Demography

How close a reflection of the population of South Australia was its Volunteer Movement? Were there within the ranks of the Volunteers the same proportions of farmers, labourers, craftsmen and so on as there were within the whole population? The answer is, not quite. A statistical study of the occupations of South Australia's Volunteers, compared with those of the entire work force, offers some surprises, but not inexplicable ones. In general, the Volunteer Movement underwent an urbanisation process along with the rest of the colony. It also shows signs of centralisation typical of South Australia. However, as we shall see, the demography of the Volunteer Movement clearly indicates that it received the bulk of its support from a single sector of South Australian society.

To show this, a sample of the Muster Rolls will be statistically analysed, and compared with census data. The bulk of the surviving Muster Rolls fall into the period between 1860 and the mid 1880s. This is convenient, for censuses were taken in 1861 and 1881. These show a distinct trend towards urbanisation in South Australia over this period. (see table 1).

TABLE 1 S.A. CENSUS DATA 1861 and 1881

	1861		1881	
Women and children	76 007	54.9%	165 920	59.3%
<u>Work Force</u>				
Agriculture/Horticulture/Pastoral	23 135	46.0%	34 820	31.0%
Commerce/Trade/Manufacture	13 899	27.0%	46 107	40.0%
Labourers/Miners/Servants	10 831	21.0%	21 204	19.0%
Government	822	2.0%	1 871	2.0%
Unemployed	417	1.0%	1 923	2.0%
Independent means	229	< 1.0%	729	1.0%
Professional	1 320	3.0%	4 153	4.0%
Miscellaneous	170	< 1.0%	3 138	3.0%
	50 823	100%	113 945	100%

Agricultural, Horticultural and Pastoral occupations employed just over 46% of South Australia's work force in 1861; in 1881 this proportion had shrunk to 32%. This is a drop of 33% over those twenty years. In the same period, "Commerce, trade and Manufacture", or the tertiary industries, employed 27% of the work force in 1861, and 40% in 1881, a shift almost of the same size in the opposite direction. The proportions of Labourers, Miners and Domestic Servants stayed more or less stable - 21% in 1861, 19% in 1881. None of the other occupational groups grew or shrank much at all. In other words, people were moving away from the land, and into the tertiary occupations in the towns, most of all in Adelaide itself. This trend was reflected in the membership of the Volunteer units. (see table 2)

TABLE 2 Proportional Occupations of Volunteers in City and Country, 1860s compared with 1880s (rounded)

	City				Country				Colony			
	1860s		1880s		1860s		1880s		1860s		1880s	
Farmers	34	6.0%	31	5.0%	98	37.0%	119	21.0%	132	17.0%	150	13.0%
Labourers	71	13.0%	53	9.0%	20	8.0%	81	16.0%	91	12.0%	134	12.0%
Merchants	5	1.0%	26	5.0%	2	1.0%	23	4.0%	7	1.0%	49	4.0%
Gentlemen	4	1.0%	2	0.3%	-	-	-	-	4	0.5%	2	1.0%
Craftsmen	227	43.0%	136	24.0%	78	29.0%	105	19.0%	305	39.0%	241	21.0%
Tradesmen	94	18.0%	53	9.0%	33	12.0%	110	20.0%	127	16.0%	163	14.0%
Clerks/Assts.	53	10.0%	184	32.0%	13	5.0%	51	9.0%	66	8.0%	235	21.0%
Professional	20	4.0%	51	9.0%	12	5.0%	42	7.0%	32	4.0%	93	8.0%
Other	18	3.0%	41	7.0%	9	3.0%	18	3.0%	27	3.5%	59	5.0%
Total	526		577		265		549		791		1 126	

Chi sq. sig. P = 0.01 DF = 8

The most obvious sign of this is the decrease in the proportion of farmers - from 17% to 13%, a drop of 23.5%. A lesser indication is the doubling of the proportion of professional men - up from 4% to 8%. However, these figures are very small; there is a better sign of this urbanisation, which is less easy to see. Tertiary industries, by their trading nature, are necessarily urban occupations. In the Volunteer Movement, the proportion of men engaged in tertiary industries - Merchants, tradesmen, craftsmen, clerks and shop assistants - remained relatively steady, changing from 64% to 60%. This was not the dramatic increase which the rise in this sector of the whole colony's population (table 1) would lead us to expect. However, if we examine this sector of the Volunteer Movement more closely, we see that the proportion of clerks and assistants trebled, from 8% to 21%. What this means is that there was in 1881 a class of clerks and assistants - an urban working class group - which for the first time entered the Volunteer Movement in large numbers. In the 1860s, this had not been the case. In other words, this influx of urban workers is a further manifestation of the urbanisation process.

The process can be seen even more clearly if units raised in the country are studied as a group. (table 2) Whereas we would logically expect a high proportion of farmers in rural units, that element of the population decreased by 43%, from 37% of all Volunteers in 1861 to 21% in 1881. The proportion of Merchants, Craftsmen and Tradesmen stayed about the same, while the proportions of clerks/assistants, and of labourers, both doubled. We can see from this how the Volunteer Movement followed faithfully

the process of urbanisation which the parent society underwent.

During the course of the colony's growth in the nineteenth century, this urbanisation was accompanied by centralisation of administration, and of life generally, on the City of Adelaide. Dean Jaensch makes a point of this in his work on the growth of political parties, ⁽¹⁾ when he shows how even the pastoralists based their National Defence Council, and the later Independent Country Party in Adelaide. We should thus expect to find that units raised in Adelaide would be few and large, whereas units raised in the country were many and small. This was in fact, the case. In 1860, of 33 units existing, 26 were in country locations. Between 1886 and 1890, of 68 units listed by Zwillenberg, only 13 were in Adelaide or its suburbs. ⁽²⁾ City units tended to be larger than country units, and those with the name "Adelaide" tended to be largest of all. The City Rifles of the early eighties, for example, boasted over 200 men, the Port Adelaide Rifles 111. In the sixties, No. 1 company (West Adelaide) had over 120 men, and No. 6 company (North Adelaide) 104. By contrast, in the 80s Balaklava mustered 37, Curramulka 34, Angaston 45, Strathalbyn 41. In the sixties, Robe had a whole 8 men, Maitland 33, and Kapunda was very well off with almost a hundred. ⁽³⁾

Apart from the process of urbanisation and centralisation does a demographic study of the Volunteer Movement show anything else? The answer is yes. It suggests very strongly that the Volunteer Movement depended heavily on a single sector of South Australia's population.

(1) Jaensch, op cit p. 251

(2) Zwillenberg, appendix W

(3) Muster Rolls

A comparison between tables 1 and 3 indicates that Labourers, Servants, Miners and so on, as a group, were somewhat under-represented within the Volunteer Movement, compared to their proportion in the population as a whole. So too were farmers.

TABLE 3 Proportional Occupations of Volunteers in Whole Sample

Farmers	282	14.7%
Labourers	225	12.7%
Merchants)	892	46.5%
Craftsmen)		
Tradesmen)		
Gentlemen	6	0.3%
Clerks, Assistants	301	15.7%
Professional	125	6.5%
Other	86	4.5%
	1 917	

A possible explanation for the under-representation of labourers may be that they had difficulty paying for uniforms, which, until 1895, had to be supplied by the Volunteer. As we have seen, such a man's wage was between 7/- and 18/- a week in the 1870s. The under-representation of farmers is harder to explain. It may be that those farmers who did not join were precluded by a combination of short funds and distance from the nearest unit. The smaller number who did join - 24% of all Volunteers - may have been more fortunate in this regard. This would take into consideration the epigram that only a few farmers ever make a profit out of the business. But this is speculation, and another equally likely reason is that farmers, being dispersed and having to work odd hours at various times in the year, simply had less spare time and less opportunity to

join than their town-living compatriots.

The Merchant, Tradesman and Craftsman element is the only large element within the Volunteer Movement which was over-represented to any extent, compared with its proportion of the colony's population. The median proportion of the population occupied by this element between 1861 and 1881 was 36%, whereas it comprises 46% of the sample of Volunteers. In other words, such men occupied places in the Volunteer Movement which were not filled by farmers or labourers. Consequently, we must look upon this sector of the population as the largest single source of support for the Volunteer Movement. If we break this group down into country and city "halves", we see the same over representation - 49% of all city Volunteers, and 42% of all country Volunteers were from this single sector of South Australian society.

We can thus conclude that, although the Colonial Defence Force had a noticeably different make up, its demography broadly followed the same trends as its parent society. This is almost the only area in which it did not faithfully mirror the whole colony, though even here it is more of a warped image than a wrong one.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined some of the relationships which existed between colonial South Australian society and the Defence Force which grew within it.. It has been shown that the liberalism which prevailed in South Australia was reflected in the generous conditions of military service; that the evolution of socio-political maturity was reflected in the growth of military professionalism; and that a similar social structure to that in the parent society also existed within the military. Although the demography of the Colonial Defence Force was slightly different to that of South Australia, it has been shown that the military did follow the same demographic trends as the parent society. Overall, we must conclude that there was a strong familial relationship between the parent society and its children who stood to defend it. Implicitly, this supports the contention of Preston et al that military events are a function of their sociological environment.

This has some historiographical implications for students of South Australia. The Colonial Defence Force presents an identifiable sector of colonial South Australian society which accurately represents that society as a whole. At the same time it can be studied in its several components - officers, men, metropolitan area compared with country, early period or late, and so forth. There is demographic, documentary, official and personal information relating to this sample which is relatively easy to obtain, since accurate records were kept, many survive, and many individuals are identifiable. This would not necessarily be the case in every other sector of colonial South Australian society. Hence, a historian of South Australia would find fruitful

material for a study of, for example, the contrast and conflict between the City of Adelaide and the surrounding country areas, if he were to incorporate reference to the Colonial Defence Force in his research. There are of course many areas of study in which the Defence Force will be irrelevant, and it would be silly to insist that this study of the parent-child relationship between a society and its defenders shines new radiance on all of South Australian history. But it does confirm that relationship, and thus can be used at least as a tool by others working in a similar socio-military-historical area.

And what of the Colonial Defence Force itself? In the way that the colonists were content to let matters drift unless there was an issue at stake - State Aid for example - so the military languished except when there were war scares. Does this mean that, had the colony been called upon to defend itself, it would have been unable to? This depends on the nature of the attack, but provided there was a warning - that is, given time to muster and assemble - the Volunteers would have been able to bring to their job one priceless asset: enthusiasm. Given the threat, South Australians would almost certainly have enlisted in large numbers. In the 1850s, this may have led only to defeat with very heavy casualties, but with the increasing professionalism as the years wore on, this enthusiasm was more and more supported by proper organisation, and better training. We can only speculate on what the result of a pitched battle on the Adelaide Plains would have been. Perhaps, though, we can see the end point of the evolution of South Australia's military muscle in the action of the 48th Battalion at Dernancourt in 1918, when they beat back

the heaviest attacks of a veteran German army riding the high tide of victory. Dernancourt in 1918 was not Adelaide in the 1890s, but the men who fought there were the next generation of South Australian soldiers.

If the Colonial Defence Force was South Australia's sword, it was one which took a long time - forty or fifty years - to take an edge. There were good reasons for this, including an early absence of military expertise and the waxing and waning of interest on the part of the colonists. But for all this, it was a sword which, blunt or otherwise, shone with the progressive ideology that inspired the best in South Australia. It was a sword which was never drawn in anger, and which never had the chance to cover itself in glory. It was hardly glorious: on a few occasions it was a sword which barely existed, and on others its sheen dimmed almost to the sordid. But if it was all this, it was one thing more, and South Australians can look back on it and say with truth - whatever it may have been, it was distinctively our own.

APPENDIX I: The Muster Rolls used.

Surviving muster rolls number just about 100: 22 from the 1880s, 66 from the 1860s, and just two or three from 1854* which, unfortunately, are statistically useless, though intrinsically of interest.

The muster rolls available for study are of three divergent formats. In the 1860s there were two types, both printed on enormous sheets of heavy waxed paper: one contained names and demographic data about the volunteer - including address and occupation - the other merely contained his signature and that of the attesting dignitary. The muster rolls for this period fall nearly evenly into both categories - 40% of those available did describe the volunteers.

For the 1880s, the muster rolls are nearly all of a single format - tabloid-size waxed paper, easy to handle, giving names, addresses, occupation, signatures and dates of joining and of leaving the unit (although the last item was rarely conscientiously completed). Hence, the demographic data on the later Volunteer Rifle Companies is more complete than that of the earlier Volunteer Militia units.

Thirty six of these muster rolls were examined - 18 from the sixties (all but one of those which do give demographic data), and 18 from the eighties, giving a sample of 36%. The one from 1854 which gives demographic data is statistically too small a sample to include as an item on it's own, and too divergent from the others to incorporate in the figures. Rolls drawn up at different times from the same unit were discounted if they showed a high proportion of the same names to avoid double-counting. In all, nearly 2,000 individuals constitute this sample.

* This does not include seven unspecified rolls, nor does it count the handful of units which were subsumed within the Adelaide Volunteer Rifles.

List of Muster Rolls consulted:

1854 - South Australian Mounted Rifles

1860-1875

The Sea Coast Reserve
 No. 1 Infantry Company (West Adelaide)
 No. 6 Company (North Adelaide)
 Tea Tree Gully Rifles
 Gawler Volunteers
 Robe Volunteers
 Maitland Volunteers
 Minlaton Volunteers
 Kapunda Rifles
 The Adelaide Troop
 Strathalbyn Cavalry
 Robe Cavalry
 Encounter Bay Cavalry
 Milang, Goolwa and Strathalbyn Cavalry
 The Seacoast and Port Artillery
 Port Adelaide Artillery
 The Port Adelaide Half-Battery
 Adelaide Artillery

1878-1880s

The City Rifles
 No. 1 Adelaide Rifle Company
 Civil Service (No. 2) Rifle Company
 Port Adelaide Rifle Company
 Woodville Rifle Company
 Brighton Rifle Company
 Balaklava Rifle Company
 Curramulka Rifle Company
 Georgetown Rifle Company
 Gladstone Rifle Company
 Jamestown Rifle Company
 Maitland Rifle Company
 Angaston Rifle Company
 Port Wakefield and Kulpara Rifle Company
 Port Germein Rifle Company
 Strathalbyn Rifle Company
 Wallaroo Mines and Kadina Rifle Company
 Adelaide Mounted Rifles

APPENDIX II: Definitions of Occupations in the Tables.

The labels given of the various occupational groups on tables 1-4 and appendix III are less specific than the many occupations which the volunteers had when they signed the muster rolls. The occupations which make up the categories in the tables are given hereunder.

Farmers - comprise all men describing themselves as Farmers, Pastoralists, or Stockbreeders.

Labourers - all men who described themselves as Labourers or farm labourers, machinists, miners, seamen, lime-cutters and burners, messengers, apprentices, drivers, ostler's boys, and similar.

Merchants - all who described themselves as agents, auctioneers or merchants.

Esquire - a specific term only shown where it was used.

Craftsmen - such folk as Masons, carpenters, tailors, coopers, cobblers, Farriers, Smiths, Saddlers, Wheelwrights, builders, plumbers, and such - men whose trade provided them with a living.

Tradesmen - all volunteers who described themselves as Shopkeepers, millers, Fruiterers, Victuallers, publicans, hotelliers - that is, men who sold goods for a living.

Clerks/Assistants - all clerks, shop assistants, type-setters assistants, and bank clerks - those who worked for a wage, but were other than labourers, as defined above.

Professional - those who described themselves as of one of "the learned professions" - Solicitors, Engineers, Surveyors, Teachers, Conveyancers and the like.

APPENDIX III:

Occupations of Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers of a Random Selection
of Volunteer Units

Unit	Corporals	Sergeants	Lieutenants	Captains	Other
Moonta Rifle Co. (1880)			Builder	Solicitor	
Tatiara Rifle Co. (1883)	Saddler Blacksmith	Blacksmith Chemist	Farmer	Sheep farmer	
Port Wakefield & Kulpara Rifle Co. (1880)	Not stated	Not stated	Corn merchant Store keeper Teacher	Sheep farmer	
Port Germein Rifle Co. (1880)	Blacksmith	Farmer	Blacksmith	Licenced Victualler	
Strathalbyn Rifle Co. (1880)	Not stated	Teacher	Teacher Store keeper	Farmer	
Areas No. 1 (Crystal Brook & Environs (1880)	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer Farmer * Wheat buyer Miller Clerk	Banker Farmer Farmer	
Port Adelaide Rifle Co.(1880)	Not stated	Printer Carpenter Reporter	Carpenter Clerk Merchant * Merchant Civil Servant Surveyor *	Surveyor Merchant Auctioneer Agent	
Adelaide No. 1 Rifle Co.(1880)	Teacher Farmer Warehouseman Music seller	Bank Clerk	Clerk Clerk Bank Clerk Compositor	Solicitor	Bank Manager (Adjutant)
Angaston Rifle Co. (1880)	Builder Clerk Vigneron	Gardener	Bootmaker Bank Manager Hotel keeper	Teacher	
Maitland Rifle Co. (1881)	Not stated	Auctioneer	Farmer Agent	Not stated	

* Later promoted to Captain

List of South Australian Government Documents consulted:Acts of Parliament:

- Act No. 2/1854 "An Act to Establish a Volunteer Force in South Australia", 1854. (The Volunteer Act)
- Act No. 9/1854 "An Act to Establish a Militia Force in South Australia" (The Militia Act)
- Act Nos. 16 and 17/1858 "The Volunteer Act Amendment Act, 1859"
- Act No. 7/1860 "The Auxiliary Volunteer Act, 1870" (The Free Rifles Act)
- Act No. 14/1860 "The Volunteer Act Amendment Act 1860"
- Act No. 18/1865-6 "The Volunteer Act, 1865-6"
- Act No. 118/1878 "The Rifles Companies Act, 1878"
- Act No. 125/1878 "An Act to provide for the Enlistment, Regulation and Discipline of a Permanent Military Force, 1878" (The Military Forces Act)
- Act No. 215/1881 "Local Forces Act Amendment Act, 1881"
- Act No. 390/1886 "Defence Forces Act, 1886"
- "The Military Forces Act Amendment Act, 1886"
- "Defence Forces Act Amendment Act, 1890"
- Act No. 643/1895 "Defence Act, 1895"

South Australian Government Gazette:

- Feb 24th, 1887
- Aug 31st, 1882
- Mar 26th, 1840
- April 9th, 1840

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