

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

SCHOOLING IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS:
AN ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE
IN A SMALL COUNTRY

by

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"and what have we acquired? What, but a bleak and gloomy solitude, an island thrown aside from human use, stormy in winter, and barren in summer; an island which not the southern savages have dignified with habitation; where a garrison must be kept in a state that contemplates with envy the exiles of Siberia; of which the expense will be perpetual and the use only occasional; and which if fortune smile upon our labours, may become a nest of smugglers in peace and in war the refuge of future Buccaneers."

'Thoughts on the Late Transactions
Respecting Falkland's Islands'

Dr Samuel Johnson, 1771

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KEY TO NON-STANDARD BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

Ch. Sec.	=	Chief Secretary
Col. Sec.	=	Colonial Secretary
CS followed by number	=	File in main archive, originally from Colonial Secretary's office (Secretariat)
Desp. No.	=	Despatch Number
ED followed by number	=	File in office of Education Department
EDU followed by number	=	Current file on Education in Secretariat
FIA followed by desp. no. or volume code	=	Item in main Falkland Islands archives
n/d	=	not dated
n/n	=	not numbered
SA followed by number	=	File in Secretariat archives
Supt.Edn.	=	Superintendent of Education

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will attempt to render an informed account, and to make a critical analysis, of the development of formal education in the Falkland Islands, from the opening of the first school in 1846 to the changes which have taken place since the invasion of 1982. To facilitate the achievement of these intentions, the work is divided into several sections, commencing with two contextual chapters, followed by five chronologically sequential chapters of educational history, a further and wider contextual chapter, one of an analytical nature, and a final conclusion.

Chapter One establishes the academic context with a review of the relevant literature which ranges from a rich series of colonial archives to educational histories of New Zealand and Australia and to contemporary works on the educational problems of small states. In Chapter Two there is an account of the geographical, economic and social forces which have influenced human activity in the Colony and which, directly or indirectly, have had significant implications for formal education.

The first historical chapter covers the period of voluntary schooling and explores the problems of that era with particular reference to the sometimes conflicting educational aims of Church and State. The second chapter in this section begins with the introduction of compulsory schooling in the capital in 1889, and then charts development until the end of the first world war in a period characterised by expansion in provision and change in the

breadth and content of the curriculum. The next chapter covers the period between the wars when much was proposed but, for various reasons, little was achieved. Shortly after this period a major survey of education was undertaken, and it became the catalyst for the major post-war changes in the schooling of rural children which are described and discussed next, in Chapter Six. The final historical chapter examines the growth of secondary schooling, including the role of neighbouring countries in such provision, and also looks at more recent changes in both rural and urban schooling within the Colony.

Chapter Eight is an attempt to place important themes in the development of education in the Falkland Islands into an international or, more specifically, British imperial context and thus to demonstrate that the islands share similar problems with other regions and that, for all their remoteness, they have not been totally isolated from the mainstreams of educational change. In Chapter Nine the emphasis is more theoretical for it attempts to analyse the development of schooling in the Colony in the light of contemporary work on the educational advantages and disadvantages of small states when compared with larger countries. The final section essays some general conclusions and makes suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LITERATURE AND OTHER SOURCES

The present work is based mainly on primary sources from the Falkland Islands, most of them written but unpublished and a few of an oral nature. Use has also been made of published material concerned with the Colony, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and the small countries of the Commonwealth. In reviewing these sources, this chapter will begin with those produced or transmitted in or about the Colony itself.

The Falkland Islands Material

The only published item in the academic literature solely concerned with education in the Falkland Islands is Hoare's 1931 paper in *Oversea Education* ⁽¹⁾ and, although much has changed since that time, some of the problems to which he referred have yet to be totally banished. There are also some popular works about the Colony in general, notably the compendia of Cawkell et al ⁽²⁾ and Strange ⁽³⁾ but, like the works describing the vicissitudes of life for the sheep-farming adventurers of the nineteenth century, ⁽⁴⁾ they make no great claim to scholarship and, apart from some small items of background information, have not been germane to the present work.

Official publications have proved more valuable, in particular the Falkland Islands Gazette which has been published regularly for nearly a century and, for much of that time, has carried accounts of legislative proceedings, details of bills, regulations and annual

estimates, and departmental reports. There are periods when some of these items were omitted, whether from gubernatorial idiosyncrasy or shortage of paper is not clear, but the gazette is nonetheless a fertile source for the researcher.

The official data in the gazette are supplemented by other published sources, notably the Colonial Annual Reports which give summaries of changes in colonial conditions but rely heavily on material from the gazette for this purpose. Reference should also be made here to the two volumes of reports by Shackleton (5) which say nothing original about education in the Colony but, in the first volume, give a useful summary of the position in the mid-1970s.

The Colony has also supported some unofficial publications during the last hundred years, beginning with the Falkland Islands Magazine which commenced publication in 1889. The first editor, who was both Colonial Chaplain and School Inspector, made good use of the paper's columns for educational articles and correspondence and has thus provided a valuable unofficial source for the present work. Under its later editors, the magazine carried much less of educational interest and the Penguin, its successor in the 1930s, was no better in this respect.

During the second world war, the Falkland Islands News Weekly appeared, to be followed by the Falkland Islands Weekly News and

later, in succession, by the Falkland Islands Monthly Review and the Falkland Islands Times. All of these journals carried items of educational interest from time to time but none succeeded in imitating the liveliness of the parson's earlier magazine. The current Penguin News and a revived Falkland Islands Times continue the tradition of local journalism and, on a more serious plane, the occasional issues of the Falkland Islands Journal have carried articles of historical and other interest.

The colonial archives contain a comprehensive collection of government papers from the start of civilian administration in the nineteenth century, and continuing to the late 1940s. The nineteenth century material is in the form of letter books, in approximately chronological sequence, containing copies of correspondence between government and the public, and between officials, including despatches to the Colonial Office in London. This system of letter books was continued up to the first world war but becomes easier to interpret with the introduction of the typewriter in the early years of the twentieth century. From the first world war there was a system of individual files opened for each new problem, some of them of short duration but others of a continuing nature and running into several volumes over a period of years. In contrast to the rather bland contents of the gazette, many of these files contain candid and illuminating minutes, hand-written by senior officials. Despatches continued to be filed in chronological sequence.

This wealth of material in the archives has been the major source for Chapters Three, Four, and Five and part of Chapter Six, the remainder of which is based on other sources, including the secretariat archives which cover the period after 1947. For the last historical chapter, dealing with schooling since 1967, the records of the Falkland Islands Education Department provided much valuable data, including annual reports and detailed surveys by visiting advisers.

These written accounts cannot be said to reveal the entire story of educational change in the Colony, for the mundane and uneventful have tended to find little place in the files in comparison with those proposals and actions which aroused strong feelings and which now convey, through the records, an impression of perhaps more frequent crisis than was in fact the case. At the same time, it is during the examination of motives and means, occasioned by such challenges to the status quo, that the seeds of change are sown and attention to such events is thus a most proper concern for the student of educational development.

The documentary evidence of the more recent events can, of course, be supplemented by discussion with those who participated, especially as teachers or pupils, and the chapters on schooling after the second world war embody the gleanings of much conversation with a wide variety of Falkland Islanders, although with the regrettable exception of those who have emigrated after attaining academic distinction. The insight gained from this

interaction with recent and present participants in the educational system facilitates a greater understanding of events than would arise from the perusal of only written evidence. Unfortunately this is clearly not possible with respect to earlier events although, where there is sufficient material to establish their social, economic and political contexts, there is at least some hope of empathy with the actors who took part in them. There remains nonetheless the difficulty of judging the past with the eyes of the present but, in the context of educational change, it is instructive to observe how certain problems, such as the desirable degree of articulation between the content of the curriculum and the immediate needs of the labour market, have continued to be matters of contention and thus to suggest that some change is more apparent than real.

Relevant British and Australian Works

Chapter Eight offers some comparison between developments in the Colony and events in the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. It owes much to a number of educational histories, especially the two Unesco-sponsored studies of compulsory education (6), Turney's collection of Australian sources (7), Maclaine and Barcan's Australian histories (8), and Butchers' volume on New Zealand. (9) These works, together with certain Board of Education publications (10), have been most valuable in illuminating colonial religious difficulties and trends in curriculum development.

In the context of rural education in general, the works of Cole (11), Mason (12), Sher (13) and the Board of Education (14) all made some contribution to Chapter Eight, and the chapters in Sher's book contributed by McVeagh (15), on correspondence education in New Zealand, and by Angus et al (16), on outback education in Western Australia, are essential reading in these areas. This must also be said of Maclaine's paper on outback education in Comparative Education (17) and Varley et al's (18) work on distance education in Queensland.

The books of Cumberland and Fox (19) and Jeans (20) provided valuable geographical background for the section on education in sparsely-populated areas, and additional material on distance education was gleaned from Erdos (21) and the publications of the Commonwealth Office of Education (22) in Canberra. Although not further cited in the present work, the writings of Wyeth (23) and Rayner (24) are clearly of interest to the student of Australian education.

Writings on Education in Small Countries

The writings of Brock and his collaborators are pre-eminent in this field and the ninth chapter of this thesis owes much to his 1984 monograph for the Commonwealth Secretariat (25) and to the more recent work edited by Bacchus and Brock. (26) In this context reference should also be made to the occasional paper of the British Comparative and International Education Society edited by Brock (27), and to the chapter by Brock and Parker in the volume

edited by Lillis. (28) In addition, reference should also be made to two other works which, although not directly concerned with small countries, nonetheless have relevance for the problems of schooling in colonial situations: Mclean's lucid critique of economic and educational dependency (29) and Altbach and Kelly's essay on the educational consequences of colonialism. (30)

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CHAPTER TWOTHE ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

In order to understand more clearly the development of schooling in the islands it will be useful to examine some aspects of their geography. Climate, relief, soil and vegetation have profoundly influenced the choice of economic activity which, in turn, has largely determined the pattern of settlement. This pattern, together with the number and distribution of inhabited islands in the archipelago, forms an important element of the context of schooling for:

"such elementary topographical and spatial features have considerable impact on the differential effectiveness of educational provision " (1);

an analysis of the educational consequences of these and other geographical factors discussed below will be a major theme in later parts of this work.

Economic activities and their associated social structures have also had implications for educational provision in the Colony, both between and within its two major regions, which comprise the densely populated capital, occupying a very small area of East Falkland (see Fig.2 below), and the very thinly populated remainder of the Colony, known as the Camp. (2) The wealth-creating pastoral activity of this larger region is reflected in the presence of a small number of entrepreneurial and managerial figures who direct the work of a larger

number of employees. Until recently, most of these subordinate workers have had any prospect of social and economic advancement greatly curtailed by the custom of recruiting future managers as cadets from the United Kingdom, and not from among local personnel.

In the capital, where there is a concentration of administrative and mercantile activity, the social structure more nearly approximates to that found in a very small British town, and it has been possible, in recent times, for Falkland Islanders ⁽³⁾ of humble birth to aspire to employment of the highest status. Because these varying experiences have greatly influenced the attitudes of islanders to formal education, the nature of their social and economic relationships will clearly be germane to any analysis of educational change in the Colony; initial discussion of this second major theme follows the geographical considerations below.

Physical Features and Related Aspects

The first map (Fig.1 below) shows the location of the Falkland Islands in relation to the South American land mass. The Colony lies between latitudes 51° and 53° south and between longitudes 57° and 62° west; it is 770 km north-east of Cape Horn and about 480 km from the nearest point on the coast of Argentina. The second map (Fig.2) shows the islands in greater detail. In addition to the two large islands of East and West Falkland ⁽⁴⁾ there are about two hundred others in the group, most of them small and uninhabited although a few support permanent human populations. The total land area of the Colony is $12\ 173\ \text{km}^2$. ⁽⁵⁾

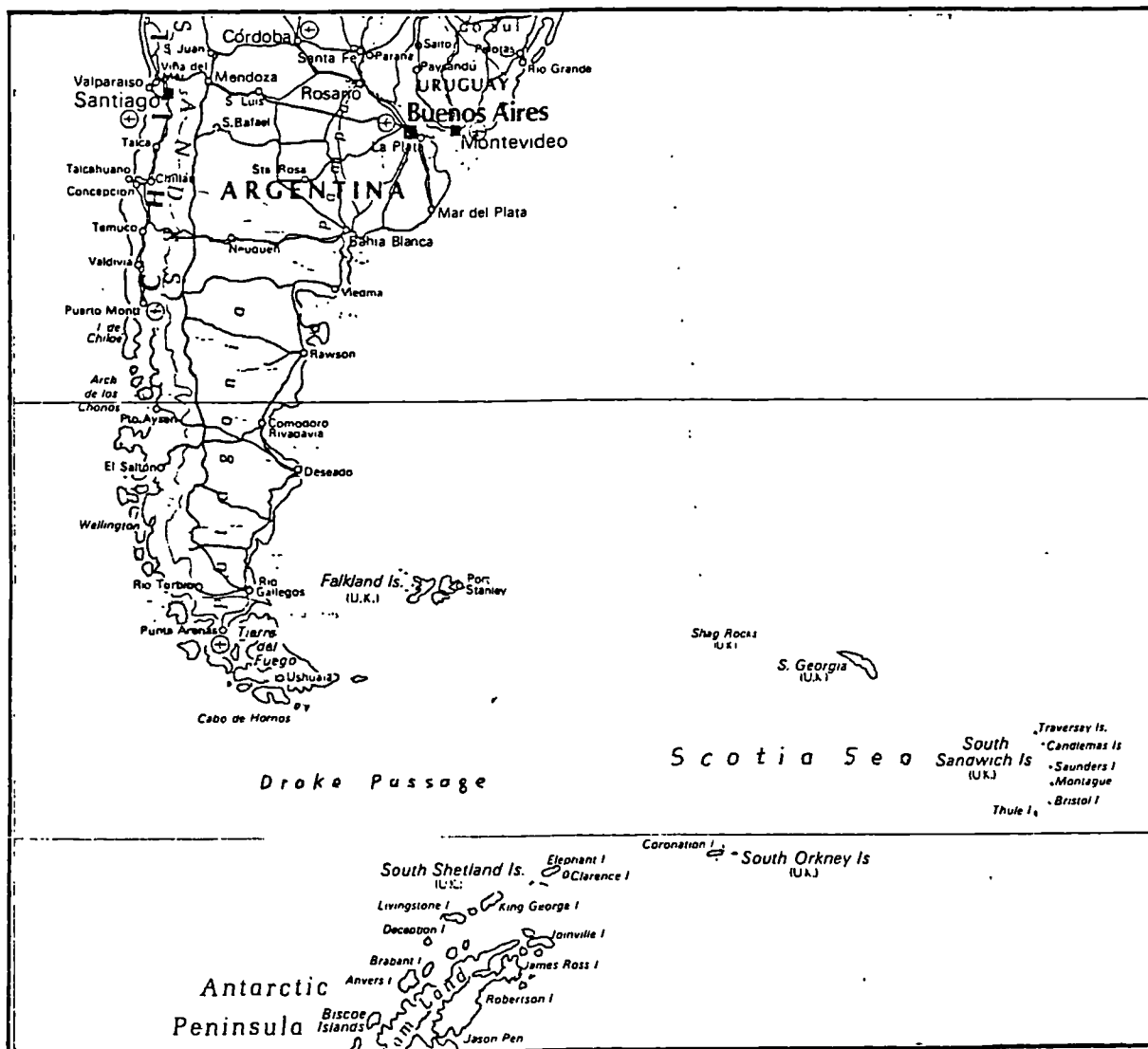


Fig. 1 Location of the Falkland Islands

Fig. 2 Principal Settlements of the Falkland Islands

FALKLAND ISLANDS



The coastline is deeply indented, offering many good harbours and anchorages, and, with the exception of Lafonia, the surface is hilly with land rising to 700 m on both main islands (6) but:

"Much of the upland is comparatively bare of vegetation" (7)

and:

"Because of the climate there are few trees, the natural vegetation being grassland with some species of heath and dwarf shrubs." (8)

These grasslands, despite their "low nutritional value" (9), have been:

"the sole natural resource which has proved capable of economic exploitation" (10),

although the offshore fishing is now assuming an increasing importance in this respect.

The climate is cool oceanic with a:

"narrow temperature range, strong winds, a fairly low rainfall distributed throughout the year and frequent cloud cover." (11)

Snow has been recorded in every month, except February, "but seldom lies long". (12) Records for Stanley, the capital, and only large settlement, show a mean annual temperature of 5.6°C , ranging from -5.6°C to 21.1°C , a mean wind speed of 17 knots and a mean annual rainfall of 635 mm. (13)

Despite this less than salubrious climate, French settlers introduced various animals to the islands in 1764, including cattle (14) whose wild descendants, reinforced by later introductions, were hunted for their skins. This was the principal economic activity until extensive sheep farming began in the 1850s (15) on East Falkland; land was soon taken up for this purpose and by 1866 most of it was "in the hands of private individuals". (16) West Falkland was also settled shortly after and:

"Between the years 1870 and 1880 a definite change-over from cattle to sheep took place and subsequently most of the wild cattle were killed off." (17)

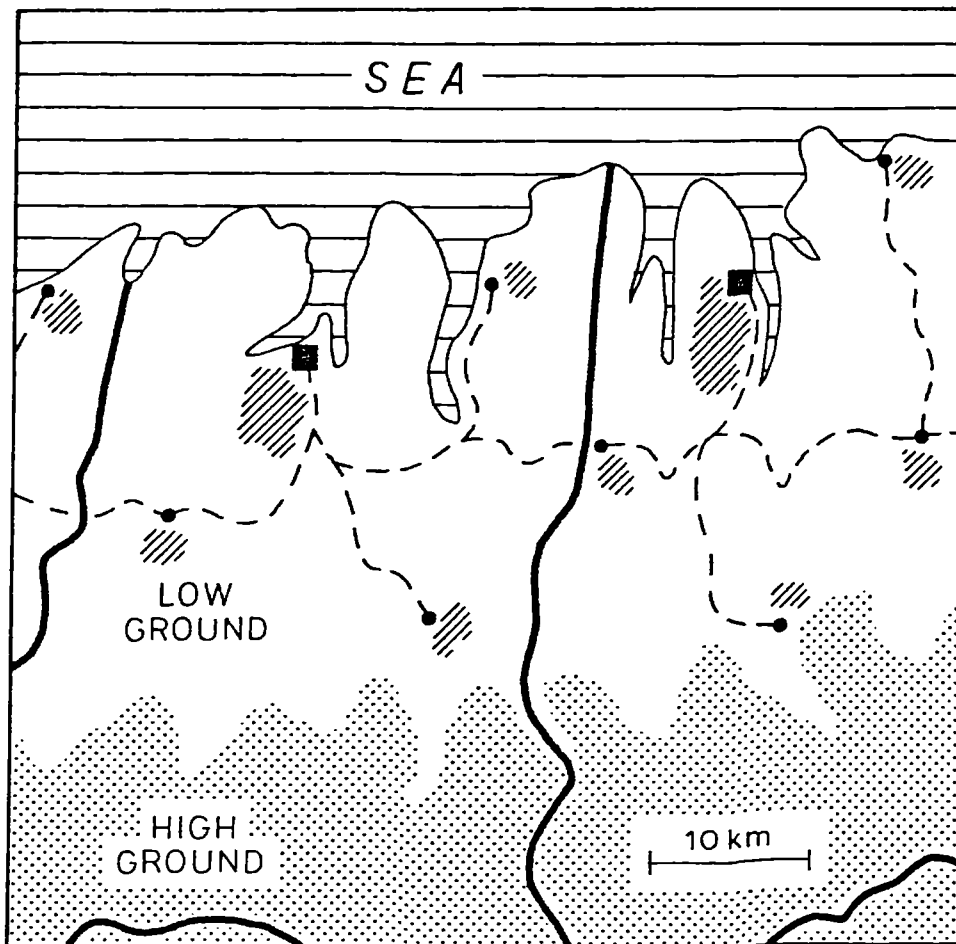
Because of the low quality of the pastures most sheep farmers' holdings tended to be large, and the necessity of transporting wool and hides by sea resulted in the siting of their settlements close to the shore and adjacent to good anchorage and a supply of peat. The farms also stationed shepherds in houses distant from the main settlement to facilitate the better husbandry of the large flocks, and all of this gave rise to a pattern of settlement which has

remained almost unchanged until recent times. Fig.3 below summarises these features.

In consequence of the growth of sheep farming the Colony became heavily dependent on a single commodity which fluctuated in price from the low values of economic depression (18) to occasional "undreamed of heights". (19) The resulting difficulty in forecasting income made the planning and execution of development projects very difficult and led to various proposals for the diversification of the economy through the exploitation of additional resources. All such projects, such as the freezing of mutton (20) and the harvesting of kelp, either failed to take off (21) or later proved unsuccessful. (22) It is too early to forecast the fate of more recent initiatives but the great distances, both spatial and political, from potential markets and the very small scale of the majority of such activities do not augur well for future growth. The possible exception lies in the offshore fishery which may provide the key to long-term expansion provided that adequate conservation measures can be enforced and that there is no major change in the location of spawning grounds.

Another factor limiting economic growth has been the poor quality of physical communications for, until the late 1940s, overland travel in the Colony was by horse, often with slow progress over difficult terrain (23) although there were some attempts to use motor transport in the 1930s. By 1949 "the use of tracked vehicles is increasing" (24) and a few years later, following the improvement of Camp tracks, it was noted that:

Fig. 3 Typical Falkand Islands Settlement Pattern



- = principal settlement ● = outside house
- = farm boundary - - = camp track
- ▨ = peat □ ← boundary between high and low ground

"A growing number of jeeps and motor cycles has recently become a feature of Camp life." (25)

The use of the horse is now largely confined to recreation and the gathering of sheep from country too rugged for vehicles.

Between the islands, ships were the only means of travel until the advent of the government air service in 1948 (26), and they are still used to transport most of the wool clip to Stanley for onward shipment by chartered cargo vessel to the United Kingdom. Before the opening of the Panama Canal, the islands lay on the shipping route from Europe to the west coast of South America and consequently enjoyed both a regular steamer service to those destinations and a useful source of income and employment in shipping-related activities in Stanley. (28) Shipping services were later reduced to a regular run by a local vessel to Montevideo (29) from where onward passage to Europe in other ships was readily available.

For inter-insular travel and mail delivery the ship has been largely superseded by the aeroplane, for almost every settlement now has a landing strip and there are daily flights between Stanley and the larger centres of population. Not least of the beneficiaries are itinerant teachers who no longer endure the misery of horse travel in the southern winter, and Camp pupils who can reach the school hostel in Stanley in a matter of hours.

In 1972 the aeroplane conferred further benefits upon the isolated Colony when a weekly air link commenced between Stanley and Commodoro Rivadavia in Argentina ⁽³⁰⁾, with onward flights to Buenos Aires and thence to other international destinations. Since the conflict of 1982 there have been no regular air or sea communications with the South American mainland but, following the recent opening of the airport at Mount Pleasant on East Falkland, it is now possible to reach the United Kingdom in less than one day.

Efforts to reduce isolation have also been made though developments in telecommunications; an internal telephone service linking Stanley to Darwin was inaugurated in 1907 ⁽³¹⁾ but strong winds and a large wild goose population have unfortunately posed a continuing threat to the lines. ⁽³²⁾ The service was later extended to other parts of East Falkland ⁽³³⁾ and lines were also established on the West, together with a radio link between the main islands. ⁽³⁴⁾ In the 1950s, a radio-telephone service was started, making possible communication between all Camp settlements, including the smaller islands, and the recent introduction of VHF transceivers has produced even greater change; a shepherd can now speak to a farm manager from a distance of many miles and a pupil can be instructed by an unseen teacher.

The Colony also enjoys radio and telephone links with the United Kingdom, for the local broadcasting service, besides generating some programmes of its own, relays others from the BBC and, from early

experiments in wireless telegraphy (35), Stanley has progressed to a satellite telephone link with the metropole.

Demographic Change

Access to modern telecommunications might have improved the lot of the settlers of 1843 who formed the first British attempt to secure the permanent civilian occupation of the islands but, in the event, these early English and Scottish immigrants do not appear to have made much progress and they were consequently reinforced in 1849. The additional newcomers were a party of thirty out-pensioners from the Royal Chelsea Hospital and their families (36), but not all of this group were willing colonists and:

"in 1858 they were replaced in turn by a garrison of marines, 35 in number and all married." (37)

Those pensioners who chose to remain:

"settled down, some becoming excellent gardeners; others, tradesmen by occupation, found employment in the growing industry of ship repairing" (38),

and, as opportunities expanded in the Camp, a few of their descendants became major landowners.

With the advent of sheep farming, immigrants were attracted on a larger scale and Table I below reflects the rapid growth of the

population as the industry expanded in the latter half of the century. Although most of the new immigrants were British, they varied in social origin from the scions of professional families (39), with sufficient capital for the lease or purchase of land, to more humble persons specifically engaged for pastoral work. (40) A few came from other European countries, from Latin America and the United States (41) and, later, were joined by Scandinavians (42) from the southern whaling fleets; their surnames have survived but their descendants are otherwise completely Anglicised. (43)

Two characteristics of this predominantly British population have been of considerable importance in the provision of schooling: the high rate of internal migration and a rate of emigration which has equalled or exceeded the natural increase of the population for much of the twentieth century (see Tables I and II below). In the Camp, much migration reflects the system of tied housing which makes relocation inevitable upon a change of employment, whilst retirement entails a move to Stanley or the United Kingdom. As a result only six per cent of Camp inhabitants in 1980 were over sixty years of age but in the capital the proportion was nearly one fifth. (44) Many of them are grandparents and some offer accommodation in Stanley to Camp grandchildren whose parents do not wish them to board at the school hostel.

There has also been a net movement of the working population from the Camp to Stanley, most marked in the depression of the 1930s (see Table I) when farms reduced their labour forces (45) and

Table I: Selected Population Data for the Falkland Islands 1851-1980

Year	Population ¹	% Charge from previous figure	Camp ³ Population	Stanley ³ Population
1851	287		n/a	n/a
1861	541	+88.5	"	"
1871	811	+49.9	"	"
1881	1 510	+86.2	"	"
1891	1 734 ²	+14.8	1 040 ²	690 ²
1901	1 961 ²	+13.1	1 040 ²	920 ²
1911	2 161 ²	+10.2	1 280 ²	890 ²
1921	2 094	- 3.1	1 170	920
1931	2 392	+14.2	1 150	1 240
1941	2 435 ⁶	+ 1.8	(990) ⁴	(1 250) ⁴
1951	2 280 ⁷	- 6.4	(1 140) ⁵	1 090) ⁵
1962	2 172	- 4.7 ⁸	1 080	1 090
1972	1 957	- 9.9	880	1 080
1980	1 813	- 7.4 ⁹	760	1 050

1. From Falkland Islands Report of Census 1980 Government Printer, Stanley 1981, p.2 (except where otherwise acknowledged).
2. From Falkland Islands Report on Census 1911 Government Printer, Stanley, p.7.
3. After Shackleton, Lord Falkland Islands Economic Study 1982 HMSO London 1982, p.42 (except where otherwise acknowledged). All figures are rounded to the nearest ten.
4. Data for 1946.
5. Data for 1953.
6. From Falkland Islands Gazette 1 April 1943, p.28.
7. From Falkland Islands Gazette 1 March 1952, p.49.
8. Approximately 4.3% over a ten year period.
9. Approximately 9.3% over a ten year period.

Table II: Population Changes in Selected Years

Year	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase	Arrivals	Departures	Net Migration	Change in Population
1924 ¹	53	26	27	125	128	-3	+24
1934 ²	54	28	26	105	121	-16	+10
1944 ³	54	30	24	81	188	-107	-83
1954 ⁴	49	20	29	200	237	-37	- 8
1964 ⁵	42	13	29	297	356	-59	-30

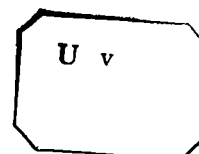
1. From Falkland Islands Gazette 1 April 1925, p.38
2. " " " " 1 February 1935, p.19
3. " " " " 2 July 1945, p.88.
4. " " " " 1 February 1955, p.18.
5. " " " " 1 February 1965, p.16.

Table III: School Rolls in Selected Years

Year	Stanley			Camp			
	Government Schools	R C School	Total	Settlement Schools	Travelling Teachers	Boarding Schools	Total ¹
1895	169	34	203	21	28	-	49
1904	132	80	212	19	158	-	177
1915	157	94	251	15	75	-	90
1924	180	60	240	17	83	-	100
1934	201	62	263	21	126	-	147
1944	233	-	233	29	104	-	133
1954	150	-	150	n/a	n/a	-	123-159
1965	170	-	170	30	91	40	161
1975	162 ³	-	162	(56) ²	(34) ²	55	(145)
1985	264	-	264	41	34	-	75

From Falkland Islands Annual/Triennial Reports on Education 1895-

1. Total does not necessarily correspond with number of children of school age, especially in years of acute staff shortage.
2. Data for 1976.
3. Includes some 50 boarders from the Camp.



government provided relief work in the capital. (46) Such movement has also resulted from the practice of employing single men in the Camp in preference to married men with children (47), and also from the exigencies of war (48), and from the general attraction of life in Stanley. (49)

In the Camp itself, internal migration has consisted of both the relocation of workers within the farm boundary, and the movement of personnel from one farm to another, either at the behest of a large employer or, more frequently, at the whim of the employee. An 1889 report showed forty-four inhabited locations in West Falkland (50) but, seventy years later, the mechanisation of transport and changing expectations of employees had brought an increased concentration of population in the major settlements. (51) (52) The present move towards the sub-division of large holdings is reversing the trend by promoting the break-up of the settlements and the reoccupation of the outside houses; Table IV and Fig.6 summarise the position in 1986.

A high rate of internal migration is not a new phenomenon, for a legislative councillor, speaking in 1914 on a bill concerning the repatriation of employees suffering from severe mental illness, urged the reduction of the period of the employer's liability for passage costs to only six months after engagement:

"in view of the fact that employees were constantly changing masters" (53),

Table IV: Variations in Area of Land Holdings 1986

Category	No.	Mean area, ha.*	% of total area
Falkland Islands Company farms	4	110 000	36
Other large farms	6	56 000	27
Smaller farms, including large islands	8	18 000	12
Recent sub-divisions and shared** farms	36	8 000	24
Older very small farms, including small islands	9	1 800	1

* All figures are approximate.

** Islands owned by the Falkland Islands Company and let in return for a share in the profits.

Data in part after: Shackleton, Lord Falkland Islands Economic Study 1982 HMSO, London, 1982, pp.120-1, Tables A1.8 and 10.

and forty years later, the education department complained that:

"Certain shepherds change employment frequently....This almost nomadic habit together with poor communications makes it very difficult to keep track of children, especially as it is common for children to stay with friends or relatives for many months on end."⁽⁵⁴⁾

Such movement necessitated frequent rescheduling of the work of itinerant teachers and caused marked fluctuation in pupil numbers at settlement schools. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ In contrast to the Camp children who

moved frequently from place to place, some pupils in the capital rarely travelled far and, in 1969, two scholars:

"about to go overseas but who have not yet seen their native Falkland Islands outside of Stanley " (56)

were provided with free flights for this purpose by the government air service.

Out-migration has also been a continuing feature of colonial life and, noting the departure of young men from the Camp for Patagonia, the annual report for 1893 opined that:

"As in all pastoral countries, the population of these islands must necessarily be sparse until some trade is developed." (57)

Since 1882 eighty-five men, some with families, had emigrated to the 'Coast' (58) and the local journal observed:

"Many of our most enterprising young men have done so, and on the whole they are succeeding and some at least are on the road to wealth" (59);

the failure of Governor Goldsworthy to gain legislative support for the sub-division of the larger land holdings (60) had made it impossible for an enterprising shepherd:

"to purchase or lease even the smallest piece of land" (61),

and had thus given added incentive to quit the Colony. A few years later, the run-down of naval activity and sealing increased the pressure (62) and the journal drew attention to the advantage of empire in offering a haven for the Colony's surplus population (63), in spite of which the Coast remained a popular destination. (64) Emigration continued with a peak after the first world war (see Table I) but this was followed by a steady growth of population as the number of immigrants increased and, later, as former emigrants returned to the Colony from South America (65) and overseas opportunities began to be much reduced.

After the second world war, which had at first greatly restricted opportunities for emigration, a dearth of good land in Patagonia made Australia a more attractive destination for those Falkland Islands shepherds who had acquired capital in the Colony but:

"cannot lay it out there to the advantage of their families." (67)

New Zealand also attracted emigrants:

"lured by the accounts of higher wages, better living conditions and the less vigorous climate." (68)

In addition, the lack of opportunity for the promotion of most Falkland Islanders to the highest ranks of the sheep farming industry had:

"in all probability contributed to the steady migration of the abler men and women of the Falklands" (69),

resulting in a "loss of ability and intelligence" described by one critic as "disastrous". (70) Further loss resulted when Royal Marines posted to the islands acquired local wives. Some of these women remained in the Colony or returned at a later date but most departed with their husbands and thus contributed to the preponderance of males in the 15 to 59 age group. (71)

Emigrants had little difficulty in obtaining employment in the white Commonwealth (72) but it was not easy to attract suitable replacements from the United Kingdom (73), all of which resulted in a shortage of labour in the Colony and a reliance upon those expatriate professionals who could be attracted to work there. (74) Some labour was recruited from South America but only to a limited extent in view of potential political difficulties (75) and a strong local preference for immigrants of British stock. The continuing decline in the population (see Table I) gave rise to concern that the Colony would reach:

"a point where it is impossible for the number of people left to maintain the services that a fairly sophisticated community requires" (76),

and it was also noted that "political uncertainty" (77) had become a further spur to emigration.

This fear for the future found overt expression in 1976, when a group of islanders asked the British Government to give full United Kingdom citizenship to all Falkland Islanders because:

"almost 100% of the population have their family origins in the United Kingdom" (78);

their concern stemmed from the fact that some islanders were no longer eligible for automatic right of abode in the mother country. Such fears were laid to rest with the grant of full citizenship in 1983 but this has also served to reinforce the suspicions of some islanders in regard to future British intentions.

Falkland Islanders in General

From the beginning of the twentieth century, when settlers would have entertained few if any doubts on the subject of imperial policy, the population has been divided between Stanley and the Camp in roughly equal proportions, although with some fluctuation (see Table I). In the capital, where the government and the Falkland Islands Company have been the major employers of labour (79), those in such work comprised about one-third of the Stanley population in 1980. (80) A further fifth were housewives, a quarter were below school leaving age, some were retired, and about one eighth

were engaged in professional, managerial and related occupations. The latter group in Stanley contains both Falkland Islanders with permanent posts, and expatriates serving on contract to the government, most of whom, including the Governor, remain in the Colony for relatively short periods.

In the Camp, some forty-five farmers and managers in 1980 directed the work of over three hundred employees who comprised forty-four per cent of the Camp population. ⁽⁸²⁾ A few farms were administered by resident owners but others had salaried managers, some of them closely related to the major shareholders and often with an equity stake in the enterprise. In 1979, the first large farm was sub-divided for the long-delayed object of making land available to a greater number of Falkland Islanders and thus promoting a class of small proprietors; with five farms now broken up in this way the number of landowners, many of them promoted from the lower orders, has risen and the average holding has therefore decreased (see Table IV).

In the past, persons of both high and low rank could hardly avoid frequent meeting in Stanley and the Camp stations but their spatial proximity did not always mitigate social distance for, from the beginnings of the Colony, class distinctions and the maintenance of propriety were regarded with the greatest importance in certain quarters. In 1869 a colonial chaplain insisted that a proper officer be informed should officials not wish to occupy the pews assigned to them; this would enable other "respectable persons"

to be placed there. (83) There were also complaints of intemperance, presumably levelled at social orders of lower rank than officials and landowners:

"Men are seen staggering about the streets in the open day, even at 12 noon, as the children are on their way home from school." (84)

There was also a lack of "purity in conversation" (85), and a:

"constant patrolling of the street at night by girls, some of them so young that they are still in short frocks." (86)

In 1907 the Bishop noted, in a rather imperial vein, that:

"still in some departments of morals and conduct the standard is deplorably low, and not the example which an all-British Colony should give to our fellow countrymen in the Spanish Republics" (87),

and Governor Allardyce sympathised with the Roman Catholic sisters:

"working hard amongst the children of a non-responsive and difficult people." (88)

Perhaps Dean Brandon knew his people best when he wrote in 1894:

"In the Falkland Islands we know one another more or less intimately, and though we are rather hard on each other in our criticisms and in imputing low and interested motives, yet in any case of necessity, distress, suffering, sickness or want, Falkland Islanders are generosity itself" (89),

but these qualities were not always displayed by those who enjoyed the privilege of owning land.

In addition to these questions of morality, there were also problems concerning the physical welfare of the colonists and in 1887 a critic complained that, contrary to an official assertion that destitution was more or less non-existent:

"the condition of the Colonists generally is not so thriving as the Governor seems to assume" (90);

some years later a Poor Committee was appointed:

"to deal with cases ^{of} urgent distress and destitution." (91)

Disease also took its toll of the population, some sixteen children dying during an epidemic of whooping cough in 1890. (92) Many of those who remained suffered from other diseases such as ricketts (93), of which it was noted that:

"The children of the poor are more frequently affected than those of the richer classes, but the latter are not exempt" (94);

a lack of winter milk was considered to be the cause.

A few years later there appeared to be some improvement for it was reported that, in West Falkland:

"The conditions under which the working class live are usually excellent" (95)

although some houses were considered to have inadequate ventilation. A state of good nutrition was reported for Stanley in the following year (96) but after the first world war there was a growing shortage of housing in the capital (97) later described by a Governor as:

"a grave scandal in a British Colony". (98)

The depression of the 1930s was to bring further problems (see below pp. 43 & 47) but, since the second world war, there has been a steady improvement in health and living standards, in both Stanley and the Camp, although the supply of housing in the capital remains insufficient to satisfy demand. In contrast, change in the Camp, especially the replacement of many permanent employees by itinerant seasonal workers, has led to empty houses.

Set at a symbolic distance from those unoccupied dwellings, and beset by both continuing low prices for wool and pressure to sell for sub-division, the 'big house' continues to dominate the remaining large farms but the powers of its occupant are now somewhat limited in comparison to those of his predecessors.

A Colonial Elite

An optimistic note on the question of land tenure had been struck by the report on the Blue Book for 1873 when it observed that:

"the policy of leasing the land to many colonists instead of a few Capitalists has worked most favourably, landed property imparting a high sense of independence and self respect; moreover it supplies stronger motives for industry, frugality and forethought than any other" (99)

but, within a few years, many of the immigrants who had:

"held land orders to enable them to settle on independent freeholds" (100)

were bought out by the Falkland Islands Company, actions which later fuelled accusations of inefficient farming:

"by those who have secured the monopoly of large tracts of land." (101)

Such criticism did not prevent the larger landowners from being appointed to serve as unofficial members of the legislative council, in which office they were not averse to the defence of their own interests, openly accusing one governor of using the official majority to push through legislation which they found unacceptable. (102)

One of them was particularly opposed to expenditure on the amenities of the capital and later declared:

"that if anything was done it should be in the direction of building bridges and signposts in the camp upon which nothing was ever expended, Stanley getting all the benefit." (103)

The Governor for his part made it clear:

"that in a Crown Colony the Government holds the majority of votes in its hands, and administers for the good of the Colony which is not ripe for a representative Assembly." (104)

This view was not challenged by the lower orders of Falklands society but there was criticism of the unofficial members at a public meeting in 1895 where they were described as:

"rather representative of the mercantile and sheep-farming interests." (105)

The critic claimed that:

"camp men had often confided their woes to him and had told him that they were afraid of getting the sack if they complained " (106)

and he urged that:

"if a third 'unofficial' was appointed
he should be a 'labour member'." (107)

Although the resolution was carried and there was to be further pressure for reform (108), it was not until 1948 that some unofficial members of the legislative council were elected by universal suffrage (109), and 1952 before elected representatives acquired a majority in the legislative council (109A); in 1985 the unofficial majority was extended to the executive council.

Not all landowners were alike for one earned gubernatorial praise in respect of the:

"considerate and liberal treatment of his
shepherds and labourers" (110)

which, if imitated by others:

"would much improve both the moral and (111)
material welfare of the inhabitants"

but such an encomium was not extended to the largest landowner, the Falkland Islands Company, which had not only increased its land holdings but had secured a virtual monopoly of trade in Stanley through the acquisition of a rival house. (112) The company's

consequent power did not endear it to successive governors, one of whom complained in 1912 that the company had:

"no pretensions towards being philanthropic - although the Board of Directors occasionally professes to assume such an attitude." (113)

Further criticism of the company followed the outbreak of the first world war when the Governor observed that:

"in no case has the Falkland Islands Company seen its way to placing the necessities of Empire before its own local interests" (114),

although:

"its local officials exchange mutual felicitations on their patriotism and general usefulness." (115)

A later Governor also referred to the "prejudicial" nature of the company's monopoly (116) but it continued to grow and in 1963:

"owned rather more than half the entire area of the Colony" (117),

although this is now somewhat reduced by the sale of land for subdivision.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the early fortunes of the company and others had been secured and the pioneer landowners were attracted to more salubrious climes so that in 1912:

"Of the nineteen owners, not one resides on his estate. In the matter of absentee landlords the Falklands stand unique and pre-eminent throughout the whole British Empire" (118);

each such landlord:

"avoids his responsibilities to the Colony whose productiveness enables him to live elsewhere." (119)

The absentee owners later formed an association, based in London, to convey their collective views to the colonial authorities who tended to:

"regard with considerable misgiving the attempt of a number of absentee farmers to intervene in the administration of this Government" (120),

and also took exception:

"to an attempt by non-residents, who deplete the country of its wealth, to control the management of its affairs." (121)

Correspondents in the local journal took a similar view, deprecating the negative attitude of the landowners to development (122) and deploring their expatriation of capital (123) but, thirty-five years later, it was still the case that:

"most of the sheepfarming profits are siphoned off overseas." (124)

In view of such circumstances, Governor Cardinall felt that the development of the Colony's major industry would bring proportionately greater benefits to the landowners than to their employees in the Camp (125) and, following Governor Goldsworthy's earlier example, he therefore advocated:

"the gradual disappearance of the large land owner, whether he be an individual or a company, and the establishment in his place of a yeomanry allied in its members on a co-operative basis, which in turn pre-supposes some system of small holdings." (126)

The landowners were also chided for disregarding expert pastoral advice which, if heeded:

"would conduce to their own prosperity and to the general welfare of the community whom they profess to support" (127)

but such strictures did not prevent one of them from strongly criticising Cardinall's successor for being:

"more concerned with Welfare than Development" (128)

in his advocacy of reform.

In stating this view, farmers were adhering to long-held conviction for, sixty years previously, they had been accused of a total lack of concern for welfare when, in order to reduce overheads (129), they began to replace married employees with single men with the result that:

"Married men with families are being gradually driven out of the 'camps' into Stanley and have little or no prospect of ever getting out again, as when there is a vacancy in the camp 'no married men need apply' is openly acted upon." (130)

Much the same view was expressed in the 1930s when the Unemployment Relief Committee noted:

"a tendency on the part of the farmers to get rid of married men and to leave their houses vacant." (131)

In addition, a letter to the local journal in 1895 complained of Camp employees being forced to work on the Sabbath or face dismissal (132), but another correspondent reminded readers that livestock required daily attention and he further opined that the employers were not as unpleasant as others had suggested. (133)

The migration of many farm workers to Stanley during the depression of the 1930s, whether forced or voluntary, necessitated the provision of relief work for the increasing number of the unemployed in the capital, mostly in the form of labouring for the public works department. (134) The security thus provided clearly discouraged some of the men from returning to the Camp even when vacancies occurred (135A) and it was considered necessary to withdraw benefits and relief work from those who refused Camp employment. (135B) It was also made clear by one farm manager that those offered such work should "behave respectfully" towards their employers and that an "adverse report by the Manager" ought to preclude both further employment and the payment of 'the dole' upon the erring employee's return to Stanley. (136) Farmers on the West went further by reducing wages and then asking for permission to import labour to fill the resulting vacancies. (137) Governor Henniker Heaton refused, observing that:

"The attitude of the West Falkland farmers if persisted in can only result in forcing farm workers into a union and it should be clear that they will have only themselves to thank for all that follows including the termination of the good relations which have always existed in this Colony between farmers and their labour" (138)

but, despite fears of:

"a dangerous cleavage of classes in the community" (139),

a trades union was eventually proposed in 1943. (140)

The Working Class

The fortunes of the workers who joined the union, and of those who went before, have been variously subject to the vicissitudes of war, weather, trade cycles and changing patterns of communication. In 1867, a labour shortage was said to place:

"the employer at the mercy of the employed" (141)

but work was not always so readily available and much depended on the degree of damage sustained by ships in their passage around Cape Horn. (142) At the same time:

"the people showed a disposition of loyalty and love of order" (143)

although this was:

"accompanied with a strong insular dependance (sic) on the Government" (144)

and:

"The resources of the Islands being so limited, they cannot be expected to rise to any state of prosperity." (145)

By the end of the century there was unemployment in Stanley; skilled artisans were sharing jobs and young men were advised to emigrate. (146)

A few years later, labour was being imported but not without protest that indigenous people were denied work in consequence (147), although some did not concur in this view. (148) One critic suggested that not all Falkland Islands labour was dependable and accused parents of inculcating inappropriate attitudes to work in their children who then felt that:

"if the job isn't to their mind or they get 'tired of the job' that they should throw it up without thinking of the employer or anyone but themselves." (149)

Another critic complained that:

"The dignity of domestic service was not properly understood, and servants were almost impossible to secure" (150),

but, by the end of the first world war, full employment had reinforced the attitudes deplored by the critics for:

"Labour in this Colony is not plentiful, and as a consequence is most independent. A man discharged by one employer is readily taken on by another within, at most a few days, at times a few hours." (151)

Workers were to benefit further in 1928, when Governor Hodson proposed the reduction of the working day from ten to eight hours without loss of income, noting that the working classes:

"have to work very hard when their nominal day's labour is finished" (152)

for:

"the freedom from poverty so often extolled in publications on the Colony has been bought dearly at the cost of over exacting toil" (153);

islanders grew their own vegetables and cut their fuel from the peat banks, and continue to do so at the present day. Hodson went on to observe that:

"The working men here are of a better class than their fellows in England and in a small community such as this where they are constantly with people in more comfortable circumstances than themselves their standing socially is higher. The majority are the type of men who would not be labourers had they the opportunities for self betterment to be found in a less isolated Colony." (154)

A decade later, over half the workforce was employed on some twenty farms and the remainder worked in Stanley for the government or the

Falkland Islands Company, or formed part of a large group of casual seasonal labourers who cut and carted peat or travelled south for the whaling and sealing. Not all of this group enjoyed full-time employment throughout the year, a number of men having no work at all (155), and a medical officer noted that:

"about one third of the population was suffering from the lack of proper nutrition, this section coming from the poorer paid wage earner" (156A)

whose children suffered in consequence (156B), but the call-up of the defence force at the beginning of the second world war brought unemployment to an end. (157)

After the war, workers began to exert a greater influence in colonial affairs and to further their own interests through the newly-founded trades union which objected to imported artisans receiving higher rates of pay than indigenous labour and also opposed the further immigration of displaced persons from central Europe, pointing out that if local tradesmen trained apprentices and made use of semi-skilled assistants:

"there should be no need for further importations of any race." (158)

Although Governor Clifford later deplored this opposition to the immigration of "dispossessed agricultural workers", especially in

view of the varied origins of the islanders and the need for an increased population (159), government acceded to union demands. In the ensuing labour shortage, the public works department lost a large number of its younger men, leaving a majority of older employees. (160)

Despite the growth of union activity throughout the Colony, the Camp continued to be:

"entirely filled with employees"

with a:

"complete lack of security of tenure" (161),

and it remained the case that:

"The paternalistic organisation of the larger farms leads to the worker becoming over-dependent on management. The result is lack of confidence in their own abilities with resultant lack of initiative. The consequences of this have been the loss of the more adventurous members of the population which must be deplored." (162)

There was also a continuing tendency to regard government as "a fairy godmother" (163) and an adviser opined that:

"the long established social hierarchy, especially in the Camp areas, has tended to discourage and stifle the very qualities of initiative, critical appraisal and free expression of opinion on which so much modern educational practice depends." (164)

REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

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A Volume of Essays for Elizabeth Halsall University of Hull Institute of Education, p.73.

(2) Although the vast majority of Falkland Islanders now claim British descent (see (3) below) there are traces of earlier Latin American influence in many of the place names of East Falkland, in the Spanish-derived terms for horses and gear, and in the term 'camp' (from the Spanish 'campos' = countryside) used to describe all or any of the Colony's area outside the capital.

(3) Precise definition of a Falkland Islander is not a simple matter, but the following data (after Falkland Islands Government Report of Census 1980 Government Printer, Stanley, 1981, p.7, Tables VI and VII) may be useful in this context:

<u>Birthplaces of population</u>		<u>Nationality</u>	
Falkland Islands	1360		
United Kingdom & Ireland	303		
Other Commonwealth countries	25	British	1723*
Other European countries	8	Other European	6
United States of America	23	USA	24
Latin America	90*	Latin America	60
Others	<u>4</u>	Others	<u>-</u>
	1813		1813

*Includes naturalised Latin Americans and the Argentine-born children of Falkland Islands and British-born parents.

(4) West Falkland and its surrounding smaller islands are generally referred to as 'the West'.

- (5) Falkland Islands Government Information for 1984-5 to be transmitted to the United Nations Committee of 24, mimeo, Part I, section A2.
- (6) *ibid.*, Part I, section A3.
- (7) *ibid.*
- (8) *ibid.*
- (9) *ibid.*, Part II, section A2(a).
- (10) *ibid.*, Part I, section A5(a).
- (11) *ibid.*, Part I, section A4.
- (12) *ibid.*
- (13) *ibid.*
- (14) *ibid.*, Part I, section B.
- (15) *ibid.*
- (16) FIA/B/4 Report on Blue Book 1866, 3 vii 1867.
- (17) Falkland Islands Government *op.cit.*

- (18) CS 257/35 Bonner to Col.Sec. 6 viii 1935,
Appendix VII.
- (19) Colonial Office (1952) Falkland Islands 1950 and 1951
HMSO, London, p.3.
- (20) ibid., p.6.
- (21) Colonial Office (1948) Falkland Islands 1947 HMSO, London,
pp.3-4.
- (22) Colonial Office (1956) Falkland Islands 1954 and 1955 HMSO,
London, p.21.
- (23) The 'Report of the Assistant Colonial Surgeon for 1889' (FIA/H44)
gives a riding time of 9½ hours for the journey from Fox Bay to Port
Stephens, a distance of some thirty-six miles, and a report by the
Camp Education Supervisor in 1948 (SA 0304: CES to Supt. of Education
17 v 1948) notes a time of four hours for the twenty miles from Fitzroy
to Stanley.
- (24) Colonial Office (1950) Falkland Islands 1949 HMSO, London,
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- (25) Colonial Office (1959) Falkland Islands 1956 and 1957 HMSO,
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- (26) Colonial Office (1949) Falkland Islands 1948 HMSO, London,
p.3.
- (28) Colonial Office (1948) op.cit., p.19.
- (29) Colonial Office (1952) op.cit., p.19.

- (30) Foreign and Commonwealth Office (1976) Falkland Islands 1972 and 1973
HMSO, London, p.1.
- (31) Falkland Islands Magazine
December 1907, p.7.
- (32) Falkland Islands Magazine
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- (33) Falkland Islands Magazine
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- (34) Colonial Office (1950) op.cit., p.16.
- (35) FIA/Desp.No.59 of 1910 Best to Secretary of State 11 vii 1910;
Falkland Islands Magazine April 1912,
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- (36) Quoted in: The Falkland Islands Journal 1967
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- (37) Colonial Office (1950) op.cit., p.22.
- (38) Quoted in: The Falkland Islands Journal 1967
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- (39) Trehearne, Mary (1978) Falkland Heritage Stockwell,
Ilfracombe, pp.15 and 63.
- (40) ibid., p.44.

- (41) Falkland Islands Gazette 7 vi 1900
- (42) The Report on Census 1911 (Government Printer, Stanley, 1911), which includes data for South Georgia, notes the presence of 1021 men with birthplaces in Scandinavia.
- (43) Among the Colony's surnames there are Larsen, Olsen, Nielsen, Petterson, Berntsen, Thorsen and Anderson (formerly Andersen).
- (44) Falkland Islands Government Report of Census 1980 Government (1981) Printer, Stanley, p.3.
- (45) CS 195/33 M.Evans to Col.Sec. 28 vii 1933.
- (46) FIA/Desp.No. 166 of 1935 Henniker Heaton to Macdonald 20 xi 1935.
- (47) The 'Report of the Assistant Colonial Surgeon for 1889' (FIA/H44) gives an adult male population in West Falkland of 212, but records only 80 adult females. The report also records 60 male and 48 female children but does not specify the criterion for separating them from adults; in any case, the ratio of the sexes among the children born in a small population can show marked variation from the approximate parity found in larger groups.
- (48) Colonial Office (1948) op.cit., p.20.
- (49) CS 8/42 Cardinall to Cranbourne 22 ii 1942, pp.34-35.
- (50) FIA/H44 Report of Assistant Colonial Surgeon for 1889.
- (51) Falkland Islands Gazette 1 iv 1952: Annual Agricultural Report for 1951.

- (52) ED 2/W 'Education in the Falkland Islands'
by C.R.V. Bell, 1973, mimeo, p.3.
- (53) Falkland Islands Gazette 1 v 1914, p.95.
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CHAPTER THREE

SCHOOLING FROM 1846 TO 1888

In this period, which saw a sixfold increase in the population of the Colony ⁽¹⁾, there was a similarly rapid growth in pupil numbers, from a dozen scholars in the original school of 1846 ⁽²⁾ to a roll of nearly two hundred in 1886. ⁽³⁾ The formal education of this growing student body was subject to a number of constraints, including a paucity of finance, from both internal and external sources, which placed strict limits on the level of provision in the capital and made it virtually impossible for government to organise any schooling at all for the increasing number of children in the Camp. In addition, parental perceptions of the labour market resulted in the assignment of low value to the limited schooling which was available, and the uneasy relationship between an education system based on the national school model, and an established church with a marked inclination to proselytise did little to promote harmony between the interested parties; this chapter will now address these themes in greater detail.

Finance and Control

When urging upon Governor Moody the provision of a school, the Colonial Chaplain stressed:

"the extreme necessity of educating the rising generation in order that having been taught in their infancy to fear God and honour the Queen when they grow up they may become good Christians and loyal subjects" ⁽⁵⁾,

and he went on to request assistance from public funds for this object.

In granting a subsidy, government was from the very beginning and of necessity involved in educational finance, the governor observing that:

"The parents are too few in number to subscribe among themselves a sufficient sum as a salary to remunerate a schoolmaster, nor have they time amidst their incessant duties at present to attend to their children properly without the aid of one." (6)

The subsidy was to be paid only until voluntary subscriptions made it unnecessary, a state which was never to be attained.

In the meantime, the schoolmaster received the school pence in addition to free rations and the subsidy of twenty pounds a year (7) but his failure to prove satisfactory caused the chaplain to recommend his replacement by a master recruited in the United Kingdom. (8) This adumbrated a continuing dependence not only on staff recruited from overseas but also upon British educational materials, for a list of appropriate school books was also requested from the Colonial Office at this time. (9)

A reply to enquiries from London noted that, although twelve pupils had enrolled at the new school in January 1846, four of them

had left a few months later either to assist their parents or on account of the winter weather. A further seven children were not receiving schooling because:

"their parents will not allow them to attend from an absurd idea that they would lose cast (sic) by allowing their children to attend the same school with those of the sappers and working settlers"; (10)

the social divisions of the mother country were not to become redundant in the Falklands.

Schooling for those who did attend very nearly ceased entirely when the Secretary of State, recommended to raise the master's salary, was:

"not prepared to encourage any such expenditure nor to sanction any increase of the charge hitherto incurred by the Public for the education of so limited a number of children." (11)

Not only would parents have to make their own arrangements for schooling, but they could expect no further help from government. In consequence, the schoolmaster's salary was omitted from the estimates but the Colonial Chaplain enabled the school to continue by paying the master from his own pocket. He clearly felt that London had misunderstood the local situation particularly in view of:

"the very decided steps that Her Majesty's Government are taking for the education of the poor at Home." (12)

On the quality of the school's work, Governor Rennie noted that although the master:

"is one of the Pensioners and his qualifications are of a limited character... his acquirements suffice for the ordinary education of the children of the labouring classes." (13)

At the same time, those who belonged to higher social orders continued to aspire to alternative instruction for their children, the commander of the garrison requesting the appointment of a qualified schoolmaster on the grounds that it would be:

"most beneficial to the families of the Officers and Capitalist rank of settler to have an instructor of superior attainments." (14)

Rennie sympathised but was not certain that sufficient remuneration would be subscribed for such a master and in any case:

"thought it would be advisable to continue the school now existing for the benefit of the working population and their families." (15)

In 1859, with growing numbers of military children enrolled at the school, the garrison commander decided to ask the War Department to grant an allowance for a schoolmistress (16), giving Governor Moore the opportunity to request the appointment of a married couple from the United Kingdom. Moore was careful to reassure London that:

"There will of course be no increase whatever in the colonial estimates or allowances." (17)

By the following year, a master and mistress were in post (18) and regulations made for the conduct of the school. (19) Fees were three pence per pupil per week apart from the military children for whom the War Department paid the much lower sum laid down in Queen's Regulations. (20) The Colonial Chaplain was appointed Inspector of the School, making regular reports on the work which was to be:

"conducted according to the principles in force in the National Schools of England and Ireland so as to embrace all children without distinction of religion" (21),

a stipulation which would later foment marked contention.

In his second report, the inspector noted that the school roll had thirty-three colonists' children and thirty-six from military

families, but drew attention to the:

"irregularity of attendance...among the children of the soldiers." (22)

He opined that this was:

"only a certain result of the present system of Gratuitous Instruction for Soldiers' Children",

adding that:

"People are found in England never to value Instruction unless they pay for it themselves." (23)

The inspector's subsequent proposal to levy a common fee for all pupils (24) was not taken up, an inaction which may have contributed to a soured relationship with the military for he wrote:

"The Military Department rather than establish a second school avail themselves of the convenience of the existing means of Education." (25)

Not only did he consider the garrison to be indulged in the matter of schooling but the commander in his capacity as a "Visitor of the

School" had given directions to the schoolmaster, an action which:

"treats my own appointment as Inspector
as a nullity." (26)

Later an improvement in the attendance of military children, following intervention by the commander (26), appears to have restored good relations for the short remaining period of military involvement in the school. (27)

The pattern of supervision of the school by an inspector, usually the Colonial Chaplain, reporting directly to the Governor or Colonial Secretary was to continue to the early part of the twentieth century and to be of particular significance in the question of religious education which is discussed below. This dispute and the scarcity of funds for educational purposes were to be the dominant features of the period and not without later importance but, in regard to administration, there were no major changes until the appointment of L.E. Brandon as chaplain and inspector in 1883.

Brandon was soon urging:

"the need of compulsory attendance at
school in Stanley"

and that:

"some steps be taken to assist education
in the country parts of the Islands." (28)

Although it was some time before Brandon's pleas resulted in appropriate action, the new regulations of 1888 did define the powers of various bodies in relation to the curriculum for:

"The list of subjects taught in the school must be sanctioned by the Governor in Council, and no subject shall be taught without such previous sanction. Any alteration in the Time Tables must be submitted for the sanction of the Governor in Council." (29)

The inspector was to be the channel of communication between the teachers and the government, and would produce an annual report on the schools. (30) Free rations, twenty pounds a year, and an unqualified schoolmaster were no longer sufficient expression of the public interest in education.

The Teachers

The earliest teachers were recruited locally and appear to have given little satisfaction to government or parents although, if complaints regarding low income, lack of official support and dearth of furniture and equipment are to ^{be} believed (31), it would be unfair to judge them too harshly. This absence of a qualified schoolmaster hardly encouraged parents to obtain education for their children, leading Governor Moore to observe that:

"the early age at which children are removed is one proof of the comparative inefficiency of the school, since that removal is not (as unfortunately it often is in England) a result of any distress, or of need of the children's labour." (32)

The problem was resolved when, following a request to the Colonial Office (33), G.A. Clarke and his wife were recruited from the United Kingdom in 1859. Their arrival made possible the division of the school's ninety-one pupils into separate classes for the older boys, and for the girls together with the infants. This measure, taken for "the good order of the School" (34), resulted in the need for an assistant to help the mistress with her fifty-three pupils; private subscriptions were raised for the assistant's remuneration (35) and for a gratuity to the mistress who received only her pupils' pence. (36) By 1862 government was incurring expenditure of forty-four pounds per annum as a contribution to the master's salary and ten pounds for a female assistant. (37)

The system by which the master and mistress derived part of their income on a capitation basis ensured them a living provided pupil numbers remained constant or increased but, with the departure of the military families in 1864, their incomes were reduced by nearly one third (38) and the services of an assistant were no longer required. (39) School numbers later recovered as the Colony grew and shortly before the end of his service, Clarke found himself in sole charge of one hundred pupils, a situation which caused the Governor and Bishop Stirling to subscribe from their own pockets for a monitorial system. (40) Clarke remained in office until 1874 when, as a result either of intemperance (41) or:

"a climate too severe for his delicate constitution" (42),

he resigned.

Clarke was replaced by J.W. Collins, an alumnus of Edinburgh University and King's College, London. (43) He clearly enjoyed the good opinion of the Governor (44) who was now able to double the weekly pence:

"thus relieving myself and Bishop Stirling from the weight of the monitorial system." (45)

Collins did not remain long in the post of schoolmaster; by 1879 he was acting Colonial Secretary. (46)

Local acting appointments kept the school in being (47) until 1883 when F. Durose was appointed schoolmaster, a post he was to occupy for nearly a quarter of a century. In the following year, Durose and one assistant teacher taught forty-four boys and twenty-nine girls in the Senior School whilst Mrs. Durose and one assistant taught the infants. (48) A sewing mistress was also engaged but a subscription was required for part of her salary, Governor Ker noting that:

"I have no objection to the proposed arrangement, but as the amount sanctioned by the Secretary of State for educational purposes is already exceeded, I cannot promise any assistance from the Government." (49)

A similar response was given to a request for additional staffing at the Infant School. (50)

The Curriculum

In the beginning:

"The course of instruction appears to have been upon no particular system but conducted according to the directions given from time to time by the Colonial Chaplain" (51)

but, as the school grew in numbers and trained teachers were appointed, the curriculum was to acquire greater structure and consistency.

The earliest record relates to 1848 when the schoolmaster complained of a shortage of suitable texts, the work having to be based on those loaned by parents and others, but he appears to have made some progress in the teaching of arithmetic through the use of pebbles as concrete aids. (52) Just over a decade later, there were official regulations which, besides emphasising the principles of the National School system, referred to two specific areas of the curriculum: religious education and needlework. For the latter, it was laid down:

"That every afternoon in the girls school be devoted to needlework, but, while working, as much instruction as possible shall be given orally." (53)

When the pupils were sufficiently skilled the school was to take in needlework from the colonists, part of the charges being applied to a school fund and the remainder shared among the girls. (54) Their brothers were not subject to any parallel utilitarian measures and were therefore doubtless able to devote greater attention to their afternoon lessons.

In 1861, language arts, arithmetic, geography, needlework, singing and "Heads of Scripture" all featured in the work of the school (55), and the teaching could be described as "above par" with the exceptions of writing and arithmetic. (56) Shortly after, there were the first references to the annual examination of the pupils (57), conducted on occasion by the Governor in person. (58) This emulation of metropolitan practice was strengthened when the master forwarded, at the Governor's request, a list of books which were described as:

"generally used in all National Schools
of England." (59)

At a later date, consternation ensued when the Crown Agents despatched 'National Reading Books' instead of 'Royal Readers' (60); months would elapse before such errors could be corrected.

By 1884, the Senior School curriculum had grown to include history, geography, drawing, music and singing, in addition to

arithmetic and language arts which two areas absorbed some two-thirds of the timetable. (61A) The master attempted to add French to the curriculum for some pupils but earned a gubernatorial rebuke:

"French is not to be taught....until the school is so far advanced that it may be found expedient to make it part of the work of a whole class." (61B)

The regulations of 1888 underlined this executive control of the curriculum. (62)

Parents and Pupils

A petition of the early 1850s, requesting the appointment of a certain pensioner as schoolmaster and bearing some twenty-seven signatures, attested to a degree of parental interest in schooling⁽⁶³⁾, and the report on the Blue Book for 1858 noted that:

"the younger ones attend the school regularly." (64)

This was hardly true in all families for, of the one hundred and fifty children of school age in Stanley, the average daily attendance was sixty-two pupils and only nine of them were older than ten years. (65)

The arrival in 1859 of a trained master was to lead to an increased enrolment (66) but seasonal demands for child labour hardly guaranteed him a regular income for:

"during the Peat cutting season the Parents of children who do not attend, (sending their little ones irregularly), decrease the regular payments." (67)

At the same time, a prudent school inspector had:

"not thought it right at present to insist upon these payments whether the children are in school or not, till the advantages of education are more decidedly felt by the colonists." (68)

The same official later repeated his views on payment for schooling, noting that:

"Hitherto the Colonists have been liberally provided by the Home Government with the means of Education for their children at little or no cost to themselves." (69)

Now that they were prospering, they could pay more and, in Bull's opinion, would not properly value education until they did so. (70)

In spite of these problems it was still possible for a later report on the Blue Book to claim, perhaps with some economy of

the truth, that:

"the inhabitants generally are fully alive to the necessity of procuring for their children the best instruction which the place affords and that consequently the attendance at the Government school is very good" (71),

but for older children such attendance conflicted with the attractions of the labour market and, contrary to Governor Moore's earlier assertion (72), it was observed that:

"owing to the great demand for labour in this Colony.....the Boys of the 1st Class only remain at School until they are able to master the Rule of Three." (73)

Parental concern for the children who were in school was aroused by the monitorial system employed from time to time to overcome the lack of teaching staff but it was dismissed by the inspector:

"The Parents foolishly object to their children being taught by their School-fellows but the result will more than overcome the prejudice." (74)

At the same time, the institution of a:

"system of the children learning lessons at home"

was considered successful (75) and, presumably, had therefore elicited some degree of parental co-operation.

The school inspectors for their part evinced concern over a government proposal to close the school at a later time each day, and protested at the possible consequences for the families of female pupils:

"the little girls being required immediately at home, after school, to arrange the meals or to enable the mothers to arrange the meals for the fathers return from work" (76)

and they added that it was:

"absolutely essential also to send the girls home before the boys, because in a mixed school these precautions, the result of 12 years' experience in the Colony, cannot be lightly set aside." (77)

In addition to these problems, the withdrawal of older pupils for seasonal work and full-time employment, the boys as outdoor labourers and the girls in domestic service, continued for:

"Unfortunately the class of employments in this Colony for which educational attainments are required is extremely limited, and parents as a rule do not care to provide their children with more than the rudiments of education." (78)

The report on the Blue Book went on to aver that it was:

"unlikely that the level of education will be raised until some change takes place in the general circumstances of the Colony." (79)

Nonetheless, by 1886, of the three hundred and nine children under fifteen in Stanley, one hundred and eighty-one were on the roll of the Infant or Senior School, although this high enrolment figure was not matched by the average attendance of about two-thirds (80A); with thirty-six children of school age in Stanley receiving no schooling at all (80B), the scene was clearly set for compulsion.

The Religious Question

The Secretary of State was informed in 1859 that:

"it should be most thoroughly understood that no proceedings whatever can be permitted in the school which would offend the religious prejudices or feelings of persons not belonging to the Anglican Church." (81)

The school was clearly:

"the only place of education in the Colony" (82)

and was bound to provide not only for Anglican children but also

for the sons and daughters of Presbyterians, Dissenters and Roman Catholics. (83) This principle must have been clear to the Colonial Chaplain (Rev. C. Bull) when, upon his appointment as school inspector in 1860, he expressed his desire to give religious instruction to Anglican children in the school and at Sunday school, besides supervising the secular instruction of all the pupils. (84) In any case, under the regulations of 1860, parents who objected were free to withdraw their children from religious instruction (85) and from Bible reading. (86)

In spite of this safeguard, Governor Moore was clearly unhappy with the sectarian situation which arose and in 1862 decreed that:

"the Bible is not to be read in the (87)
Schools till further directions."

The chaplain, adamant that he gave religious instruction of a doctrinal nature only to Protestant pupils and that he did so in the church and not in the school building, insisted that daily Bible reading be allowed to continue, arguing that this was the case in the National Schools in England. He claimed the support of Roman Catholic parents for the reading and proposed that objectors could be readily accommodated by scheduling it as the first lesson of the day (88), but the Governor did not agree.

Moore was succeeded by Governor Mackenzie who, for reasons of which no record survives but presumably to attenuate the chaplain's influence, appointed the stipendiary magistrate to serve as an additional school inspector. He and his clerical colleague nonetheless recommended that periods of religious instruction for Anglican pupils be given in the church on Wednesdays and Fridays and that one hour on other days be devoted to Bible reading (89) but the new Governor, doubtless warned by his predecessor, considered that:

"reading the Bible.....in the School-room during school hours would be injudicious and at variance with the character of the schools" (90)

for:

"every possible facility should be given to Parents of every denomination sending their children to the School." (91)

It appears that the Bible continued to be read despite the Governor's objections for Bull was soon informing him that:

"there has been no attempt to withhold from Your Excellency's knowledge the fact of the Bible being read in School hours. It has been openly done." (92)

Upon perceiving the Governor to be determined, the chaplain asked to be relieved of his duties as inspector, noting that:

"as the study of the Bible is to be prohibited, a very different system of instruction will have to be pursued." (93)

and that, in consequence, he would be placed in a

"very delicate and embarrassing position." (94)

No obstacle was placed in Bull's path and the government's position was made clear:

"The system of education is strictly secular, and great care is taken not to wound the scruples of such of the scholars who do not belong to the established church." (95)

Protestant children, who constituted the great majority (96), continued to have religious instruction from the chaplain in the church but the school was:

"rendered available for children of all denominations." (97)

Mackenzie was soon succeeded by Governor Robinson and Bull, losing no time in making a fresh appeal for the restoration of Bible reading, reminded the new Governor that:

"the high moral impulse which can only be given by an appeal to the word of God is in a measure lost and that too in a Colony where every restraint on sin and every impulse to good is of infinite value.

"The children are practically being taught that the Bible is a book only to be read in Church and that too only in the presence of their Clergymen." (98)

He argued that parental opinion remained in favour of the reading (99), assured the Governor that it was based on National School practice in England (100) and noted that the military department had supplied materials for the school:

"on the supposition of Bible Teaching being the Rule." (101)

Bull deplored the secularising of education in Stanley and averred that no less an authority than the Lords Committee of the Privy Council on Education had taken the view that intellectual education should be subordinate to the knowledge of revealed religion. (102)

The chaplain's strenuous efforts, repeated at intervals, failed to move Robinson but in 1871 a much more sympathetic Governor D'Arcy took office. Bull was reinstated as school inspector, and the school began to open and close by assembling in the church, at which:

"so far no child abstains from attending Divine Service, on the ground of Religious Scruples." (103)

The chaplain went on to claim that:

"Mere secular instruction must prove a failure" (104)

and that only public catechizing and Sunday school had saved the government schools from being:

"mere nurseries of Infidelity and disaffection to all order and authority" (105);

the Established Church was triumphant.

Bull was soon to be replaced by a new chaplain and inspector who, far from displaying an excess of zeal in his work at the school, was reprimanded by the Governor for absenting himself from Stanley, without permission, to visit the Camp. (106A) His plea that the school children still received religious instruction three weeks out of four and that therefore:

"parents have no reason to complain" (106B)

was not accepted. The Governor reminded the erring priest that he was not the rector of a parish but:

"simply a Colonial Chaplain answerable to a little Governor of a little Colony, who nevertheless is determined you shall do your duty." (107)

There is no record of further controversy over religious education in this period, at the end of which an increasing population

had created sufficient wealth to build new churches and to support clergy of three denominations, a change reflected in the 1888 regulations:

"No religious instruction shall be given in the Government schools during school hours, but the schools will be dismissed on every Wednesday at 11 o'clock a.m., to enable the ministers of religion, recognised by the Government, to give religious instruction to the children of parents, who are members of their respective religious denominations, between the hours of 11 and 12 on those days." (108)

Education beyond Stanley

In 1863 the Colonial Chaplain, noting the absence of schooling in the Camp, had recommended that:

"a Deacon Teacher be sent out from England for the purpose of educating the children of some shepherds who live away from the Town of Stanley" (109)

and of conducting services at the various stations in the Camp (110), but the Governor did not support the proposals on the grounds of the increased expenditure involved and his preference for a Roman Catholic priest rather than another Anglican. (111)

Bull later took up the matter again, hoping that Governor D'Arcy might be able:

"to move the Falkland Islands Company to contribute towards the maintenance of a travelling schoolmaster " (112)

who would serve the:

"children growing up in the remoter portions of the Colony without any opportunities of even secular instruction." (113)

The chaplain had tried to help by providing school materials for shepherds prepared to teach children in their neighbourhoods (114), and the Falkland Islands Company was shortly to open a small school at Darwin for the children of the settlement (115), but most children in the Camp remained unschooled.

The report on the Blue Book for 1870 also referred to a:

"great scholastic want in the Camp" (116)

where children whose parents were:

"settled in distant stations many miles apart from each other" (117)

had no access to schooling; the parents for their part were mostly either too busy or insufficiently literate to attend to their children's instruction. Noting the work of travelling schoolmasters in similar circumstances in Scotland, it was suggested that:

"the expense of such a functionary might reasonably be entertained by the Company as the Government has maintained the Stanley school since the formation of the settlement." (118)

Government was clearly reluctant to take up a further burden which could readily be borne by the Falkland Islands Company for the benefit of its employees.

A lack of response to the government's proposal resulted in very little change for children in the Camp; in 1886, twenty-one attended the Darwin School but few of the remaining two hundred and thirty received any formal instruction. (119) This state of affairs was strongly criticised by the newly formed Falkland Islands Reform Club whose secretary deplored:

"The lack of Education in the Camp whereby to fit children brought up in the Islands for other spheres of labor (sic) should opportunities arise for them to emigrate. It may easily be perceived how such a lack will act as a deterrent, as the uneducated children of the Falklands' Camp become aware of their unfitness to vie and compete with others, they will hesitate to move away from the Colony" (120)

but he refrained from any direct suggestion that the landowners might benefit from the presence of a large pool of illiterate and only locally mobile labour.

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CHAPTER FOURSCHOOLING FROM 1889 TO 1918

The unsympathetic attitudes of many farmers to the subordinate colonists were not necessarily shared by expatriate officials for Governor Goldsworthy, replying to an address of welcome, observed that it:

"cannot but strengthen the desire I have ever felt to afford every assistance to the working class and thus to further the best interests of the Colony" (1),

and the Assistant Colonial Chaplain wrote:

"I believe that as education creeps down from the classes (at the will of the classes) to the masses so labour will be lifted to an equal dignity and position of power." (2)

These sentiments would hardly have earned the approbation of the landowners but they did presage the growth of a universal and effectively secular system of elementary education, which moved a later Governor to assert that:

"State Education was a very important matter, and it was only right that every child should have an equal opportunity." (3)

There were strong metropolitan links in this introduction and development of compulsory schooling, for local legislation was inspired by the Forster Act and the teachers were recruited from the United Kingdom. They followed curricula similar to those in the elementary schools of the mother country although the isolation of the Colony strongly inhibited the assimilation of contemporary British practice. Also of metropolitan origin were the continuing religious difficulties which resulted in the opening of denominational schools in Stanley, giving rise to even greater diseconomies of scale than those already existing. Such diseconomy was inevitable in the thinly-populated Camp but some effort was made nonetheless to bring formal education to a greater proportion of the children who lived there.

Developments in Administration

In 1889, the Executive Council responded to Brandon's urging and discussed the framing of legislation:

"embodying such of the provisions of the Elementary Education Act with respect to the compulsory attendance of children at school as are applicable to local circumstances." (4)

The inspector was soon after giving his approval to the draft of an appropriate bill, but with the proviso that the Chief Constable and not the Inspector of Schools summons offending parents; this was

to obviate possible conflict with his clerical office. (5)

The consequent ordinance brought about increased rolls and more regular school attendance (6), except during the seasonal cutting of peat which was held to constitute "unavoidable cause" of absence, the inspector noting that:

"Such exemptions are, I believe, granted at home during the harvest." (7)

Not all parents complied willingly with the requirements of the ordinance for, despite warning of its impending enforcement (8), it was observed that the new law:

"does not make children of negligent parents attend sufficiently regularly to obtain a really sound education." (9)

The ordinance was modified by further legislation in 1895 which granted exemption from compulsory schooling to pupils over the age of ten who could satisfy the Police Magistrate of their having reached a prescribed academic standard. (10)

Under the new law, Brandon continued in his office of inspector and clearly gave much energy to the work. He reprimanded the schoolmaster for failing to maintain a higher standard of discipline among

the scholars (11) and again for his lack of co-operation in the examination of the pupils (12) but, in 1890, when Governor Kerr peremptorily forbade the corporal punishment of the girls, Brandon hastened to support the Duroses, who hoped that the Governor would:

"give due consideration to the opinions of recognised educational authorities and especially to the methods pursued and approved of in leading training colleges in England and Germany." (13)

The inspector observed in addition that:

"The children are in many cases not under proper control at home, and hence need stricter discipline in School" (14),

but Governor Kerr remained adamant. (15)

In the same year, when it was proposed to reduce the school-mistress' salary, Brandon protested in a memorial to the Secretary of State that she had already suffered through the necessary remission of fees for "orphans, deserted and destitute children " consequent upon compulsion and that it was unfair to penalise her further when:

"she has discharged her duties with zeal and regularity." (16)

Government had justified the reduction on the ground of a falling roll (17), a situation which reflected both the opening of the Roman Catholic school and the physical state of the government school buildings which Brandon criticised as:

"utterly unsuitable for educational purposes." (18)

He added that:

"such Schoolrooms and appliances would not be tolerated in England for six months"

and alleged that:

"Children have been withdrawn through the insanitary and unwholesome state of the schools." (19)

In regard to funding for premises of an acceptable standard, Brandon suggested a change in colonial priorities of expenditure and, if that were insufficient:

"the Sheep farmers who at a low rental are making fortunes out of the monopoly of the land could very well be taxed for this purpose." (20)

The Governor was clearly displeased by these allegations for he

appointed a committee to investigate them and, whilst not condemning the school premises as strongly as Brandon, its members did recommend various improvements and repairs. (21) When the Governor pressed for "a decided expression of opinion" concerning the allegation that children were removed on account of the state of the buildings, the committee, tactfully declaring itself incompetent to determine parental motives, observed that although the Senior School building was acceptable:

"the crowded and unventilated condition of the Junior School is likely to be prejudicial to health." (22)

Brandon continued to incur gubernatorial displeasure for, a few years later, Governor Goldsworthy noted that:

"Dean Brandon lays stress on the fact that he takes no part in political movements" (23),

adding "openly no, covertly yes", and he went on to observe that Brandon's opposition to his wish to disendow the Church of England, by abolishing its grant, did not make:

"relations between the Dean and myself more cordial." (24)

The Dean's change of opinion from advocating subdivision of the large land holdings to support for the status quo also did nothing

to earn Goldsworthy's good opinion (25), and the Governor later complained of the neglect of Brandon's duties as school inspector caused by his visits to the Camp. (26)

Overcrowding was not the only consequence of the increased rolls following compulsion, for it was argued that the staffing of the Infant School, a mistress and an assistant, had become inadequate and especially so because:

"some of the children aged from 10 to 15 years belonging to families brought up in the camp where there are no schools are very backward and need more individual attention than they can at present get." (27)

In reply, the government reiterated the Secretary of State's 1883 ruling that annual expenditure on education be limited to two hundred pounds (28), although Brandon had protested that the sum was "not by any means excessive" and recommended that:

"education now being compulsory every facility should be granted to make the Government Schools as efficient as possible" (29),

a view supported by unofficial members of the Legislative Council. (30)
Not only should the schools have been made more effective but their division into separate institutions for boys and girls was also desirable because:

"Many girls would continue at School much longer than they now do as parents have a most decided objection to sending their Girls to a mixed School." (31)

Such proposals were clearly frustrated by the continuing lack of funding sufficient to allow the employment of an appropriate number of competent staff and, although monitors, local assistants and, later, pupil teachers, had from time to time featured in the system, it was not until the ordinance of 1909 that any legislative attention was paid to local teacher training. This ordinance, which also raised the school leaving age to fourteen years, provided for the appointment and training of pupil teachers, one for every fifty pupils up to a total of one hundred and thereafter one for every twenty pupils. (32)

Candidates had to be over fourteen years of age and to have passed Standard Six before embarking on the four year course (33), which followed the Board of Education scheme. (34) There were periods of instruction in the evenings and on Saturdays, with periodic tests to:

"serve as an impetus to the Pupil Teachers' studies, and thus afford encouragement which is particularly valuable in a Colony where education is not appreciated to any great extent." 35

The system was said to show:

"a marked improvement on the method formerly in vogue in the Colony, by which practically any young person of good character in Stanley was deemed eligible for the position of assistant teacher in the Government School." (36)

This period also saw another notable change, in the educational relationship between the government and the then established church, when in 1906 the ecclesiastical grant ceased to be paid and the Colonial Chaplain, whose office was abolished, could no longer be ex officio Inspector of Schools although, in recognition of Brandon's long service in the office, he received a fee for continuing to perform its duties. (37) Similar remuneration was also given to Brandon's less than energetic clerical successors, but Governor Allardyce complained in 1912 that the "meagre and sketchy" education reports were "of no practical importance" and a poor return for the money paid to the then Dean, who had not visited the Government School for over twelve months. (38)

Education in the Camp

By 1889 there were forty-nine locations in East Falkland occupied by employees of the Falkland Islands Company (39), in addition to persons in houses on land owned by others, and although details are not available there would have been children of school age at many of them; West Falkland had some forty-four occupied locations, of which thirty had children totalling one hundred and nineteen in all. (40) Few of these boys and girls received any schooling for, despite the strictures of the Reform Club and the

urging of the colonial chaplain, there continued to be no formal education in the Camp, apart from the small school at Darwin. Some of the parents did what they could (41), occasionally coming to Stanley for short periods when the children were able to attend the school, and a few were obliged to settle permanently:

"if the sheep farms do not care to employ them" (42)

in consequence of their tendency to employ single men in preference to those with dependants, but most boys and girls of school age remained in the Camp for:

"The expense of sending children into Stanley and boarding them is so great (44); that parents are unable to incur it"

one advertisement in a contemporary journal offered a shepherd wages of six pounds per month (45) and another asked thirty shillings to board a scholar for the same period. (46)

Although Governor Allardyce expressed the hope in 1905 that improved schooling in Stanley would encourage parents in the Camp to send their children for:

"the superior educational advantages offered at headquarters" (47),

it was not for several more years that the provision of a non-profit making school or hostel was put forward as a solution to the problem of accommodation for Camp pupils ⁽⁴⁸⁾, and it was 1916 before detailed suggestions were made for a hostel in Stanley, subsidised by government and private subscription in order that shepherds' children might enjoy its advantages. ⁽⁴⁹⁾

In the meantime, the Falkland Islands Company continued to make some provision for the children of its Camp employees, with twenty-five scholars at the Darwin school in 1889 ⁽⁵⁰⁾ and, four years later, it responded to government's earlier suggestion by engaging the Colony's first itinerant teachers; by 1905, they had nearly forty pupils. ⁽⁵¹⁾ Brandon had earlier recommended:

"That inquiries be made as to what is done towards the education of the children of labourers and shepherds scattered over the country in other Colonies" ⁽⁵²⁾

but it was not until 1895 that government followed the Company's example and, responding to a petition from West Falkland, took steps to obtain two itinerant teachers ⁽⁵³⁾ from the United Kingdom, a reflection of the:

"impossibility of procuring competent teachers locally." ⁽⁵⁴⁾

In requesting their recruitment, Governor Goldsworthy was mindful of the problem of denominational strife and emphasised that:

"It is most desirable that the School-masters selected should be quite unsectarian in their views." (55)

They were also to possess a knowledge of riding for each 'beat' in West Falkland comprised up to fourteen locations, not more than ten miles apart on average, with a total of some sixty pupils. (56) They were visited twice a year for periods of two to four weeks depending upon their numbers (57), with home lessons to keep them at work between visits. Horses, gear and guides between the houses were all provided but the life was not to be easy and:

"a schoolmaster who affects broad-clothwill be quite out of place in the West Falklands." (58)

The scheme was soon after extended to embrace the part of East Falkland not owned by the Falkland Islands Company, and the local journal, edited by Brandon, was able to comment:

"The Government is now spending a fairly large sum upon the education of the camp children, considering the smallness of their number, and we hope that all will co-operate in getting the greatest advantage from the money thus spent." (59)

Rules were drawn up for the guidance of the new travelling teachers although a suggestion that parents certify their itineraries was strongly deprecated by Brandon as:

"derogatory to the position and station of the schoolmaster." (60)

One rule of which he did approve required the keeping of home lesson books for the inspector's perusal on the grounds that they were:

"the only means we have by which to judge how far the children have advanced; the parents are sometimes unable to give the desired information." (61)

By 1904 there were five government travelling teachers, three for the West and two on East Falkland, and Brandon, on his tours of the Camp, found ample evidence of their pupils' learning but was also well aware of the problems arising from the long beats and consequently short and infrequent visits. (62) Nonetheless Camp residents, who often felt that they received less in return for their taxes than the people of Stanley, gained some additional opportunities for their children from the new system (63) and it has continued, with some changes, until the present day.

The modern successors of the early itinerant teachers still encounter problems of the kind so vividly described by Governor Allardyce in 1909:

"The lives these men lead is at all times a more or less difficult, thankless, and discouraging one, for the exigencies of their unusual service demand that they should live in the houses of the shepherds whose children they teach, and needless to point out it necessarily follows that their existence, without a permanent home, is at best a somewhat uncomfortable one. Should the schoolmaster correct and discipline the children in his efforts to instil knowledge

into what are I fear too often unreceptive natures, he is almost certain to incur the wrath of the parents, many of whom consider that children should be allowed to do very much as they please. On the other hand should the teacher be too uncomfortable, and experience in the past has shewn that the treatment meted out to them at times has been distinctly perfunctory, he has no alternative but to make a formal complaint to headquarters which seldom results in his life being made more pleasant for him by those against whom he has felt obliged to complain." (64)

Another continuing source of difficulty was the uncertainty of obtaining personnel to work as travelling teachers; one post remained unfilled in 1909 (65) but the establishment was again complete in 1912. (66) When the Secretary of State was prompted to enquire:

"whether there are any special reasons for the frequent resignations of the Itinerant Schoolmasters" (67)

Allardyce assured him there was none (68), but it seems highly unlikely that any would have signed for a second five-year engagement.

The outbreak of the Great War greatly depleted the ranks of the itinerant teachers for:

"the type of man required as a Travelling Teacher is the very type required for military service" (69)

and the Executive Council was unanimous that "in view of local conditions", which often included teacher and guide sharing a room in a shepherd's crowded house (70), female recruits were not to be considered. (71)

Religion and Schooling

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Government Infant and Senior Schools were joined by new institutions for the arrival of two Salesian priests was followed by the opening of a Roman Catholic school, with some thirty scholars (72), in 1889 (73) and, a few years later, by the Baptist Day School and a small private school (74) of which very little more is heard. It would appear that one of the reasons for the foundation of the Baptist (75) and Roman Catholic schools was suspicion on the part of the religious minorities with regard to the motives of Brandon and the assistant Church of England clergy. In an attempt to control a proselytising tendency inherited from Bull, the Executive Council felt obliged to remind those concerned that religious instruction for Anglican pupils was to be given outside the school premises in order not:

"to create a belief that the Government (76)
School was a denominational school."

Religious instruction was not to interfere with secular education and the school roll was only to be called after the voluntary morning prayers had been said in the form agreed by the various clergy. (77)

Governor Goldsworthy shared the suspicions of the Baptists and Roman Catholics, reprimanding Brandon for using "printed memoranda" (presumably with a church heading) on government business and thus allowing the:

"undenominational office of Inspector of Schools to be merged in your clerical position." (78)

When the denominational schools were to be inspected and examined on behalf of government as a condition of grants in aid (79), the Governor agreed with the Baptist minister that this should not be carried out by a person connected with a particular denomination for:

"Dean Brandom from his very position is not unnaturally looked upon with some distrust by those of other denominations and it is in a measure due to action taken by him in the past." (80)

New arrangements were soon put into effect and by the turn of the century the pupils of all the schools were being examined by visiting naval chaplains (81) and other suitably qualified persons.

Religion clearly remained a sensitive area for some colonists and schoolmasters were liable to strong criticism if they were thought to have offended the religious beliefs of pupils and their parents. Durose was accused of introducing non-Christian doctrine and of questioning the existence of heaven in school hours (82), in addition

to discontinuing morning prayer without official sanction. (83)
 The schoolmaster who was said to be "unsettled in his religious
 opinions" (84) received a reprimand for his "highly injudicious
 and improper" speculations. (85)

Durose's successor was later accused of disparaging St. Mary's,
 the Roman Catholic school, in a letter to a parent and was severely
 censured for so doing, the Governor assuring the priest that he
 himself was:

"highly sensible of the good work performed
 and the wholesome influence exercised by
 the Roman Catholic Sisters in Stanley." (86)

The Roman Catholic community was not satisfied with this statement and
 through its Guild demanded publication of all the correspondence but
 Governor Allardyce refused on the ground of privilege. (87) He later
 criticised the priest for effectively preventing Roman Catholic pupils
 from taking part in Empire Day celebrations and thereby causing:

"a needless rift between the parents and the
 children of the different denominations." (88)

St. Mary's School had increased its roll to seventy-four by the end
 of its first year (89), resulting in a decrease in numbers (90) and
 consequent income from fees at the Government Infant School. The
 priest noted that several pupils had left and others had been

admitted and, speculating on the reasons for the movements, cited a letter "from a Protestant mother":

"In consequence of the jealous feeling that exists in our Sunday-School towards your school, I am obliged for the sake of peace to take away two of my children, and send them to the other school.'" (91)

He added, perhaps hinting at the attitudes of certain employers:

"I may say that many parents have expressed their desire to send their children to my school, but that their "bread and butter" depends upon their sending them to Government Schools." (92)

Whatever the reasons for the transfer of children it is certain that twenty-four pupils, only five of whom had Roman Catholic parents, had left the Government Infant School for St. Mary's by the middle of 1890, and a few years later it was claimed that:

"since the foundation of the St. Mary's School more than half on the average of the children attending it have been Protestants." (93)

Movement also occurred between other institutions, and not necessarily for religious or clearly educational reasons, for the head of the Baptist School complained that, having reduced the fee for a boy from an impoverished family from six pence to three pence per week and then raising it when their fortunes recovered, the parents responded by moving the child to the Government Infant School where the fee remained at three pence. (94)

The Baptist School did not survive long and by 1904 school children were shared among the Government Schools with one hundred and thirty-two pupils, St. Mary's with eighty and the private school with twelve. Some children continued to:

"drift between the Government and Roman Catholic Schools" (95),

a state of affairs remaining until the arrival of Durose's successor which was followed by a greatly increased enrolment in the Government Schools and a net movement of pupils, many of them Roman Catholics, away from St. Mary's. (96) This exodus was doubtless encouraged by the ending of the government grant to the Roman Catholic school (97) after a highly critical report on its work. (98)

In contrast to the denominational schools, but following the Executive Council's warning on the question of sectarianism, it was decided to abolish religious instruction in the Government School in 1895 (99A), although the Church of England continued to express concern at this action. (99B) Bishop Blair brought the matter to a head in 1912 when he informed the Secretary of State that in the Government Schools:

"the children are brought up without any kind of religious teaching." (100)

and that the:

"position is one which demands definite and immediate action." (101)

He claimed that:

"So strong is the feeling that quite a number of our Church people and Presbyterians are sending [their children] to the Roman Catholic School in Stanley" (102)

and he hinted at a plan to build a Church of England school should government fail to co-operate.

Governor Allardyce was far from pleased at the Bishop's intervention in local affairs (103) and wrote to several prominent colonists for their views on the question of religious teaching in the Government School. All were opposed, some strongly, except for one who favoured a return to the system in which clergy gave instruction in the school outside normal school hours. (104) Allardyce then informed London that he was in favour of religious teaching but:

"it ought to be restricted to the Ministers of religion in the Churches and the Sunday Schools, and to parents in their homes" (105)

for, if it were to become part of the Government School curriculum, the result would be a falling roll, the resentment of most colonists, and denominational strife. (106)

The Governor also drew support from a lively public meeting, called by the Anglicans while he was on leave ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾, at which an overwhelming majority voted against the reintroduction of religious teaching in the Government School ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and, although an attempt was made by an unofficial member of the Legislative Council to persuade the government to change its policy ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾, Allardyce stood firm. The Anglicans were thereafter reduced to deploring the lack of religious education through the pages of a local journal. ⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Not only was the secular nature of education in the Government School made secure for many years by these developments but the influence of the Anglicans, so strong under Bull and Brandon, was greatly weakened in 1912 following criticism of the Dean's work as school inspector ⁽¹¹¹⁾ and his pandering:

"to a small clique composed principally of the senior employees of the Falkland Islands Company and a few of the leading farmers." ⁽¹¹²⁾

By 1916, the Colonial Secretary had taken over the role of school inspector ⁽¹¹³⁾ and the Anglican connection was virtually severed.

Overseas Connections

Governor Allardyce took an interest in educational change in all the countries in which he had lived or had visited, and this awareness prompted him to approach the authorities in Melbourne for

assistance with Falkland problems. (114) There followed the despatch of "Victorian School Readers" on a variety of subjects for use in the Government Schools (115), an action which the local journal described as promoting and furthering:

"the common cause of education among the children of the Empire." (116)

Although this was the age of Chamberlain's 'New Imperialism', Allardyce's interest ranged beyond the British Empire for he cited in his speeches and letters examples of educational practice in Japan, Germany and New York, in addition to that in Australia and in Fiji, and in the longer-standing model provided by the United Kingdom. (117) The school children themselves took part in Empire Day celebrations which:

"endeavoured to inculcate an Imperial (118) spirit in the uprising generation."

It is not known to what extent the children were moved by the recital of Kipling's poetry (119) or Lord Meath's message of "One King, One Fleet, One Flag, One Empire" (120) but they clearly enjoyed the quiz competitions (121), and the lantern slide lectures and tea provided by the Governor.

A much closer imperial connection had been suggested as early as 1896, when Brandon opined that some form of supervision by the Board of Education in London would benefit the work of the Government

Schools (123), but no action was taken in this respect until it was proposed to send Durose to the United Kingdom:

"to attend an academical course which was recommended by the Board" (124),

and thus:

"to make himself acquainted with the improvements that have been effected of recent years in school work there." (125)

At the same time, the services of one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Education were requested as being:

"invaluable in the interests of education in the Islands." (126)

This step was to have profound consequences for schooling in the Colony, one of which was the involvement of the Board of Education in the recruitment of teachers for the Government Schools. (127)

Much nearer to the Colony and accessible by steamer, facilities for schooling on the "Coast" were growing in the early years of the century, and the local journal carried advertisements for English medium schools in southern Chile, one of which was directed by a former clerical assistant to Brandon. (128) There were shipping connections to the area and also to Montevideo where the British Schools opened in 1909 (129) and later played an important role in

Falklands education. A few years later, Barker College opened in Buenos Aires and invited parents to compare its fees with those of schools in the United Kingdom. (130)

Reference should also be made in this connection to the visit of an Argentine government official who examined the travelling teacher system and decided to recommend its adoption in "certain of the large pastoral districts" of his country (131), but there is no mention of the ultimate outcome.

Curricular Change

There was little change in the curriculum described above for 1884 until the report of the inspector in 1906 but some observations by Brandon, the school examiners and certain governors give interesting insights and are thus worthy of note in this context. Several examiners, for example, levelled criticism at the work of the Government Schools, referring to "almost inexcusable" errors of spelling (132), the "marked superiority" of the girls over the boys in reading (133), and older pupils who achieved most when their answers were based on textbooks rather than:

"the natural powers of reason, observation
and common sense." (134)

At the same time it is possible to sympathise with the pupils who were required to answer questions like the following set in 1903:

"A growing nation having limited area must obtain colonies. Why is this necessary? What great nations are now trying to obtain them? Are there any places in the world still uncolonised, useful for Europeans to form Colonies?" (135);

the spirit of the New Imperialism had clearly spread far beyond the celebration of Empire Day.

Brandon was more interested in everyday aspects of the curriculum, voicing concern that, because the subscription fund for the sewing mistress had lapsed, the girls would not acquire needlework skills at school or at home for:

"Many of the Mothers are themselves thriftless and incompetent to teach their daughters sewing." (136)

His interest in the utility of school subjects was not confined to the manual for he also recommended that:

"As so many of our young people are likely to go to Patagonia the highest class in the Senior School ought to receive some instruction in the elements of Spanish." (137)

Governor Kerr had decided views on an appropriate curriculum and is recorded as disapproving an innovation at the Senior School with the statement that:

"Drawing might be useful to such persons as would have to earn their living as artisans" (138)

but "Freehand Drawing" was clearly:

"a subject unsuitable for an elementary school." (139)

In contrast, Governor Allardyce showed a more positive interest to the extent that the books recommended for the pupils of travelling teachers had:

"received much careful consideration at the hands of the Governor." (140)

Durose was described by the same Governor in 1905 as "a good teacher" but "obstinate" and "non-progressive" (141) and the schoolmaster's assertions, on his return from the course in the United Kingdom, that the attainments of Falkland Islands pupils would compare favourably with their British counterparts and that little had changed in British school practice (142) did nothing to alter Allardyce's impressions. Noting Brandon's opinion that the Colony was educationally "much ^hbehind the times" (143), the Governor wrote:

"It hardly seems credible.....that educational methods in England have not materially altered during the last 22 years" (144),

a view that was to be strongly reinforced with the arrival in 1906 of H.M. Richards, H.M.I., to inspect the Colony's publicly funded schools. The inspector soon made clear to the teachers:

"the lines upon which the work of the schools can be much more effectively carried on in the future " (145)

and also gave a public lecture on educational change in the United Kingdom. In an address which would not be irrelevant at the present

day, he referred to the essential unity of knowledge, the use of heuristic method, the importance of the concrete in early learning, and education for employment, leisure and citizenship. He noted that, in consequence of the adoption of those principles, manual work, natural science, physical education, literature and history had all assumed greater importance in the curriculum of the British elementary school. (146)

When Richards submitted his report it was a damning indictment of the Colony's educational system. Durose seemed "to have learnt nothing and changed nothing" after his course in the United Kingdom (147) and was therefore "quite unfit for his duties". (148) Were he to remain, there would be:

"no prospect of the schools being conducted on intelligent and efficient lines." (149)

The pupils were described as "well fed, well dressed and well cared for", some of them belonging to:

"a social class more likely in England to attend a Secondary rather than an Elementary School" (150),

but the curriculum they were offered at the Senior School was:

"of altogether a narrow and stereotyped character" (151),

based on the defunct system of payment by results. Observing that:

"little attempt has been made apparently to enlarge it or adapt it to local circumstances" (152),

Richards noted that:

"the exaggerated importance attached to clerical work may possibly be fitted to turn out second rate clerks, but it is manifestly not suited to equip for their after life girls who are to be housewives or boys who are to be shepherds, farm-labourers or sailors." (153)

Poor provision for physical education, the lack of manual work and of instruction in hygiene and domestic economy, and:

"the absence of any form of experimental science"

were deplored (154), whilst strong criticism was also levelled at the preponderance of formal and unimaginative work in arithmetic and the language arts. (155)

Although Mrs. Durose was described as a "capable, willing and energetic teacher", the work of the Infant School was also roundly condemned:

"I have never been in a school where the curriculum of work and the method of performing it were more unsuited to the capacities of the children" (156),

whilst the education of the younger children at the Roman Catholic school was described as "farcical". (157) Durose commented on the report at great and unconvincing length (158), and Allardyce was determined that a new schoolmaster was needed:

"I have no hesitation in saying that I believe that the cause of education in the Colony will be materially advanced by the removal of Mr. Durose." (159)

He soon retired on pension with a testimonial and gift from former pupils (160), and a pedagogic epitaph from the Secretary of the Board of Education:

"It is clear that his deficiencies as a teacher arise from his long residence in the Falklands and from other causes practically outside his own control." (161)

The arrival of Durose's successor (162) which took place shortly after the opening of new premises for the Senior School (163), occasioned some uncomplimentary remarks on Durose's work (164) in the new master's reports which, together with timetables and schemes of work, were forwarded to Richards (165) who gave his qualified approval to their contents. (166) Games, music, drill, drawing and "hand and eye occupations" had all become features of the Infant

School's work, and the Senior School curriculum now embraced nature study, geography with a concentric approach, hygiene, music, and mechanical drawing for the boys. (167) In addition to handicraft (168), it was hoped later to introduce gardening, although it was difficult to find suitable ground near the school (169), and cookery for the girls. (170)

Despite all of these changes it remained the case that the:

"curriculum of the Government school is.....
restricted to primary education" (171)

and that in consequence it was almost impossible to find suitably qualified local candidates for junior appointments in government service. (172) With this problem in mind, the provision of a continuation class was announced in 1917. (173)

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CHAPTER FIVE

SCHOOLING FROM 1919 TO 1942

Against a background of continuing difficulty in the recruitment of teachers, followed by the deadening effects of economic depression, this period witnessed determined, but only partially successful, attempts to increase access to education for children from the Camp, and to institute a broader curriculum at the government school in Stanley. In addition, there were moves to expand provision beyond the elementary level in the Colony itself and to give further opportunities overseas, but a dearth of resources weakened the first and precluded the second.

Problems of Teacher Recruitment

In 1921, one hundred and twenty-seven pupils at the Government School were taught by the headmaster, an uncertificated assistant, and four pupil teachers ⁽¹⁾ recruited under the provisions of the 1909 ordinance, but two established posts for fully trained teachers remained vacant and their work had therefore to be performed by pupil teachers. ⁽²⁾ This shortage of staff lasted for several years ⁽³⁾ and the morale and efficiency of the service suffered in consequence, the headmaster (A.R. Hoare) noting that not only was his small school:

"comparatively costly to maintain" ⁽⁴⁾,

requiring a more generous staffing ratio than a larger institution, but that it faced an additional problem posed by pupils entering from the Camp for:

"it is not unusual to admit children up to ten years old who cannot read or write." (5)

The necessary remedial teaching was made almost impossible by the continuing lack of staff; in one year, a single teacher was responsible for the work of four standards:

"but teaching as the word is understood nowadays is out of the question." (6)

It was virtually impossible to remedy this shortfall of qualified staff from local sources, for although one pupil teacher had been promoted, on the successful completion of her course, to the post of assistant teacher (7), the standard of training in the Colony did not equip such persons for further promotion or for additional study in the United Kingdom because:

"the qualifying examination for admission to a training college is beyond what is provided here." (8)

Later, in 1933, when a government loan enabled a Falkland Islander to enrol his daughter at a British secondary school and then in a training college (9), Governor O'Grady recommended that no conditions be imposed regarding the subsequent employment of the recipients of such loans, thereby:

"aiding a few of the coming generation at any rate towards a definite career, it is to be hoped, outside the Colony." (10)

The young woman concerned duly gained her teacher's certificate and took up employment in an Essex school. (11) The Colony, deprived of her services, continued to rely upon British expatriates to fill the higher posts for it remained true that:

"If teachers are brought here from England it seems best to get only such as are fully qualified. We can produce partly qualified teachers here and at much less expense." (12)

The major recruiting problem in the 1920s was not so much one of obtaining academically qualified British teachers but of recruiting those who were temperamentally, physically and morally suited to their tasks; an expatriate master was sentenced to penal servitude in 1924 for offences against pupils (13), another was returned to the United Kingdom where "he had left a girl in trouble" (14) and a third resigned through ill health. (15) A mistress was diagnosed as having "borderline melancholia", the medical board noting that:

"any nervous or mental instability is likely to be aggravated by residence in this Colony." (16)

Hoare suggested secondment of teachers from the West Riding of Yorkshire (17) as a possible solution but nothing seems to have come of the scheme and recruitment remained a problem until improvements were made in salaries and related matters for:

"general conditions are not such as of themselves to attract suitable men without some added inducement in compensation." (18)

In this connection, the Board of Education informed Governor Hodson in 1927 that British teachers could serve for four years in the dominions and colonies without loss of pension rights, provided that full contributions were paid. (19) The Governor in turn hoped that, if the colonial government paid the pension contributions of British teachers, they would not be penalised by the Board through the loss of increments and seniority upon their return to the United Kingdom for:

"it is this very consideration..... which makes it so difficult for us to get suitable masters and mistresses to come out to the Falkland Islands." (20)

The Board later replied that the Burnham Committee had agreed to the recommendation of an Imperial Conference that overseas service by elementary school teachers be recognised for incremental purposes (21), although there was later some doubt as to whether the Government School would be recognised as "efficient" in this regard. (22)

The Board continued to assist in the recruitment of certificated teachers but, by 1938, they were no longer willing to recruit unqualified personnel as itinerant teachers (23), and the Secretary of State enquired whether:

"there is any reason why teachers with qualifications similar to those obtained for the Elementary School staff should not be employed in these posts, and on the same terms" (24);

the alternative would have to be local recruitment. Hoare, who had considered this option in his paper to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies in 1930 (25), again observed that certificated personnel were unlikely to accept the living conditions of travelling teachers and that their employment would be too costly in relation to pupil numbers. (26) Eventually the colonial government advertised directly in the British press. (27)

The Travelling Teacher System

At the beginning of this period a total of five itinerant schoolmasters continued to be employed by government. An individual teacher's beat comprised an average of sixteen pupils spread over six locations, each place receiving some fifty-four days of teaching in the course of a year (28); nearly fifty additional pupils in Lafonia were served by the two travelling teachers of the Falkland Islands Company. (29) This provision was not sufficient to cover all potential pupils, one island not receiving a visit for almost two years (30), and the problem was later exacerbated by staff shortage; in 1929 at Port Stephens and nearby locations:

"There is a comparatively large number of children (about 35) and up to July last year the district had been without any teacher for several years." (31)

In spite of this difficulty it was proposed in 1930 to reduce the number of travelling teachers as a concomitant of the payment of boarding grants for Camp children attending school in Stanley. There would be only one employed by government on East Falkland but three were still considered necessary for the West where parents had:

"shown that they will not send their (32)
children to Stanley for schooling."

The Governor, keen to economise in a period of great economic uncertainty, wished to further reduce the number of itinerant teachers for the West:

"Surely two teachers should be able to teach them the three R's. Could not somebody be found at Port Stephens to take that settlement?" (33),

but Hoare pointed out that there would then remain seventeen pupils without a teacher. In the event, the four posts were approved and, by 1936, a second post for East Falkland was restored because of:

"the long intervals between the visits"

of the lone teacher and:

"the increasing number of children" (34),

which was also a feature of West Falkland where the forty-five pupils of 1920 (35) had grown to fifty-four by 1939. (36)

In the early 1920s, travelling teachers on both the East and the West kept official diaries which recorded the duration of their visits, the names of the pupils and some details of their work which, for a five year-old beginner in February 1920, read as follows:

"Alphabet memorized. Writing of loops on slate. Counting 1 to 40 and by tens to 100." (38)

Not only were the diaries submitted for inspection at headquarters in Stanley but they were also copied to the farm managers (39) presumably in the hope that their co-operation would be enlisted in consequence. Such assistance could be most useful in sorting out problems like the case of the verminous children, whose home the travelling teacher refused to enter, and who were not welcome in any other house. (40) The travellers' work was not made easier by the attitudes of some mothers and fathers for:

"At houses where the Parents do not take an interest in the education of their children, or are unable to help them, little can be done to push them forward." (41)

The schoolmaster at Darwin inclined to a similar view and, noting

his charges' lack of long-term goals, observed that:

"for the majority there is only the occupation of the shepherd or the labourer to look forward to" (42)

and added that, in consequence:

"Boys are withdrawn from school as soon as they reach a wage-earning age, and the teacher cannot detain them by holding before their vision better prospects in life." (43)

The master went on to contrast these attitudes with the greater enthusiasm for schooling which he recalled from his native rural Scotland. (44)

In response to pressure exerted by the minority of interested parents or from a personal wish to see schooling provided, a few farm managers complained about the frequent shortages of travelling teachers. (45) One stated that:

"We are anxious to make life more attractive for our employees" (46)

but felt that:

"too much is done for the town of Stanley and not enough for this farm." (47)

It nonetheless remained difficult to attract suitable personnel from the United Kingdom ⁽⁴⁸⁾ and local recruitment was impossible:

"due mainly to the difficulty of obtaining candidates of a suitable type with a good general education." ⁽⁴⁹⁾

The travelling teacher system itself had come under close scrutiny from time to time, the Administrator in 1920 noting that:

"From reports of travelling teachers I have read since my arrival in the Colony I am very doubtful as to the wisdom of employing this class of officer." ⁽⁵⁰⁾

Two years later, the system was again criticised on account of the teachers' lack of formal qualification, the long gaps between visits, the dearth of accommodation in some Camp houses, and the difficulty of supervising the work. ⁽⁵¹⁾ It was:

"pitiable to see the futility of their efforts, painstaking and conscientious as no doubt they often are" ⁽⁵²⁾

and Hoare therefore proposed the replacement of the travellers by a system of farm-employed teachers and accommodation for Camp children in Stanley. ⁽⁵³⁾ The principle of centralising educational provision in the Camp, where possible, was to become a permanent feature of the system but the widely scattered nature of the population continued to preclude the total demise of the itinerant schoolmaster.

Centralising Education for Camp Pupils

The movement of some families from the Camp to Stanley from educational motives has been noted above (see p. 109) but the government school's admissions registers also attest to frequent movement in the opposite direction. (54) This was often for economic reasons for:

"During the last few years several families have taken up work in the "Camp", as under present conditions they are able to support their children better in the "Camp" than in Stanley." (55)

In moving to the Camp, pupils were leaving the relative order of the schools for the uncertainty and infrequency of instruction by itinerant teachers whose best efforts were simply insufficient. (56) Noare, preferring to see Camp children "under the care of competent teachers" (57), recommended that boarding grants of two pounds per month be paid to Camp parents who sent their older children to Stanley in order to attend the government school. (58) He also forecast a shortage of suitable accommodation for such children and therefore revived the idea of a school hostel, proposing an establishment for up to sixteen scholars at a fee of one pound per month (59), but took care to warn that:

"In asking parents to send their children to live in Stanley the Government would be dealing with a class of people without experience of the practice of sending their children to be under the care of strangers, and the Hostel would be keenly watched and if opportunity arose criticised." (60)

It was also noted that the matron of the hostel would require exceptional qualities and was:

"not likely to be had at a cheap price." (61)

Apart from suggesting that wealthier parents might bear the full cost of sending their children to Stanley, the Secretary of State approved of the new scheme (62) but his view was not shared on West Falkland where:

"it would be impossible to get the parents to send the children to Stanley on account of the period that would elapse before their being able to see the children." (63)

Parents feared not only the loss of physical contact with their sons and daughters but also the waning of their moral influence upon them for:

"the people in the camp have a not altogether prejudiced view of the conduct of Stanley children and would not, for fear of contamination, allow their families to be kept in there." (64)

Although the parents of some twenty-three children were seriously considering sending them to Stanley, Hoare came to similar conclusions in regard to parental attitudes, noting that many were concerned about the expenditure involved, the loss of children's services at home (65), and that:

"Parents are afraid that the child's health will suffer, and bad language, idleness and impertinence will be acquired." (66)

Hoare nonetheless continued to be convinced that:

"Attendance at the Government School is the only real means of education in the Colony" (67)

and later, deploring the attitude of many parents, observed that:

"it does not seem right that children should be growing up.....almost entirely illiterate because their parents will not have the better way." (68)

In the event, the hostel opened in 1924 with thirteen children in residence. (69) They were to assist in the running of their new home, making their beds regularly (70) and:

"on Saturday mornings girls to do mending and cleaning (other than washing) of clothes; boys to clean peatshed, yard, etc" (71);

on Sunday all went to church unless parents requested otherwise. The children were provided with a diet of "fairly high calorific value" (72) although, upon calculating its cost, the Colonial Secretary suggested that:

"Unless the Colonial Surgeon sees much objection butter should be cut out where jam is given and puddings provided on Sundays only" (73);

the economies were adopted. (74) Before the first year of the hostel was over, two of the boys had become the victims of offences by a teacher at the government school and:

"it can only be said that it is little short of disastrous that the hardly won confidence of parents living in remote districts of the Colony should have been betrayed by the vices of a schoolmaster." (75)

Only five children remained in the hostel by 1925 (76) and, Camp parents having expressed doubts:

"about the ability of a woman to manage boys in the Hostel" (77),

Hoare recruited a married couple who managed to restore some of the institution's fortunes during their short tenure. (78) They were succeeded by an assistant mistress (79) who not only had charge of seven camp pupils (80) but also a Stanley orphan whose guardian had fallen sick. (81)

By 1927 the hostel was only half full and, in an attempt to attract children for the remaining places, the fees were reduced from one pound to ten shillings per month. (82) This charge was followed by a small increase in the number of children but the reasons for their presence were open to question for:

"There are at present nine children in the Hostel: four of these are motherless (which, there is little doubt, accounts for their being here), two are not Camp children, two have their home two miles away (Moody Valley), leaving one child who has been sent to the hostel for the purpose for which it was established and with no other motive" (83);

there had also been further attempts to obtain places for distressed Stanley children. (84) Staffing problems continued, for the assistant mistress had to be relieved of her charge because:

"the strain of school and hostel reduced her to a nervous wreck". (85)

Hoare himself took her place, observing that:

"If local working class people are put in charge there is disciplinary trouble" (86)

but:

"The appointment of a qualified person from England would be a doubtful venture and would involve much extra expense." (87)

In 1928 he recommended the closing of the hostel (88), regretting that parents failed to appreciate that:

"For 3½d a day the child gets better accommodation than he would get at home, abundant and varied food [and] free education." (89)

The payment of boarding grants enjoyed more success than the hostel, with six recipients in 1924, each of whom "made great progress" (90); two years later the number of outside boarders had risen to ten. (91) In 1930, a grant was paid for a child who was

lodged with the Roman Catholic sisters and attended St. Mary's whilst her family was in South Georgia ⁽⁹²⁾, and from 1936:

"Government is prepared to pay £1 per month for ten months in each year for any Camp pupil boarded at St. Mary's School." ⁽⁹³⁾

Shortly before the outbreak of war in 1939, the government school alone had twenty-three pupils in receipt of boarding grants. ⁽⁹⁴⁾

The greater isolation of the West made attendance at the Stanley school more difficult and Governor Hodson therefore proposed in 1927 to establish a local school with boarding accommodation. ⁽⁹⁵⁾ He began by asking the farmers for their views, including estimates of pupil numbers and choice of settlement for the school. ⁽⁹⁶⁾ There was general approval for the proposal ^(97A), with Fox Bay as the favoured site ^(97B), but one manager warned that:

"compulsory education would have to be established" ⁽⁹⁸⁾

in the Camp to ensure its success. In the event, no boarding institution was opened:

"for the same reasons which have militated against and made it impracticable to continue the one started in Stanley." ⁽⁹⁹⁾

The idea of a boarding school at Fox Bay was again put forward in 1937:

"provided farmers were willing and would guarantee to send their children there." (100)

Hoare did not disapprove, but pointed out that travelling teachers would still be required for the younger pupils. (101) Governor Henniker Heaton displayed some enthusiasm for the proposal:

"Anything which will tend to keep the people on the land and out of Stanley is to the good and a rural school might be of considerable value if parents would send their children to it" (102),

and it would also show that the Camp was not being neglected to the benefit of Stanley. (103) The Governor elaborated in considerable detail:

"My idea of a rural school is that the pupils should learn nothing or little more in respect of range than is now taught by travelling teachers i.e., the three R's - as far as book learning goes but they should have instruction in gardening, dairying, elementary wood-work and manual training generally. I have some doubts even as to the necessity for a certificated teacher. The school would be to some extent self supporting." (104)

Hoare agreed with Henniker Heaton's proposals and suggested the recruitment of a couple for the school from the "remoter parts of Scotland" (105) but Dr. Cheverton, the senior medical officer and a member of the Executive Council, wished to see:

"more evidence of agreement regarding educational and economic philosophy." (106)

He averred that:

"The educational morale is and has been low for many years and to me such a situation would never have been tolerated had the landowners not wanted it so." (107)

Dr. Cheverton then argued that:

"to restrict the new scheme too closely to the three R's is to deny the right and the need to the Falkland Islanders of a cultural education. That is a violation of the best educational thought as I know it." (108)

He went on:

"I see no evidence that the present owners propose to engage in Agriculture - their dominant policy is one of exploitation. It follows therefore that before we begin teaching Agriculture as outlined by H.E. in his minute it will be necessary to rewrite economic policy." (109)

The colonial manager of the Falkland Islands Company strongly deprecated Cheverton's strictures on the farmers (110) and so did the Governor who declared that:

"The only question for decision is whether the establishment of a school at Fox Bay will or will not be advisable" (111);

the criteria for such decision were clearly of secondary importance.

The initial reaction of managers and parents to the proposed school varied from strong support to outright opposition ⁽¹¹²⁾, one of them forecasting that:

"people would be keen on the idea until it started, then some fault would be found." ⁽¹¹³⁾

Eventually a meeting of managers opposed the suggestion on the ground of a lack of parental support ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ and government took no further action on centralised provision in West Falkland until the 1950s.

In addition to plans for the provision of boarding accommodation for Camp children and following the example of the Falkland Islands Company's school at Darwin, Hoare had also proposed, as part of his 1922 scheme for reducing the number of travelling schoolmasters, that other farms employ their own teachers with government contributing three-quarters of their salaries, but he made:

"this recommendation with some misgiving as it is unlikely that a salary will be offered likely to attract a capable teacher." ⁽¹¹⁵⁾

The schoolmaster employed at the settlement school in Darwin also favoured such provision, noting the benefit conferred by the erection of a schoolroom at North Arm in 1924 and the consequent gathering of all the children from the settlement for an extended visit by the company's travelling teachers. ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ He suggested further that the compulsion clauses of the education ordinance be extended to the Camp for:

"it is in the interest of the State to strengthen the hands of those engaged in the work, making education a duty that cannot be shirked or eroded on some trivial excuse" (117),

but government was not inclined to take this step on the ground that it would then have to supervise the work of the company's teachers and:

"it seems doubtful whether this would be agreeable to you." (118)

Although schooling in the Camp remained voluntary, government was, by 1926, making a contribution to the salary of a "governess" who taught ten five to fourteen year-olds at Teal Inlet. (119)
It was also proposing to send a pupil-teacher to Port Stephens:

"to teach the children in your settlement and as many of the children in your (120) outside houses as could be got in",

but, in the event, none of the three pupil-teachers in Stanley was willing to go to the Camp. (121) This was perhaps not surprising in view of Hoare's having recommended their appointment:

"not because I had a high opinion of their abilities, but because it was necessary to get some sort of assistance into the school and those young women were the best available." (122)

The idea was revived in the following year (123) but the farm rejected the teacher proposed because:

"several members of her family have died with consumption" (124)

and:

"We are trying to avoid getting this disease on our station, as it gives no end of trouble." (125)

There were no further proposals for settlement teachers until 1938 when Hoare suggested that female certificated teachers, to be obtained at lower salaries than men, could be employed in the Camp in place of the male travelling teachers. They would stay for two months at each location, in quarters attached to a schoolroom, teaching the children of the settlement and the outside houses. (126) Development along similar lines was later to become an important part of Camp education, particularly in view of the problems associated with the existing system and the difficulties of introducing schooling by correspondence.

In his address to the Advisory Committee in 1930, Hoare had referred to the possibilities of correspondence tuition for Camp pupils but added that he would be:

"deeply obliged if anyone could tell me how to teach the elements of reading, writing and figures to children who know nothing whatever of these subjects (127) and whose parents cannot help them."

The same query was raised when correspondence tuition was again considered in 1937 (128), following communication with the education authorities in Queensland where the system had superseded travelling teachers (129), and Hoare stated his views plainly:

"Nobody ever learnt the elements of reading, writing and arithmetic by correspondence, or in any other way than by personal teaching. It takes several years even in an efficient school for normal children (not to mention the under normals, of whom we have at least our fair share in the camp) to learn to read well enough to read for information, to write well enough to express their ideas, and to learn simple arithmetic. Until the pupil has got as far as that, any teaching by correspondence is out of the question." (130)

The Governor was not swayed by Hoare's criticism and recalled that a Falkland Islands family had successfully used an American course in which:

"the mother took a personal interest: this will perhaps be unusual in the same degree but that has to be put to the test." (131)

He noted that:

"In any event the standard of life and education on many of the Queensland back farms used to be a great deal more degraded than anything we have known here" (132)

and he therefore wished:

"the correspondence system to be given a full try out on the beat." (133)

The Governor then personally drafted an article on the subject for the local newspaper (134) and an advertisement was drawn up for a "Mistress of Correspondence Tuition" (135) but none was ever recruited for the scheme failed to win the support of parents and farmers (136) and continued to be mistrusted by Hoare, who also pointed out the deleterious effects of slow and irregular mail services on the morale of correspondence pupils. (137)

Towards a Broader Curriculum

The government school in 1922 continued to reflect the changes introduced in consequence of Richards' 1906 inspection and was described as having a:

"curriculum and time-table similar to those (138)
in use in elementary schools in England."

Classes were based on the British system of standards with promotion dependent on attainment rather than age, giving a wide range of age in each of the different groups. (139) The girls' needlework classes were paralleled by drawing and handicraft for the boys (140) and woodwork was added in 1924. (141) Mathematics and natural science took up a third of the time-table, practical and aesthetic subjects a quarter, and the humanities the remainder. (142)

Particular attention was paid during this period to physical and health education and all pupils pursued courses in hygiene. The lower standards followed a common syllabus but from standard four onwards the boys were instructed in the body and its care and in the

maintenance of dwellings, and the girls in home management, child care, laundry and nutrition, although there were no facilities for practical cookery. (143) This instruction was supported by a course in general science which had absorbed the earlier work in nature study. Governor Hodson reinforced this concern for health education with a strong emphasis on dental care (145), to the extent of introducing free treatment for children and free brushes and toothpaste for government school pupils:

"who will be required to undergo regular teeth drill every morning." (146)

Hodson was also concerned about exercise:

"I attach enormous importance in this bad climate where out-door exercise is impossible, sometimes for weeks on end, to the children having gymnastics and Swedish drill taught to them" (147),

and an annual Medical Report observed:

"There is no doubt but that the care given by the school staffs to the physical culture and well-being of the school children contributes much to the good of the Public Health." (148)

Unfortunately the efforts of teachers could not compensate for the debilitating effects of unemployment and limited outdoor relief on family life for, in 1935, the senior medical officer noted that half of the pupils were not:

"up to the standard with regard to height and weight" (149)

and recommended to the Governor:

"That physical training be increased from three periods a week to a minimum of twenty minutes every day." (150)

In hoping that the Superintendent of Education (151) would feel able to implement this proposal and others, the Governor reminded the medical authorities that the education department was:

"an independent entity and friendly discussion with the Head of the Department will effect much more than executive intervention." (152)

A discussion followed with recommendations that cookery and gardening be included in the government school curriculum and that hygiene be taught by Camp teachers. (153) The superintendent supported the proposals for instruction in cookery but noted the need for "special premises and special teacher". (154) Assuming that funding were available:

"it would be difficult to keep such a teacher in full employment even if, as they should, her classes included boys, pupils from the Roman Catholic school and also adults." (155)

In the event cookery classes for senior school girls began in 1936 and the pupils showed the:

"utmost interest and keenness in their work" (156),

but the teaching of gardening was not at first considered feasible on account of the Colony's unpredictable weather (157), although classes were introduced later, in 1938. (158)

The senior medical officer's subsequent proposal for a health club at the government school met with a cooler response than his previous suggestions for Hoare replied:

"Due attention is already being given to the health of the pupils in the school. I am fully occupied with school matters and am not at present able to adopt the S.M.O's proposals." (159)

The Governor then tactfully set up a committee to deal with problems of nutrition generally, with himself in the chair, and this led to grants for families:

"where children are suffering from lack of adequate Nutrition through poverty." (160)

The grants were in addition to the remission of school fees for fatherless children and eighteen other families where fathers:

"are labourers who either have large families of young children or are in debt or have been out of work." (161)

There was also a daily issue of free milk and cod liver oil for:

"children who are below par". (162)

Moral and spiritual aspects of schooling also received attention during this period but the changes generated less acrimony than before, although the acting headmaster of the government school had to be reminded of the need to adhere to the agreed form of prayer for opening the school (163) and a Roman Catholic parent complained to Hoare of his children having to attend the Bible lessons reintroduced at the behest of Governor Hodson. (164) Hoare assured the parent that:

"The Bible teaching is entirely undenominational. It has no connection with any secretarian form of religion" (165),

and the priest stated that:

"With regard to Bible teaching to catholic children attending the Government School, I have no objection whatever. On the contrary I warmly approve of it if given by competent teachers." (166)

Governor Hodson also praised the work of the Roman Catholic school and proposed a government contribution to an extension of the building (167), which was acceptable, and an annual grant-in-aid of one hundred pounds which was rejected (169) because it was:

"subject to acceptance by the School Authorities of inspection and criticism by the Inspector of Schools." (170)

St. Mary's continued until the departure of the sisters in 1942, when it was closed down. (171)

One other attempt was made to raise the question of religious education when in 1935 a British women's organisation received a:

"letter from a lady resident in Port Stanley"

stating that:

"no religious teaching has been given in the schools for a generation." (172)

Replying through the Secretary of State, the Governor pointed out that religious teaching was given on a non-sectarian basis and was modelled closely on the "Cambridgeshire Syllabus". (173)

This adapted metropolitan scheme, in common with other aspects of the overt curriculum at the government school, was still subject to sanction by the Executive Council, but its power in this respect had been attenuated since 1924 when it was noted that:

"as all the books have been purchased and the term work is in full swing before the time table comes before the Council it would be difficult to make alteration if fault were found." (174)

The council subsequently admonished the schoolmaster to submit his proposals at an earlier date (175), but the event nonetheless pointed to a growing local professional control over the curriculum although this was limited by a continuing dependence on metropolitan sources.

The educational enthusiasms of individual local officials also had curricular implications for changes in the organisation of a history syllabus were constructively and successfully proposed by a colonial secretary (176), and a Governor enquired about the English curriculum with a view to awarding prizes for creative writing. (177) He also recommended museum visits for pupils:

"to foster an interest in their own
Colony" (178),

but the proposed separation, in 1938, of the posts of Superintendent of Education and Headmaster of the Government School (179) served to underline the enhanced status of the professional educator.

Post-Elementary Education and Training

The need for some form of post-elementary provision had been recognised in 1917 (180) but it was not until 1924 that the Continuation Class commenced. (181) Hoare had recommended that a two-year course, including Latin and a foreign language, be offered at an annual fee of eight pounds to pupils who had achieved a credit pass in the standard seven examination. (182) Pupil teachers were to be given free places as were recipients of the two annual scholarships, and it was hoped that expatriate civil servants would benefit for:

"The question of the education of their children is one of the most distressing problems that Government Officials in the Falklands have to face." (183)

There were a dozen pupils aged from fourteen to sixteen in the first class and the work was in no way narrowly vocational for:

"It is not suggested that what the pupils learn will materially help them in any specific way to earn a living, but the training they receive must help them to quicken and expand their mental ability and widen their outlook on life." (184)

In the succeeding years, some changes were introduced into the curriculum of the continuation class. French was replaced by Spanish in 1927 (185) and the introduction of voluntary classes in shorthand and typing was welcomed by many (186), but instruction in typing ceased in 1930 because the machines had become unserviceable (187) and replacements would have proved too expensive. (188) The shorthand continued, only to be criticised by a parsimonious, London-based Falkland Islands Sheep Owners Association who felt that:

"this item should be discontinued." (189)

An indignant Governor hoped that the absentee landowners would cease interfering in the Colony's education system and:

"confine their efforts in future to the management of their backward farms." (190)

Governor Hodson had introduced a more constructive overseas dimension to the question of post-elementary provision when he noted:

"the needs of the working class children to whom the parents are fondly attached and whom they ardently wish should have a better chance in life than they themselves have had" (191),

and stated that he was looking for ways of helping young people to "suitable careers" overseas rather than swell:

"the already over-crowded ranks of unskilled labour." (192)

In the Governor's proposed scholarship scheme of 1929, the awards were to be tenable at two boarding schools in the United Kingdom and, on completion of their schooling, it was hoped that the scholars would find appropriate employment in the mother country for:

"one of my principal objects in putting up this Scheme is to provide an outlet for the rising generation of Falkland Islanders beyond the narrow limits of the Colony." (193A)

The scheme was later abandoned for "economy" and uncertainty of results (193B) and was replaced by the loan system already noted earlier in this chapter. Reference should also be made in this context of overseas education to an item in the local journal about a British training ship which suggested that:

"some parents in the Colony may wish to send their sons to the Mercury with a view to their subsequently getting nautical or engineering employment in the Falklands if not in a wider field." (194)

There appears to be no record of any parent taking the opportunity and, apart from a 1937 proposal for the training of school leavers to work in the Camp (195), no further schemes were formulated until the arrival of Governor Cardinall in 1941.

Cardinall had served as Commissioner in the Cayman Islands and was therefore not inexperienced in the problems of very small countries. He quickly perceived the differences between the Falklands and the very small tropical colonies (197) and set out to work to produce long-term policy for many aspects of the Colony's life, not least its educational system. (198) Cardinall opined that:

"Secondary education is indicated in some form or other" (199)

but, on the assumption that admission would have to be selective, he foresaw difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of qualified pupils. (200) Whatever was decided, a policy was needed and it should be:

"if possible, adapted to local rather than universal needs." (201)

Secondary education was to be:

"directed towards making this country more self-contained" (202)

and to be less concerned with:

"those children with much initiative and ambition" (203)

who could emigrate and fend for themselves. Cardinall wished:

"to turn out young men and women who can at once find a niche in their own community" (204),

and was critical of past schemes which he alleged to have provided irrelevant qualifications. (205) It was essential to have:

"a system of secondary education framed on lines drawn in direct sympathy with the Colony's needs." (206)

Cardinall proposed the introduction of:

"co-operative communities founded on the Danish plan which should....be based on a sound secondary agricultural education" (207)

and observed that:

"It is probable that an ill-directed education coupled with the compulsory school-age limit being too low has caused a large part of the discontent with country-life and so enhanced the attraction of the town. If therefore it is possible to provide secondary education directed principally towards agricultural training and to offer a future of independence inside a co-operative society functioning in the country, one might create a contented rural community." (208)

To this end, Cardinall proposed a "High School for Agriculture" to bring:

"the aim of education into the closest touch with local conditions and actually subordinate thereto." (209)

At the same time, provision would be made for pupils going into the professions and skilled trades but:

"black-coatedness would be regarded as ancillary to and not superior to agricultural achievement proper." (210)

The pupils destined to wear black coats were to become recipients of the proposed government scholarship at the British Schools in Montevideo for:

"the underlying idea of the scheme is to give suitable children a secondary education with, possibly, a leaning towards the commercial side so that at the end of their schooling they would be fitted for a business career or, in certain cases, Government Service" (211);

the names of the first two scholars were announced in 1942. (212)

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- (49) CS 16/35 Henniker Heaton to Macdonald 24 vi 1938.

(50) CS 495/20 St. Johnston's minute 28 vi 1920.

(51) CS 746/22 Hoare to Col. Sec. 30 xi 1922,
para.8.

(52) CS 934/23 Hoare to Col. Sec. 3 xii 1923.

(53) CS 746/22 Hoare to Col. Sec. 30 xi 1922,
paras 9,10,13.

(54) Records of admission and departure from the government school in Stanley exist for 1908 and subsequent years but the exact locations of parents resident in the Camp were not recorded until 1943 and, although a general picture of internal migration and pupil movement can be discerned, there is unfortunately no opportunity for a more detailed study.

(55) CS 793/19 Minute by Registrar 18 x 1919.

(56) CS 934/23 Hoare to Col. Sec. 3 xii 1923.

(57) CS 746/22 Hoare to Col. Sec. 30 xi 1922,
Appendix II (a).

(58) *ibid.*, para.9.

(59) *ibid.*, para.10.

(60) *ibid.*, Appendix II (b).

(61) *ibid.*, Appendix II (c).

- (62) CS 746/22 Devonshire to Middleton 1 v 1923.
- (63) CS 97/23 Daer to Col. Sec. 22 xii 1922.
- (64) *ibid.*
- (65) CS 934/23 Hoare to Col. Sec. 3 xii 1923.
- (66) *ibid.*
- (67) CS 229/25 Hoare to Col. Sec. 31 iii 1925,
para.5.
- (68) FIA/Enclosure to Desp. Hoare to Col. Sec. 25 ii 1927.
No. 45 of 1927
- (69) CS 52/25 Hoare to Col. Sec. 25 ii 1925.
- (70) CS 773/23 Government School Hostel: Rules n/d.
- (71) *ibid.*
- (72) *ibid.* Col. Surgeon to Col. Sec. 1 i 1924.
- (73) *ibid.* Minute by Col. Sec. 28 i 1924.
- (74) *ibid.* Minute by Colonial Surgeon 1 ii 1924.
- (75) FIA/Desp.No. 88 of 1924 Governor to Secretary of State
26 ix 1924.

- (76) CS 229/25 Hoare to Col. Sec. 31 iii 1925,
para.4.
- (77) *ibid.*
- (78) CS 63/26 Annual report on the Education
Department for 1925.
- (79) CS 90/27 Annual report on the Education
Department for 1926.
- (80) *ibid.*
- (81) CS 351/26 Pole-Evans to Government Schoolmaster
27 iv 1927.
Hoare to Col. Sec. 29 iv 1927.
- (82) CS 73/28 'Annual Report on the Educational
Department 1927' by A.R. Hoare
16 iii 1928.
- (83) CS 746/22 Hoare to Col. Sec. 8 xi 1928.
- (84) CS 351/26 Government Schoolmaster to Col. Sec.
20 viii 1928.
- (85) CS 746/22 Hoare to Col. Sec. 8 xi 1928.
- (86) *ibid.*
- (87) *ibid.*
- (88) *ibid.*

- (89) *ibid.*
- (90) CS 52/25 Hoare to Col. Sec. 25 ii 1925.
- (91) CS 351/26 Minute by acting Government Schoolmaster
22 vii 1926.
- (92) FIA/Desp.No. 9 of 1930 Hodson to Passfield 10 i 1930.
- (93) CS 746/22 Col. Sec. to Fr Migone 23 xii 36.
- (94) CS 249/38 Minute by Hoare 31 viii 1939.
- (95) CS 369/27 Hodson to Col. Sec. 2 vii 1927.
- (96) *ibid.* Col. Sec. to West Falkland Farmers
25 vii 1927.
- (97A) *ibid.* Pole-Evans to Col. Sec. 3 vii 1927.
- (97B) *ibid.* J. Robertson to Col. Sec. 25 viii 1927.
- (98) *ibid.* H. Clement to Col. Sec. 28 ix 1927.
- (99) FIA/Desp. No.149 of 1929 Hodson to Passfield 2 vii 1929.
- (100) CS 180/37 Col. Sec. to Governor 18 x 1937

- (101) *ibid.* Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 21 i 1938.
- (102) CS 249/38 Minute by Henniker Heaton 14 xii 1938.
- (103) *ibid.*
- (104) *ibid.*
- (105) *ibid.* Hoare to Col. Sec. 19 xii 1938.
- (106) *ibid.* Senior Medical Officer to Col. Sec. 20 xii 1938.
- (107) *ibid.*
- (108) *ibid.*
- (109) *ibid.*
- (110) *ibid.* Young to Col. Sec. 21 xii 1938.
- (111) *ibid.* Minute by Henniker Heaton 22 xii 1938.
- (112) *ibid.* Hoare to Col. Sec. 13 i 1939.
- (113) *ibid.* Agricultural Adviser to Col. Sec. 14 i 1939.
- (114) *ibid.* Hoare to Col. Sec. 1 iii 1939.

- (115) CS 746/22 Hoare to Col. Sec. 30 xi 1922,
para.13.
- (116) CS 52/25 Moir to Col. Sec. 29 i 1925.
- (117) ibid.
- (118) ibid. Col. Sec. to Moir 18 iii 1925.
- (119) CS 325/26 Hoare to Felton 22 iii 1926.
- (120) ibid. Hoare to Robertson 15 ii 1926.
- (121) ibid. ag. Government Schoolmaster to Col.
Sec. 27 vii 1926.
- (122) ibid. Minute by Hoare 17 xi 1926.
- (123) CS 369/27 Hoare to Robertson 5 xii 1927.
- (124) ibid. Robertson to Hoare 7 i 1928.
- (125) ibid.
- (126) CS 16/35 Hoare to Col. Sec. 31 x 1938.
- (127) CS 466/30 'Education in the Falkland Islands'
by A.R. Hoare 25 ix 1930.
- (128) CS 180/37 Miller to Col. Sec. 15 ix 1937.

- (129) *ibid.* Director of Education, Queensland to Supt.Edn. 22 vii 1937.
- (130) *ibid.* Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 21 i 1938.
- (131) *ibid.* Henniker Heaton to Col. Sec. 24 i 1938.
- (132) *ibid.*
- (133) *ibid.*
- (134) *ibid.* Draft by Henniker Heaton 1 ii 1938.
Penguin 7 ii 1938, p.1.
- (135) *ibid.* Draft for 'Mistress of Correspondence Tuition' n/d and unsigned.
- (136) CS 249/38 Hoare to Col. Sec. 1 iii 1939.
- (137) CS 180/37 Hoare to Col. Sec. 10 xii 1938.
- (138) CS 746/22 Hoare to Col. Sec. 30 xi 1922, para.4.
- (139) CS 138/23 Hoare to Col. Sec. 16 vi 1923.
- (140) CS 162/23 Annual Time Tables and Schemes of Work for the Government School 1923.
- (141) CS 87/24 'Education Report for the Year 1923' by A.R. Hoare 7 iii 1924.

- (142) CS 162/23 Annual Time Tables and Schemes of Work for the Government School 1923.
- (143) CS 119/24 Timetable and Schemes of Work for Government School 1924.
- (144) *ibid.* Hoare to Col. Sec. 27 ii 1924.
- (145) Falkland Islands Gazette 15 i 1928, p.8.
- (146) *ibid.*
- (147) CS 491/30 Hodson to Col. Sec. 21 xii 1930.
- (148) Falkland Islands Gazette 1 iv 1932, p.42.
- (149) CS 274/35 Senior Medical Officer to Col. Sec. 11 x 1935.
- (150) *ibid.*
- (151) Hoare's title was changed from Government Schoolmaster to Superintendent of Education in 1928. The office was redesignated as Chief Education Officer in 1985.
- (152) CS 274/35 Henniker Heaton to Col. Sec. 19 x 1935.
- (153) CS 267/35 Senior Medical Officer to Col. Sec. 23 x 1935.
- (154) *ibid.* Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 26 x 1935.

- (155) *ibid.*
- (156) FIA/Desp.No. 6 of 1937 Henniker Heaton to Ormsby-Gore
7 i 1937.
- (157) CS 267/35 Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 26 x 1935.
- (158) Falkland Islands News Weekly
29 xii 1938.
- (159) CS 32/38 Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 14 ii 1938.
- (160) Falkland Islands News Weekly
13 iv 1939.
- (161) CS 211/33 Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 3 iii 1937.
- (162) FIA/Desp.No. 60 of 1937 Henniker Heaton to Ormsby-Gore
3 iv 1937.
- (163) CS 520/22 Col. Sec. to McNicoll 28 vii 1922.
- (164) CS 285/27 Hardy to Hoare 27 vii 1927.
- (165) *ibid.* Hoare to Hardy 3 viii 1927.
- (166) *ibid.* Migone to Hoare 5 viii 1927.
- (167) FIA/Desp.No. 55 of 1928 Hodson to Amery 30 i 1928.
- (169) CS 243/29 Migone to Col. Sec. 3 ix 1929.

- (170) *ibid.* Col. Sec. to Migone 2 ix 1929.
- (171) CS 4/43 Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 30 xii 1942.
- (172) CS 240/35 Hon.Sec., British Colonies and Dependencies Committee, The National Council of Women of Great Britain to Secretary, Colonial Office 10 vii 1935.
- (173) *ibid.* Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 26 viii 1935.
FIA/Desp.No.142 of 1935 Henniker Heaton to Macdonald 27 viii 1935.
- (174) CS 119/24 Minute by Col. Sec. 4 iii 1924.
- (175) *ibid.*
- (176) *ibid.*
- (177) CS 324/27 Hoare to Hodson 7 vii 1927.
- (178) CS 265/29 Hodson to Col. Sec. 10 vi 1929.
- (179) FIA/Desp.No. 81 of 1938 Henniker Heaton to Macdonald 17 v 1938.
- (180) Falkland Islands Magazine December 1917.
- (181) CS 119/24 Timetable and Schemes of Work for Government School 1924.
- (182) CS 746/22 Hoare to Col. Sec. 30 xi 1922, para.17.

- (183) *ibid.*, paras 15 and 17.
- (184) CS 52/25 Hoare to Col. Sec. 25 ii 1925.
- (185) CS 370/27 Hoare to Col. Sec. 26 vii 1927.
- (186) FIA/Desp.No. 50 of 1928 Hodson to Amery 30 i 1928.
- (187) CS 249/28 'Report on Shorthand & Typewriting Class' by A.R. Hoare 1 iii 1930.
- (188) *ibid.* Hoare to Col. Sec. 16 vi 1930.
- (189) CS 257/35 Bonner to Col. Sec. 6 viii 1935.
- (190) FIA/Desp.No. 150 of 1935 Henniker Heaton to Macdonald 28 ix 1935.
- (191) FIA/Desp.No. 103 of 1928 Hodson to Amery 16 iii 1928.
- (192) *ibid.*
- (193A) CS 473/28 Hodson to Maudslay 25 iv 1929.
- (193B) *ibid.* Supt.Edn. to Col. Sec. 10 ii 1933.
- (194) Penguin 31 iii 1936, p.1.
- (195) CS 6/37 Agricultural Adviser to Col. Sec. 6 i 1937.

- (197) CS 8/42 Cardinall to Cranbourne 22 ii 1942,
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- (198) CS 119/41 'Policy of Education: Secondary
Education': address by A.W. Cardinall
19 xii 1941.
CS 8/42 Cardinall to Cranbourne 22 ii 1942,
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- (199) CS 119/41 'Policy of Education: Secondary
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- (200) ibid.
- (201) ibid.
- (202) ibid.
- (203) ibid.
- (204) ibid.
- (205) ibid.
- (206) ibid.
- (207) CS 8/42 Cardinall to Cranbourne 22 ii 1942,
pp.35-36.
- (208) ibid., p.36.

- (209) *ibid.*, p.49.
- (210) *ibid.*, p.53.
- (211) CS 119/41 'Policy of Education: Secondary Education': address by A.W. Cardinall
19 xii 1941.
- (212) Falkland Islands News Weekly
17 xii 1942.

CHAPTER SIXSCHOOLING FROM 1943 TO 1966

T.D. Evans' extensive survey of education in the Colony ⁽¹⁾, undertaken at the beginning of this period, was to serve a similar purpose to Hoare's 1922 review ⁽²⁾ for, supported later by proposals:

"unanimously endorsed by a local
representative committee" ⁽³⁾,

it provided the basis for much of the development which followed. The greatest changes took place in the Camp where co-operation between farms and government, much facilitated by a buoyant post-war wool market ⁽⁴⁾, gave rise to the boarding and settlement schools so long proposed but, apart from the school at Darwin, never before constructed.

The effectiveness of this new provision was enhanced by war-time experience which, in the evacuation of children to the Camp, following the precedent of 1914 ⁽⁵⁾, and the subsequent necessity of arranging for their boarding and education ⁽⁶⁾, proved highly relevant to future work. There were also efforts to broaden the curriculum for Camp pupils through broadcasting, and later to extend the work at the government school in Stanley in order to prepare pupils for public examinations; these had previously been open only to a select group of scholars and others attending overseas secondary schools.

In the event, the impact of these measures was limited by problems of teacher recruitment, despite efforts to encourage a higher degree of localisation, but the concurrent development of representative institutions did at least ensure greater participation by Falkland Islanders in the formulation of relevant policy, although a body specifically charged with this task was not formed until the very end of the period. (7)

The Supply and Training of Teachers

In his 1943 survey, the Superintendent of Education (T.D. Evans) recommended the upgrading of Camp teaching through the training of local staff (8) but until they became available it would be necessary to recruit "experienced (not necessarily qualified)" personnel from the United Kingdom. (9) This continuing dependence on overseas supply also remained the case at the government school in Stanley where, in 1945, certain local temporary appointments were described as:

"not entirely successful" (10)

and a little later:

"the work.....was seriously upset all through the year by difficulties and delays experienced in obtaining (11) qualified staff from overseas."

The Camp was in no better position for:

"the quality of some of the teachers left much to be desired." (12)

To alleviate this shortage of staff there were some local initiatives; one was a recommendation that government follow the example of the Falkland Islands Company and employ:

"camp girls who have done reasonably well in their schooling" (13)

as travelling teachers. The resulting appointments were considered "highly successful" (14) and it was noted that the female teachers:

"maintained as good discipline as the men with the older children" (15),

were:

"in most respects more suitable as teachers for the younger children" (16),

and adapted readily to the domestic routine in Camp houses. (17)

There were also attempts to obtain teacher training in the United Kingdom for three experienced but unqualified local staff (18),

Governor Cardinall noting that:

"there is going to be an acute shortage of teachers in the United Kingdom for some time to come and I should like to have some safeguard against the possibility of overseas teachers being virtually unobtainable in the post-war period." (19)

In the event, staff shortage precluded secondment overseas and the superintendent was asked:

"to investigate the possibility of improving the local facilities for teacher training" (20)

which were still based on a pupil-teacher system described by a critic as "deplorable and ridiculous". (21) Despite such strictures, pupil-teachers continued to be trained (22), some receiving part of their instruction at Camp schools in order to give:

"Stanley teachers a better understanding of the life and needs of the Islands as a whole" (23),

and bursaries were made available:

"for Camp children who want extra schooling in Stanley, to fit themselves for work as Camp teachers." (24)

They were to be at least fourteen and a half years of age, would receive fifty pounds for each year spent at the government school, and afterwards serve as teachers for four years (25) but, although the Governor observed that:

"without properly trained teachers such facilities as we can offer to the Camp are of little value" (26),

only one candidate applied (27) and the scheme was soon discontinued.

In 1949, a further application was made for overseas teacher training but the candidate selected did not meet with the approval

of one elected legislator who asked:

"why a locally appointed teacher could not be sent to the United Kingdom for training instead of one who, appointed in the United Kingdom without a certificate, has after eight years shown no outstanding capabilities and whose usefulness is open to question?" (28)

Government was at pains to assure him that the teacher selected had appropriate formal qualifications for training and that efforts were being made to obtain similar facilities for a teacher born in the Colony. (29)

Local training was not a success, the Governor noting that:

"The first Teachers' Training Class had not been very encouraging due not to the fault of the Teacher engaged for this purpose, but to the poor material available." (30)

There was also a marked lack of interest in teaching on the part of school pupils (31), although the efficiency of new local recruits to Camp teaching did improve following a requirement for at least two years in the continuation class before employment. (32)

In the Camp, the Falkland Islands Company attempted to solve the problem of teacher shortage in its settlements by reverting to earlier practice and recruiting its own teachers who also worked as storekeepers or bookkeepers. (33) Other farms followed (34) but local recruitment in the Colony as a whole remained difficult and it was not until 1966 that a Falkland Islander entered a British training college (35) with the intention of returning to work in the Colony.

The recruitment of teachers from overseas appeared equally problematic, as was noted by Governor Clifford in 1950 when he drew attention to the cost of employing competent expatriate teachers and remarked that:

"The Government had already been told by the Secretary of State that the poor material that had come to the Colony in the past was due to the poor salaries offered." (36)

British teachers serving in the Colony were paid less than Burnham Scale rates, although benefitting from the payment of all superannuation contributions by their employer. (37) Many did not find the Colony to their liking, one being dismissed for refusing to return to work in the Camp (38), while others complained of "cavalier treatment" from the Crown Agents and of:

"the lack of accommodation here." (39)

Local teachers also suffered, one noting that Camp parents would not offer her lodgings for:

"They'll bleat and criticise but won't put themselves out" (40),

and another:

"when teaching on Pebble [Island] had to lock herself in her room every Saturday when the drinking had begun." (41)

Expatriates were not necessarily more welcome in the Camp for:

"One manager tells me that he would have no U.K. teacher in the house in case his business were overheard" (42)

and the superintendent also averred that:

"of the last seven expatriate teachers to leave here, five have gone home in a disgruntled state of mind." (43)

Their replacement continued to be difficult and, although one teacher later arrived from the United Kingdom, in consequence of arrangements for secondment made with a local education authority (44), no others followed and government then considered it necessary to pay expatriation allowances to attract staff from overseas. (45) This measure was most unpopular with local officers but was soon redundant for, by 1955, it was observed that:

"the recruitment of qualified expatriate teachers has practically ceased" (46);

the allowances were abolished in 1957. (47) The following year, it was stated that:

"regular recruitment in the United Kingdom of trained, qualified staff" (48)

was a prerequisite for improving the work of the Stanley schools where:

"lack of continuity.....adversely affects
the standard of education" (49)

but, when it was proposed to recruit teachers under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme and for the United Kingdom government to pay them inducement allowances, an elected legislator declared that:

"we are not prepared to discriminate between salaries paid to our locally born and recruited officers with equivalent qualifications and salaries paid to those recruited overseas." (50)

Thus continued the dual problem of inducing expatriates to come to the Colony and Falkland Islanders to remain (51), and the consequent shortage of staff not only caused heavy workloads but effectively precluded the transition of the Senior School from an elementary institution, with one teacher for each class, to a school with staff specialising in particular areas of the curriculum. (52)

The position in the Camp also showed little improvement, until 1959, when the first two volunteers arrived (53); a few years later there were four Camp teachers recruited through Voluntary Service Overseas. (54) Their presence filled posts which would otherwise have remained vacant but one farmer was prompted to enquire:

"Are efforts being made to recruit permanent camp teachers or are we to continue with these amiable but really rather inefficient volunteers from the Royal Commonwealth Society? Please do not think from this that I have anything against them, but it must be admitted that they are far from adequate, through no fault of their own." (55)

This view was not echoed in an official report which found it:

"impossible to speak too highly of these young people, whose sole thought is to be of service to others." (56)

Problems of Provision in the Camp

Evans reported that the system of employing unqualified itinerant teachers in the Camp gave most emphasis to:

"eradicating illiteracy; disseminating useful knowledge and developing intelligence were not attempted" (57)

and, when reforms were proposed, government's attitude:

"appears to have been parsimonious" (58)

and:

"matters political and economic too often pushed education into the background." (59)

Not only was government criticised for having shown little interest in Camp education in the previous decades but Evans also observed that:

"apathy and refusal to co-operate on the part of most parents and some managers have prevented the adoption of schemes designed for their benefit." (60)

Reviewing earlier proposals made for the schooling of farm children, the superintendent went on to observe that all were hampered by the difficulty of travelling from one settlement to another and therefore:

"To solve the question of communications is to a large extent to solve the problem of Camp Education." (61)

In the meantime, he revived some previous suggestions and recommended the building of permanent camp schools with accommodation for teachers and boarding pupils (62), the reduction of itinerant teachers' beats (63), increases in boarding grants (64), the take-over of the Falkland Islands Company's schools (65), and the appointment of a qualified supervisor for Camp education. (66)

The supervisor was in post by mid-1944 (67) and assumed responsibility for the schooling of sixty-three pupils distributed between twenty-two locations on West Falkland and forty-two children at thirteen places in East Falkland. (68) In addition, the Falkland Islands Company provided for sixty-six scholars at twenty-one other East Falkland houses and settlements. (69) Government sent the new supervisor on a tour of the company's land with a view to an early transfer of responsibility and of the teachers:

"provided they give satisfaction". (70)

His report noted that:

"the educational standard of most of these children is very poor"

and that, because of staff shortage, many had:

"been without tuition for many months
(some for well over a year)." (71)

The company's educational responsibilities were finally transferred in 1948 with government directing the work of the schools and subsidising the salaries of the teacher-storekeepers who continued in the employ of the company. (72) At the same time parents in outside houses were reminded that:

"boarding in the settlements is likely
to be the best way of giving your
children better chances in education" (73),

appropriate advice in view of the infrequent appearance of itinerant teachers and the low standard of their work which moved the supervisor to observe that a:

"state of 'Educational Apathy' permeates
the entire Company's camp." (74)

Anxious to raise similarly low expectations in all parts of the Colony, Governor Clifford had emphasised two principles with particular relevance to the Camp when he called for:

"Equal opportunity for all children,
irrespective of where they may be
living or of their parents' means" (75)

and:

"Closer correlation of the curriculum with the natural economic status of the Colony" (76)

in order to fit pupils:

"for enjoyment of the way of life on which our whole economic structure depends." (77)

The Governor was not alone in expressing such views on the frequently controversial subject of Camp education for numerous individual critics and organised bodies also had much to say, and the latter were officially consulted from time to time.

In 1948, the Sheep Owners' Association was asked for its opinion on proposals for settlement schools (78) and was in general agreement with government, although with the proviso that it was:

"inclined to be sceptical about the value and success of Parents' Committees, as the people living in the settlements unfortunately often do not get on well with each other." (79)

A few years later, a joint meeting of the Sheep Owners' Association and the Labour Federation discussed schooling in the Camp and concluded that, even with the establishment of settlement schools:

"the provision of an adequate number of travelling teachers is essential if children in the Camp are to receive even the elements of education." (80)

The same bodies approved of plans to establish boarding schools and, echoing the Governor, hoped that:

"The curricula of these schools will be suited to the environment of the children and the employment they are likely to follow" (82),

although one manager was reported to have expressed the view that the schools:

"would tend to discourage the children from returning to Camp life after their schooling was completed." (83)

The federation and association were later to allege that provision in the Camp had deteriorated (84), supporting the view of a legislator who had asserted that it:

"produced an added inducement to families in the Camp to seek employment in Stanley." (85)

The superintendent did not entirely agree, noting that, of the fifty-eight children not receiving schooling in 1952, seventeen were:

"in houses where a teacher is not welcome and therefore does not go" (86)

and of the remainder:

"a few of these could reach settlements for schooling if they chose." (87)

He went on to criticise certain managers for wishing to maintain low educational standards, quoting one as saying that, as a teacher:

"my fifteen year old girl is all right for these people" (88),

and also recording the observation of another that illiterate Campers were happier than educated people because they could spend their evenings making horse-gear instead of reading. (89)

Parents also came in for further criticism, those at Walker Creek for failing to send their children to school in Goose Green (90), shepherd fathers for deliberately moving to farms without teachers (91), and parents generally on the grounds that:

"the Camper has been thoroughly spoiled and expects education on a plate at the door." (92)

When schooling did take place in a camp house it was through the agency of the travelling teachers, six of whom served eighty-four pupils at thirty-one locations in 1943. (93) Their lives had changed little as each teacher:

"travels around his area on horseback and to the Islands by rowing boat, sailing or motor boat.....The journeys from the mainland to the Islands are naturally at the discretion of the weather" (94)

and, although there were efforts to broaden the curriculum by including social studies and natural history in addition to the basic subjects (95), many pupils continued to be handicapped by indifferent parents. (96)

In 1950, a far-sighted landowner recommended using the newly-established air service for the transport of the itinerant teachers who, based in Stanley, would:

"no longer be subject to extended periods of isolation, hard living and lack of social contacts." (97)

He went on to suggest that:

"With flying teachers could be coupled education by correspondence" (98),

and added that:

"Administered with vision such a scheme might make education welcome and exciting for both children and parents, arrest the drift of children to Stanley, and even restore children to their homes in the camp." (99)

The Education Department agreed, somewhat reluctantly, observing that:

"If camp children could be centred in the settlement for the period the "flying teacher" was to be there, something might be achieved, but we cannot agree to placing a teacher in some solitary camp house for the benefit of one or two children." (100)

Governor Clifford considered the idea to be motivated by the view of some farmers that:

"the Settlement School will fall down owing to non-co-operation on the part of those asked to board children" (101)

but he was:

"equally convinced that the Travelling Teacher system is hopeless" (102)

and that correspondence education was not feasible because it would:

"demand co-operation and ability on the part of parents." (103)

The Governor was supported in his views by the supervisor of Camp education who:

"knows all the parents and says that from few of them is any degree of useful co-operation either probable or possible" (104)

and who:

"alleges that farmers - in whose interest it is that the children should remain in the Camp - naturally support the view that it is unfair to separate the children from their parents." (105)

It was also suggested that locally recruited travelling teachers be replaced by certificated personnel from overseas but no action was taken on the grounds of increased cost and the difficulty of obtaining suitable recruits. (106)

The continuing lack of itinerant teachers, whether or not recruited from overseas, coupled with moves to centralise education in settlement schools, provoked strong reaction, one manager asserting that, if the problem continued, shepherds would:

"have no option but reluctantly to move (107)
to Stanley for their children's sake."

He argued that families were required for outside houses because single men would not stay in them and that families would go to such houses only if travelling teachers were provided. (108) The Colonial Secretary's reply was pointed, stating that:

"It is not the function of the [Education]
Department to ensure that the farm worker
is contented with his lot; that presumably (109)
is primarily the concern of his employer."

He added:

"In matters of education it is essential that
the interests of the children should be put
first, not those of their parents or of
those who employ their parents." (110)

Despite such controversy and provided their recruitment was possible, travelling teachers continued to visit pupils in remote areas, but continuing staff shortage precluded the instruction of all of the eligible children; in 1953 nine itinerant teachers had ninety-five pupils and nine settlement schools catered for thirty-nine more, but thirty-five children received no formal instruction. (111) This lack of provision led to requests for each teacher to visit more

locations but the department did not support them because:

"'beats' so long that a teacher visits a house for a fortnight once every eight months, as has been the case in the past, are educationally useless." (112)

The Settlement School

Although Evans had recommended permanent Camp schools he considered the building of a school in every settlement to be "economically unsound". (113) Instead he proposed schools at two sites on the West and three on East Falkland, or the establishment of a school in any settlement with more than ten pupils. (114)

Either measure was to be considered beneficial for:

"the more children come together in reasonably large groups, the better will be the educational provision we can make for them." (115)

By 1950, and with the support of a committee set up to advise on education in the Camp, government had determined upon the provision of eight permanent schools, four on East Falkland, one on Pebble Island and three on the mainland of West Falkland. (116) It was intended that they should be:

"under the supervision of teachers from the United Kingdom" (117),

and travelling teachers were to be withdrawn:

"except under special circumstances". (118)

At the time of Evans' report, there were already three settlement schools, all on East Falkland (119), and by 1951 their number had risen to five full-time schools and four part-time, with an average of five pupils in each school; two others had closed on account of falling rolls. (120) Representatives of the Labour Federation recorded favourable impressions of the schools they visited (121) and an official report in 1950 noted that over two-thirds of the pupils were:

"up to or above standard". (122)

Shortly afterwards they began to follow schemes of work laid down by the department and corresponding:

"very closely with those for Stanley". (123)

Settlement schools operated at some eighteen locations altogether but there were never more than nine at any one time in this period, a reflection of staffing difficulties and the:

"frequent movements of families between the various farms". (124)

The operation of these schools required close liaison between government and farms, the former bearing the capital cost of the building and the latter the expense of heating and maintenance (125); government either sent a prefabricated structure (126) or allowed the farm to erect its own building, subject to official approval. (127)

Joint enterprise also embraced the teachers; in the case of those employed by the farms government paid a subsidy as a contribution to the teacher's salary and other recurrent costs, and suitable accommodation was made available by the farms for both government and farm-employed personnel for:

"In order that young teachers from good homes may be attracted more to work in the Camp, it is important that their living conditions should be as good as possible." (128)

Towards the end of the period, more farms began to overcome a continuing shortage of government teachers, available for work in the settlement schools, by employing staff who also acted as storekeepers or bookkeepers. Government approved such measures provided that it retained control of:

"The syllabus and all other educational matters." (129)

Subject to the satisfactory conduct of the school, subsidies continued to be paid although at a level which caused one manager to observe that:

"more generous terms may have to be offered to persuade the majority of farms to co-operate" (130);

the farmers have rarely resisted an opportunity to suggest that government bear a greater proportion of educational expenditure in the Camp.

The government teachers did not always feel welcome in the Camp, those on Falkland Islands Company farms complaining that, as employees of government and not the company, they were charged an extra five per cent in the stores. This was:

"not only unfair but greedy and avaricious". (131)

It was also difficult for a teacher to board with parents for it might:

"place him under an unfair handicap" (132)

in the light of the:

"almost universal lack of discipline in
Camp houses" (133)

but the fault was not always with the hosts; an expatriate female teacher was said to have made "impossible demands" with regard to her living quarters. (134)

One of the major aims of the schools in which these teachers worked was to encourage parents in outside houses to send their children to board in the settlements and thus receive full-time schooling. To further this aim, Camp boarding allowances were payable from 1945 (135), but met with little success; in the first year of the scheme only six children benefited (136) and the number increased only slightly in succeeding years. (137) Parents were clearly reluctant

to send their offspring to local settlement schools (138), although over twenty older Camp pupils were attending school in Stanley in 1951 (139); one family lived just over two miles from a settlement school but the children rarely attended. (140) This poor response was also attributed to a dearth of suitable accommodation in the settlements and a reluctance to take in boarders even where space was available (141) and, in some cases, the children themselves were less than enthusiastic for:

"every Camp child is an expert rider and all are capable of walking long distances, unless of course this is necessary to go to school." (142)

In any event, the problem was not as great as it might have been at an earlier period for, by 1951, there were:

"many empty shepherd's houses and it is becoming increasingly difficult to persuade married women to live away from the Settlements." (143)

Boarding Schools

Following Evans' idea of a school for the western part of East Falkland (144), the Falkland Islands Company revived the idea of a boarding school, and proposed that one be built on each main island to cater for older Camp children. (145) They suggested that:

"the curriculum would carry pupils up to an agreed standard but would also include such subjects as - Boys: Animal Husbandry, botany, use and care of agricultural tools and machinery, and for Girls: Domestic economy, dairying and poultry." (146)

The schools would have their own livestock and, if the East Falkland school were sited near Darwin:

"the Company would assist and support it in every possible way" (147),

in particular by erecting a building with staff and pupil accommodation and giving a suitable area of land. (148) The new superintendent (H.E. Baker) was not opposed to this suggestion but warned that:

"to establish a boarding school of that size, we should need to be able to count on much better support from the people in the Camp than has been offered for previous schemes." (149)

Baker was not optimistic in this regard but did agree with the need for a curriculum with agricultural bias. (150) He further recommended that the school share a site with the proposed agricultural institute (151) but the Colonial Office disagreed on the grounds that:

"Unless and until it is shown that some broadening of the present basis of farming in the Colony is practicable, there is a serious risk that the only effect of training in a High School of this type might be to unfit the students for absorption in the agricultural life of the Islands and thus to defeat its own object." (152)

No further action ensued until 1951 when the superintendent (E.M. Cawkell) revived proposals for boarding schools with an agri-

culturally-biased curriculum. (153) Other officials supported the idea in principle but were not necessarily:

"convinced that parents here have a really genuine desire to have their children properly educated" (154),

and the executive council expressed concern at the high cost of the scheme. (155)

At the same time, the Falkland Islands Company reiterated its earlier offer and proposed to site a school, primarily for its employees' children, between Darwin and Goose Green. Day pupils would come from the settlements and boarders from outside. (156)

The company suggested that:

"There would be no compulsion on parents to send their children as Boarders but no Camp Teachers would be available, except perhaps for Infants, and it is hoped that the education and training offered would be so attractive as to overcome parents' possible objections." (157)

The proposed curriculum was similar to that previously put forward (158), but the Governor added, in his own hand, farm accountancy, spinning and bee-keeping. (159) It was also recognised that:

"this scheme imposes limitations on the pupil but those who might profit by a more general education could go on to the Government School in Stanley. Those who are likely to live on the land would start with some practical knowledge and be much better equipped for their life's work than they are at present, whether they work in this Colony or elect to go elsewhere." (160)

The superintendent felt that the proposed school should cater for all Camp children in East Falkland and wished to make attendance compulsory but the Governor made it clear that:

"You cannot have compulsion where the child is taken away from its home!" (161)

In the event, a plan for two boarding schools, to be attended on a voluntary basis, at Darwin and a site on the West, was finally announced early in 1951. (162)

Cawkell also proposed that pupils receive their early schooling from travelling teachers and, at the age of eight, enter the boarding school where they would participate in domestic activities, in addition to the formal curriculum. They would receive free board and tuition and, to encourage parents to send children to the new school, allowances would not be payable for new East Falkland pupils attending settlement schools or the Stanley schools. (163) The acting Governor was not in complete agreement with Cawkell and proposed instead entry at age seven, leaving parents to cope with younger children; he also favoured the appointment of governors for the school. (164) The superintendent, citing practice in various other countries, saw a case for entry at seven or eight, but did not support the idea of a governing body because the teachers:

"though they would welcome interested visitors, will not submit to interference likely to injure their professional status." (165)

Governor Clifford decided upon an entry age of seven, retaining a few travelling teachers for pupils unable to attend the new school, and he also confirmed the curriculum as the province of the superintendent. (166)

The education department continued to have doubts of a positive parental response to the new opportunity for:

"with some managerships almost hereditary and few other really good jobs for the hard-working intelligent child" (167),

many Camp parents saw little value in formal education, but attitudes had become more favourable (168) by the time the Darwin Boarding School opened in 1956. (169) The new school had eleven five to fourteen year-old day pupils from the settlement and thirty-four boarders (170); two-thirds of the places were for the children of company personnel and all boarders paid a small termly fee. (171) Government and company had shared the capital cost of the school, most of it contributed by the company, whilst government was to bear the burden of recurrent expenditure. (172)

Unfortunately and almost from the beginning, the new institution ran into a series of problems: there was a lack of accommodation for domestic staff (173), the water corroded the plumbing (174) when a sufficient supply was available (175), acute respiratory infections occasioned the closing of the school (176), the staff were isolated from other professional colleagues and it was difficult to obtain assistance from the farm at busy times in the pastoral calendar. (178)

To compound these problems a Goose Green parent had strongly objected to the school sending his daughters to the library in compliance with his request for their withdrawal from religious education classes, and even the intervention of the farm manager proved unsuccessful until he suggested timetabling the lesson at the start of the day and excusing the girls from attendance until later. (179) Despite these drawbacks, the roll rose to nearly fifty pupils (180) taught by four trained teachers (181) whose task was not easy for:

"the education of these children has long been neglected and there is a considerable lee-way to make up." (182)

On West Falkland, the proposal to site the second boarding school at Hill Cove (183) had to be abandoned because of an insufficient supply of peat (184), but Port Howard presented no such problem and its "model" settlement school could provide the nucleus of the new institution. (185) Governor Arthur, who clearly doubted the potential success of the school at Darwin (186), took a close interest in the Port Howard school and suggested that an Anglican priest could run the school and minister to the West, but his remuneration would have to be shared between government and a missionary society for:

"If I propose that Government should pay all I should encounter opposition from those parts of the community which do not belong to the Church of England." (187)

By 1958 the school had some sixteen pupils but suffered from a dearth of domestic assistance (188) and a clerical teacher who was "very

satisfactory" as a pedagogue (189A) but lacked the:

"social bent so necessary in a small community." (189B)

When this teacher vacated his post there was no immediate replacement, which led to the closing of the school and to the farm manager protesting against:

"this disgraceful state of mis-management." (190)

Later, concern was expressed that the Darwin school might be enlarged at the expense of Port Howard and government was reminded that:

"'Westers' are entitled to the same conditions and degree of education as the 'Easters'" (191)

and that:

"decisions affecting this school may have serious repercussions in respect of obtaining and keeping the workers on the farms." (192)

Nonetheless it was recommended in 1962 that the institution become a settlement school, albeit with a certificated government teacher and an offer from the farm:

"to pay any excess cost of education at Port Howard over and above the average cost of educating a child throughout the camp in the Falkland Islands." (193)

Educational Broadcasting

In 1944, and as an addition to Evans' proposals, the education department decided to investigate the possibility of school broadcasting. The travelling teachers were soon requested to collect data on the reception of transmissions from Stanley in the various settlements, and it appeared that nearly three-quarters of the pupils would be able to hear the programmes (195) which were planned to:

"help the children with work in English and arithmetic during the teacher's absence" (196)

and to:

"cover a wider range of topics than the teachers can deal with in the short time at their disposal during each visit to a house." (197)

Pupils were to do written work related to the broadcasts for assessment by the travelling teacher or the broadcaster in Stanley. (198)

There was marked initial enthusiasm for the scheme, the colonial secretary calling it:

"a unique opportunity because the wireless lessons will supplement education and not merely be in substitution for classroom periods" (199)

and the Governor requesting that:

"Should any parent raise the question of expenditure on accumulators and batteries, please refer the matter for consideration" (200),

although he did not favour subsidising the purchase of receivers. (201)

Unfortunately for the success of the broadcasts, estimates of reception had been somewhat optimistic for:

"Atmospherics are bad and the lessons are rarely, if ever, free from interference" (202)

and, although many parents were:

"most enthusiastic.....and appreciate the help their children are receiving" (203)

they were also:

"entirely dependent on the wind for recharging batteries and during calm spells prefer to save their batteries for the news in the evening." (204)

In spite of these problems, the superintendent recommended continuation of the broadcasts, noting that they:

"could play a very valuable part not only in the education of the children in the Camp, but also in the sphere of adult education and in the general life of the Camp." (205)

He also implemented technical changes which led to improved reception (206) and sought advice from appropriate authorities in the United Kingdom and New Zealand. (207)

The superintendent's measures were hardly successful, for an investigation of pupil response in the north camp of East Falkland later revealed that less than twenty per cent were regular listeners to the programmes, half being unable to receive them (208), and thus confirming the Governor's suspicion, not of the content of the broadcasting, but of:

"the extent to which it is listened by those for whom it is designed." (209)

Damage to the transmitter aerial had served to decrease further the efficacy of the broadcasts. (210)

The service nonetheless continued, to a declining audience, into the 1950s when the isolation of Campers began to be greatly reduced through the provision of radio-telephone apparatus:

"free to all Settlements, including the outlying islands." (211)

Whilst not of immediate educational application, this institution of two-way communication foreshadowed the modern development of VHF broadcasting and the subsequent introduction of the radio school; the only other development in this field was the wiring of the Stanley schools for rediffusion and the use of BBC educational recordings. (212)

Although a system of broadcasting had not been a feature of Evans' 1943 report, he did review the arguments for and against distance education through the alternative medium of correspondence,

and rejected it on much the same grounds as those stated earlier by A.R. Hoare. (213) This view was also supported by the Governor who observed that:

"it demanded the ability of the parent to take the place of a trained teacher and his willingness to devote time to teaching" (214)

and that:

"Nothing.....could replace the opportunity for association and companionship with other children which was an essential part of education." (215)

Education in Stanley

At the government school in 1945, the three junior classes had average ages of 6.4, 8.9 and 9.9 years with a range of three to fourteen years (216), reflecting their dual function of catering not only for younger pupils but also for older but backward entrants from the Camp. The condition of the building in which they worked was described as:

"little short of scandalous" (217),

and prompted government to apply for a grant from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in order to provide new premises. (218) The only difficulty lay in obtaining a suitable piece of land within walking distance of the majority of pupils' homes but government had been offered a site by the Falkland Islands Company for building a

library or for some other public use. At the first suggestion of devoting it to a school, the company voiced:

"doubts that an Infants' School was a 'public purpose'" (219),

and the board of directors objected to paying heavy United Kingdom taxes and also making a grant of land:

"which relieved the Home Government of an obligation." (220)

By 1949 the company had modified its position and become agreeable to making a gift provided that the rebuilding of the main road through Stanley included a realignment:

"to pass directly in front of the Company's Offices" (221);

the company would bear the additional cost of such work. Government agreed (222) and received in return, not the site originally intended, but a larger and more suitable area. (223) Although suffering from inadequate accommodation for several more years (224), the younger pupils finally moved into modern premises in 1955 (225) and further benefited from an impending royal visit which necessitated the urgent resurfacing of their playground. (226)

With regard to the older pupils, Evans had noted that:

"the Falkland Islander has, of necessity, to be a 'Jack of all Trades', able to turn his hand to any task, from building his own house to providing his household with fuel and garden produce" (227)

and in consequence it was appropriate that the curriculum should display:

"a slight bias towards handicrafts". (228)

This was reflected in the 1945 work of the senior school which included woodwork, gardening and agricultural science for boys, and typing, shorthand and art for girls. (229) Cookery classes were restarted as soon as the required premises were vacated by the wartime garrison (230) but the lack of a teacher and the need of the building for other purposes led to their demise in 1948. (231)

A few years later, the senior school curriculum devoted some sixty per cent of its time to mathematics and language arts, and divided the remainder between a variety of subjects which included Spanish, local history and physical education, in addition to handicrafts. (232) Evans had recommended the provision of appropriate accommodation for craft work (233) but no action was taken until 1953 when the superintendent, concerned at the academic bias of the curriculum, requested the construction of suitable buildings. (234) The acting governor agreed that a domestic science centre was desirable but was not convinced of a proposal to expand the teaching of technical subjects. He felt that it might not be of use to the boys in later life (235) but Governor Clifford saw no difficulty, remarking that:

"Handwork for boys and girls is an essential part of a general education"

and adding:

"We are not concerned with a trade school." (236)

The net result of the superintendent's application was a small wooden building, large enough for only six pupils, and causing a successor to lament the:

"lack of facilities for teaching woodwork, domestic science and other practical subjects." (237)

Governor Arrowsmith agreed but pleaded that:

"the budgetary position makes any major project difficult" (238),

although he hoped that legislators would wish:

"to assist those responsible for education to give our youngsters the best possible start in life." (239)

The Governor was at least more sympathetic than a colonial secretary who, when government required for building development a site occupied by a school vegetable garden, gave very little notice of the need and thus angered parents who then:

"refused to allow their children to pull their crops because they were not ready." (240)

In consequence of these and other difficulties, the education department came to the conclusion that:

"The standard of education in Stanley is rather lower than that of an all-range school in the United Kingdom" (241)

and, noting the dearth of older pupils, opined:

"Many parents feel that there is nothing to be gained by their children continuing at school after the age of 14, because, owing to the shortage of labour in the Colony, they are immediately employable on leaving school. On the other hand some parents are not satisfied that there is no secondary education in the Colony, and this may well be a factor in the steady flow of emigration from the Colony." (242)

Leaving the school did not necessarily mean the termination of formal education for there were also evening classes, reopened in 1944:

"chiefly for those who have left School, and wish to keep in practice" (243)

in academic subjects. Practical courses also became available but shortages of equipment and instructors frequently precluded satisfaction of the demand. (244) As a condition of employment, civil servants below the age of eighteen were required to attend evening classes in approved subjects (245) but the attendance of their contemporaries was not high owing to:

"a great deal of apathy among young people and many counter-attractions." (246)

In addition to the provision of evening classes, the final period of the second world war was also marked by a call for:

"Building and staffing a small school for Secondary Education" (247)

but no action resulted and the continuation class remained the only full-time local substitute. Even this was not greatly encouraged for when school fees were abolished for most pupils in 1948, they remained in force for those in the continuation class in order to:

"deter parents from using it merely as a convenience to themselves" (248);

this provision was later modified to allow the refund of fees to higher attainers thus giving:

"a spur to the less diligent pupils." (249)

By 1953 continuation pupils were able to study for the General Certificate of Education (GCE) in five subjects (250) and the introduction of a sixth was urged (251) although initial results had been "disappointing". (252) The education department recommended the expansion of provision for the GCE but noted that recruitment difficulties were a major constraint on such plans (253), and it was not until 1964 that any pupil obtained four subject passes at a single sitting of the examination. (254) In the same year it was suggested that the school leaving age be raised to fifteen and that the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) be introduced to give more pupils:

"some recognised school leaving certificate" (255);

for this purpose the Colony would be affiliated to a British examining board. (256)

Education Overseas

The first scholars of 1942 had gone to the British Schools in Montevideo (257) where they followed a curriculum leading to the School Certificate (258), received extra tuition in Spanish, and when sick were attended by a British physician. (259) By 1947 two of the scholars had gained Cambridge certificates (260) and returned to the Colony to take up government posts, one as a pupil-teacher. (261) Two years later, six former scholars were in government service although one later resigned:

"to take up employment in U.K." (262)

The superintendent was not satisfied with the work of those who remained in the school observing that they:

"do not work hard enough" (263),

and had gained only one third class school certificate since 1948. He therefore recommended sending scholars to the United Kingdom (264) and received an offer of two boarding places per year from Dorset County Council, tenable from 1952. (265)

Candidates for these scholarships came from all areas of the Colony; in 1945 fourteen were from Stanley and five from three of the Camp settlements. (266)

The age limit for entrants from the Camp was higher than that for Stanley candidates (267) and:

"Camp children would sit the examination in General Knowledge but in comparing their marks with other children's marks, full allowance would have to be made for their varying opportunities for general education." (268)

Not all children were eligible for when an expatriate official wished to enter his child for the scholarship examination, the Governor demurred on the grounds that the awards were for the offspring of parents either born or permanently settled in the Colony (269), a view in which the executive council concurred. (270) In making the awards, the Governor was advised by a selection committee, which included the superintendent, but he did not invariably follow its advice; when the committee had some doubts concerning one recommended candidate, it was noted that Dorset were giving up places for their own children to accommodate Falkland Islanders, and the Governor would therefore nominate only the strongest candidates. (271)

Dorset were later asked to assist in the process of selection but felt that it was not feasible at so great a distance (272) although they did approve of a request for a visit to the Colony by the county educational psychologist. (273) His comments on the performance of Falkland Islands pupils in the scholarship examination reflected the apparent scientific certainties of his times when he remarked of one candidate that he:

"is near the borderline in intelligence of
Grammar School education"

and of another:

"in England [she] would be considered a
good modern school girl." (274)

The award of a scholarship occasionally went unacknowledged because of parental illiteracy (275) but in the case of girls was more likely to be deliberately rejected (276) even when an employer offered a loan, free of interest, to assist the parents. (277) This reluctance of mothers and fathers to part with their daughters led the superintendent to propose that acceptance of an award be a condition of entry to the scholarship examination. (278) The method of selection itself was not viewed with approval by all parents, particularly in the Camp where there was a general feeling that Stanley pupils were favoured by the scheme, one manager asking:

"What remote chance has a West Falkland child for one of these scholarships when over a period of several years the Authorities responsible for education have shown not the slightest interest in the deplorable state of camp education?" (279)

The colonial secretary, in reply, pointed out that a Camp child had been awarded a scholarship in the previous year. (280) Elsewhere in the Camp, a settlement teacher felt obliged to canvass for one of her pupils (281) but the superintendent took no official cognisance of her efforts. (282)

The strongest challenge from the Camp came in 1960 when a manager, who was also a legislative councillor, strongly deprecated the award of the two scholarships to Stanley candidates and not those from the Camp. He considered that:

"the standard of education at the Darwin Boarding School is just as good - if not better - than that in Stanley" (283)

and, wishing to know who had set and marked the papers, demanded to view them himself. In a very formal reply, the colonial secretary made it clear that councillors would not be permitted to review the papers (284), and he later observed that:

"it is a normal thing in all years for the Campers to imagine that the dice are loaded against them." (285)

From the beginning the overseas scholarships were also criticised for other reasons, one writer claiming:

"Surely we Islanders are entitled to a British education being the direct descendants of British pioneers and living in a British Colony?" (286)

Deploring schooling in Uruguay on account of its:

"foreign element with regard to customs and general impressions" (287),

he advocated appropriate education in the Colony (288), but government was not then amenable to such suggestion.

When pressure for the provision of secondary education was revived in the 1950s, government continued in the view that it was:

"beyond our resources.....having regard to all our other commitments" (289),

and proposed instead to pay overseas education grants to assist parents in sending their children to schools in South America and the United Kingdom (290); this provision greatly favoured those of sufficient wealth to pay the remainder of the cost. The tendency of young Falkland Islanders to emigrate, following such overseas schooling, also aroused criticism of expenditure on education, countered by one Governor who observed that:

"The view is sometimes expressed that many of our young people go abroad to seek their fortune and perhaps the Colony is spending funds unnecessarily on their education. This, to my mind, should never be a reason for failing to provide the best education which we can."

He continued:

"Some excellent young men and women have returned to the Colony and I suggest that this alone makes the expense worth while (sic)." (291)

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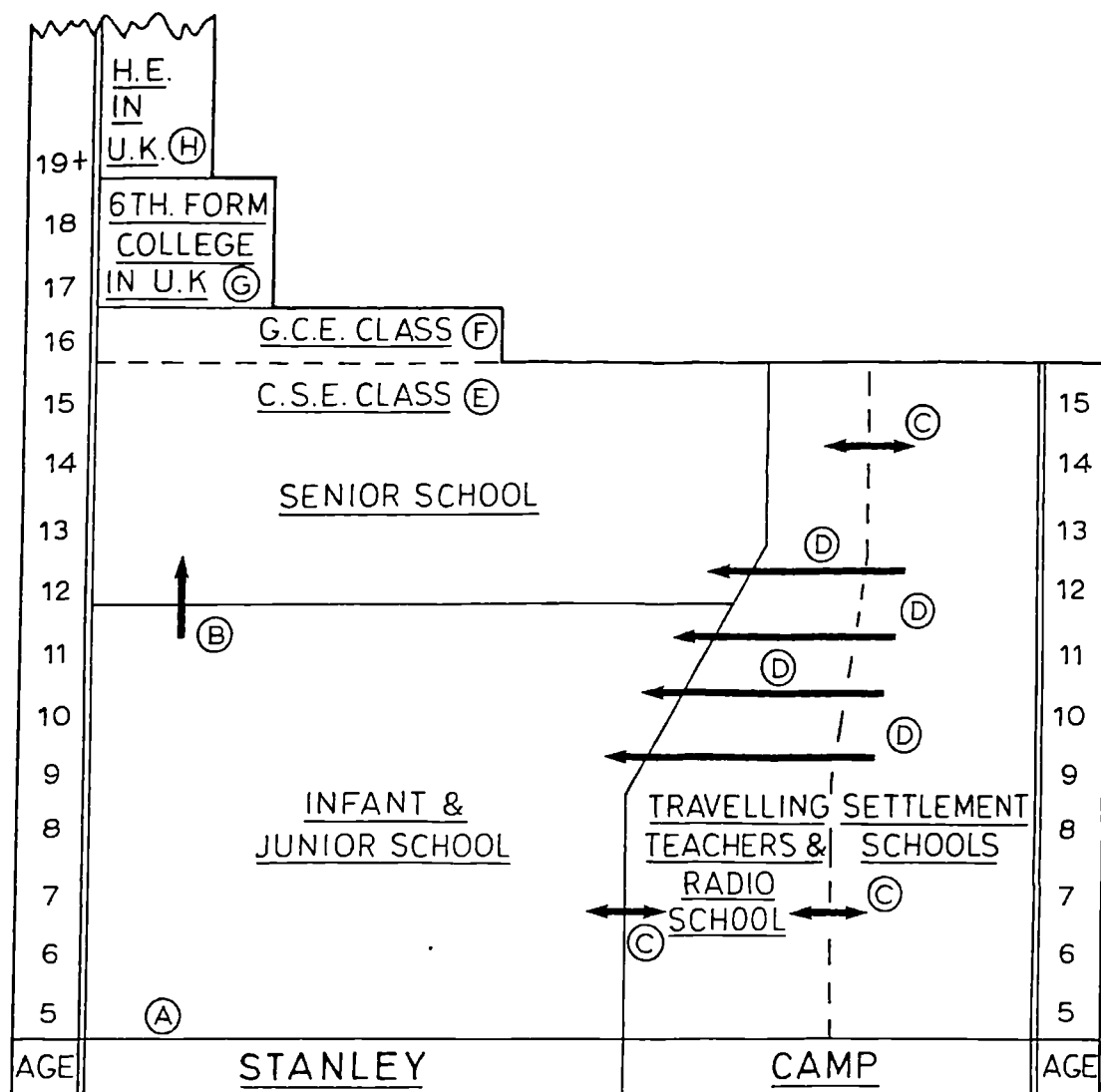
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CHAPTER SEVEN

SCHOOLING SINCE 1967

In this twenty year period there has been no shortage of advice on educational matters, from both legislative councillors and visiting consultants, but much proposed change has continued nonetheless to be inhibited by limited financial and human resources and by political developments. In particular, the impetus to provide courses to public examination standard at the senior school in Stanley was weakened by the ready availability of secondary schooling in Argentina although the 1982 invasion and consequent loss of such opportunity, together with the concentration of colonial provision, ultimately confirmed the need for appropriate local development.

The closure of the boarding school at Darwin and the transfer of its pupils to the Stanley schools and hostel were a major step towards centralised secondary and upper primary schooling, and Table III reflects the recent associated movements of pupils both from the Camp and from South American schools to the capital, whilst Fig.4 below summarises the current organisation of schooling in the Colony. For the younger pupils remaining in the Camp, technical innovations have opened up new opportunities for learning which are likely to become increasingly important as subdivision of the larger farms gathers pace, but it has not proved possible to provide a similar upgrading of the technical facilities required at the senior school for a modern curriculum, although recent economic development may resolve this problem. In the meantime, all proposals for change continue to be made against a background of underlying political uncertainty and the continuing emigration of islanders.

Fig. 4 The Falkland Islands Education System : 1986

- A Compulsory schooling starts at 5 years
- B All Junior School pupils transfer to Senior School at 11+
- C Internal migration
- D Camp pupils enter Stanley schools
- E All 4th. year pupils take final C.S.E. papers, compulsory schooling ends at 15
- F A selected group proceeds to G.C.E. 'O' level
- G A selected group proceeds to G.C.E. 'A' level in U.K.
- H A few students enter university, etc.

The Coming of Secondary Education

Early in this period there was growing dissatisfaction with the level of educational provision in Stanley, a local journal observing that:

"A higher standard of education is sought by those with children - a standard of education that cannot be obtained at present in this Colony - so these families are leaving for other countries." (1)

This problem had been acknowledged by the education committee when it recommended the introduction of secondary education, on the British pattern, through raising the school leaving age to fifteen in 1968 and to sixteen when resources permitted (2) but, although the superintendent concurred (3), he also warned that:

"To provide adequate facilities and equipment for these secondary courses as economically as possible, the senior children, of whom there are approximately thirty per year in the Islands, must be concentrated in Darwin and Stanley, the latter especially during the later years of their school course." (4)

Further raising of the leaving age would necessitate specialised equipment and teaching accommodation in addition to a boarding facility in Stanley for older Camp pupils. (5)

At this time, a little over ten per cent of annual recurrent expenditure on education was devoted to twenty-three pupils at

institutions overseas; the remainder was applied to some three hundred and thirty-six children in Stanley and the Camp. (6)

The education department suggested that recurrent costs would probably decrease if all pupils were schooled in the Colony and that such a course would promote greater equality of opportunity, stronger maintenance of family ties, decreased emigration and better teaching. (7) At the same time it was also noted that catering for greater numbers would require considerable capital outlay, that the temptation to leave school before taking public examinations would be increased, and that pupils would be denied the diffuse skills to be acquired from overseas schooling. (8)

In the event, the 1971 agreement between Argentina and the United Kingdom, which provided for scholarships tenable at Argentine schools (9), led to an increase in the number of pupils being educated overseas (10) and, in consequence, the Senior School roll remained low and only a few candidates were presented for the GCE. (11) Pupil numbers were to rise eventually as the number of overseas scholars decreased (12), and also as a result of closing the Darwin Boarding School (13) in an attempt to achieve some economy of scale in post-primary provision for more than one adviser had noted that:

"secondary schooling is hopelessly fragmented." (14)

In addition the tendency of overseas scholars to emigrate rather than return to the Colony also underlined:

"the need to devise a viable system of secondary education in the islands." (15)

The department responded by proposing a common curriculum for pupils up to the age of thirteen, to be followed by two courses, one to prepare pupils for the GCE "in a limited range of subjects" and the other to provide a non-academic pre-vocational education. (16)

By 1977, government had decided that, for the efficient implementation of such a scheme:

"all middle and senior school education should be concentrated in Stanley" (17)

and following advisers' recommendations (18), proposed to build accommodation there for Camp children. Supporting this policy, the chairman of the education committee hoped that:

"On the establishment of the Stanley hostel and the addition of facilities for the development of secondary education..... the parents of all the children in Camp will wish them to have the opportunity to benefit from the workshop facilities and specialist teaching offered." (19)

The hostel opened in temporary accommodation in 1980 (20) and, following the vicissitudes of structural failure (21) and invasion, and the consequences of a tragic fire, permanent and purpose-built premises were opened in 1985. (22) The hostel now houses nearly sixty pupils and there are only a few Camp children of senior school age who do not enjoy full-time education. (23)

The Argentine Connection

From 1967, government scholarships for secondary education were tenable at Dorset schools and once again at the British Schools in Montevideo (24), where the scholars joined a number of other Falkland Islands pupils whose parents received overseas education allowances. (25) In 1971 the prospect of improved communications with Argentina and the offer of scholarships encouraged parents to choose Argentine schools for their children (26) and, two years later, there was a total of forty-three pupils receiving education overseas, three in the United Kingdom, seventeen in Uruguay and twenty-three in Argentina (27), representing over a quarter of the Colony's secondary school population. At first, Argentine scholarships were tenable at English medium schools, but later were:

"available only for Argentine state schools mainly in the south of Argentina" (28)

and one adviser observed that:

"because of the language problem the island children are several years behind Argentinian children of the same age." (29)

In addition to linguistic difficulties there were other problems to contend with, including the unwanted interference of an Argentine politician in the studies of a Falklands pupil (30), and the querulous response of an Anglo-Argentine headmaster to the non-arrival of a scholarship holder which moved the superintendent to observe that the awards were not provided:

"out of the kindness of their hearts so there must be some ulterior political (31) motive for which no thanks are due."

By 1977 the number of pupils in Argentine schools, both scholars and the privately funded, had fallen to fourteen (32), and the education committee was later to lament the scholars' "lack of success" (33), although the children of wealthy Falkland Islanders continued to attend expensive English-medium schools.

These pupils in Argentine schools were not the only colonial children who received instruction in Spanish for, in 1973, the local journal had noted that:

"Executive Council have decided that Spanish should be taught as a second language in Colony schools as soon as suitable staff could be recruited" (34);

similar classes had been held in the past and public opinion favoured such provision. (35) Argentina offered the services of two teachers (36) who would provide:

"valuable preparation for our children who go to Latin America to further their education or for other reasons." (37)

A few years later, a group of Falkland Islanders expressed very different views and, not wishing children to be "brainwashed or indoctrinated", objected to the presence of Argentine Spanish teachers and to the content of the texts they employed. (38) The education authorities, whilst entertaining a high opinion of the teachers'

professional conduct (39), decided nonetheless to replace the offending Argentine material with books from the United Kingdom (40), although a taped course later prepared by the teachers themselves for use in the Camp (41) appears to have met with no objection. It was also noted that:

"The pupils of the Senior School had adopted an awkward attitude towards learning Spanish" (42),

and the department hoped that newly-arrived teachers and new books would result in "fewer political overtones." (43)

The invasion of 1982 brought the teaching of Spanish to a temporary halt, education department staff being totally unwilling to support the invader's plan for the introduction of his national curriculum, but the teaching of the language was revived in 1986, with the unanimous support of the education committee (44) and the services of a British teacher recruited through the Overseas Service Aid Scheme. There was some opposition to the move, but most parents approved of their children having the opportunity to acquire a useful qualification for further and higher education and to learn the language of neighbouring countries.

Even without these Argentine difficulties, the provision of overseas scholarships and education allowances continued to be the subject of criticism on the grounds of high cost, lack of equity, and the subsequent emigration of many scholars. In 1971 it was noted that only two out of twenty former United Kingdom scholars were resident in the Colony (45), although some have since returned, and in 1986 the writer's investigations showed that over half of the forty-three

pupils at overseas schools in 1973 were no longer in the islands. Not only were many of the recipients of overseas schooling lost to the Colony but the opportunities to acquire such education were greatly restricted for:

"not many people have the money to send their children to school in Britain or Montevideo, and few scholarships are available" (46),

a view later echoed by a legislator who noted that the system was:

"only benefiting those.....with the means to take advantage of it." (47)

Another critic claimed that by localising secondary education:

"many posts filled by persons from overseas could be occupied by our own children" (48),

and an adviser deprecated the effect of overseas provision in that:

"many of the more able children will be creamed off with important implications for the organisation of the curriculum for those who remain." (49)

By 1976 the superintendent was recommending the phasing-out of financial assistance for overseas education:

"as quickly as is politically practicable" (50)

and this view was later endorsed by the education committee which:

"was unanimous in recommending that F.I. Government Funds should be channelled primarily into the Islands' own education system." (51)

With the superintendent declaring that:

"Much of the glamour of the Argentine scholarships has now faded and more support is directed towards the strengthening of our own system" (52),

the executive council decided to cease the funding of overseas schooling for courses up to the ordinary level of the GCE (53) but it remained impossible to offer courses to advanced level in the Colony.

To facilitate such studies, a new link with the United Kingdom began in 1979 when a pupil was nominated for a sixth form course at a school in Sussex. (54) Other nominees followed, with funding from the Overseas Development Administration, until 1986 when pupils were sent instead to a Hampshire sixth form college which offered a wider range of courses than the boarding school. Not all of these pupils have been successful in obtaining advanced level GCE passes but two are currently training as teachers in British institutions. In progressing to tertiary education, they have joined the five islanders awarded Commonwealth Scholarships during the 1970s, some of whom returned to the Colony whilst others have chosen to seek their fortunes elsewhere. (55)

Advisers and Agencies

Although the Colonial Office and Board of Education had been involved in the recruitment of teachers for many years, the Colony received no visit from a British educational adviser, with the exception of Richards in 1906, until 1973 when C.R.V. Bell stayed for several weeks. Bell's terms of reference noted that:

"in view of the precarious state of the Islands' finances" (56),

he was not to propose schemes which required an increase in recurrent expenditure but capital needs would be "sympathetically considered" by the British government. (57)

At the same time, a landowner hoped that Bell would be able to spend extended periods in the Camp for:

"This administration with which we are lumbered at the moment seems quite determined to chop all camp education by fair means or foul and Mr. Bell should be left with no illusions about the productive section of the community which pays for the whole system anyway." (58)

In the event, Bell produced a comprehensive report (59) with recommendations which have formed the basis of most subsequent attempts to promote change in the system.

Three years after Bell's visit, a second adviser arrived in spite of the superintendent's contention that:

"what is required is not more guidance but action on the wealth of advice which has already been offered by local professional staff as well as visitors." (60)

The adviser's visit was nonetheless considered a necessary step to obtaining British aid for educational projects (61), but the subsequent report added little to Bell's earlier work (62) and, when it suggested that pupils in the Camp might travel greater distances to school, the education committee was quick to point out that the adviser:

"was fortunate in having a week here when weather conditions were well nigh perfect and so had no true revelation of the difficulties of camp travel (even over seemingly short distances)." (63)

One positive result of the visit was the beginning of a link with a British polytechnic which resulted in visits by staff to conduct courses in the Colony on environmental studies and infant teaching. (64) There was also assistance in materials production (65) and in teacher training, both in the Colony and overseas (66); one previously untrained settlement teacher has obtained a professional qualification at the polytechnic and returned for further service in the islands.

An additional function of the link was to bring the education department into contact with the Southern Regional Examinations Board with the consequent introduction in 1984 of courses leading to the Certificate of Secondary Education, and more recently to the General Certificate of Secondary Education. A senior official of the board has paid two visits to the islands and thus encouraged

close co-operation between the board and teaching staff in the development of the Senior School curriculum. (67)

Apart from a short visit in 1978 in connection with aid projects, there were no further inspections by Overseas Development Administration personnel until 1983 when, in the aftermath of invasion and the promise of additional aid, a fourth adviser arrived. (68) He produced another detailed report which contained the very pertinent observation that:

"it is distressing to find the same calls for a less academic curriculum for non-academic pupils, for more attention to technical and craft subjects, and closer relations with local employers recurring in various reports and resolutions but with little action resulting." (69)

The report also noted the continued recruitment of staff under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme (OSAS) which began in 1972 after Governor Lewis, whilst acknowledging local misgivings on the payment of inducement allowances to expatriate officers, made it clear that:

"we either pay the market rate..... or the posts remain unfilled." (70)

A subsequent report deplored the:

"high turnover of staff" (71)

resulting from short-term OSAS contracts and the inability of some British teachers to adjust to local conditions, and opined that:

"There is much truth in this view that the introduction of OSAS has been a disaster for the islands, discouraging the employment of locals and encouraging emigration" (72),

but there is no record of island councillors recommending the total abolition of such recruitment and it appears unlikely that sufficient personnel would be available to work on local terms were such a course to be adopted.

The Quest for a Relevant Curriculum

Regulations made under the education ordinance of 1967 prescribed the duty of the head teachers in Stanley to devise and implement appropriate curricula for their schools, subject to the approval of the superintendent who remained responsible for work in the camp. (73) At the Infant and Junior School the development of the curriculum has essentially involved the emulation of British practice with some local input, but in the Senior School, an increase in roll, the raising of the leaving age, the introduction of a wider range of public examinations, the small size of year groups, and a quest for relevance have made the task of effective provision a continuing difficulty.

The long standing nature of this problem was reflected in a 1974 report on the Senior School which referred to some twelve subjects, taught by eight full-time and two part-time teachers to sixty-four pupils. (74) The commercial course was described as "well-organised and well equipped" although the work of the school as a whole was "rather fragmented" (75), a point also made by Bell

when he had recommended greater integration of the curriculum. (76)

Other aspects were also unsatisfactory, the pupils appearing:

"to have little enthusiasm for school"

and to be:

"understimulated and, consequently, under-achieving." (77)

Links between school and community were considered poor and the report also averred that:

"the staff, in its entirety, is under-employed." (78)

This criticism of the staff was levelled on one of the rare occasions when there were no vacant teaching posts in Stanley for it was normal to have:

"long periods when schools operate under establishment and, through absence of specialist staff, some curriculum subjects have to be dropped." (79)

Not a few of the vacancies reflected difficulties in recruitment, exacerbated by a chronic shortage of quarters in Stanley (80), but some represented staff on overseas leave during the school term for, in spite of recommendations that they absent themselves only during the long school holiday in the southern summer (81), expatriate teachers were reluctant to visit the United Kingdom in the northern

winter. The consequent lack of staff continuity posed a particular problem for pupils working towards various public examinations. (82)

Bell's report had proposed the introduction of the CSE in addition to the GCE (83) and, although it was several years before the first CSE candidates were presented, his report and subsequent advice focused attention on the need to provide a suitable curriculum for a potential year group of some thirty pupils covering the full range of ability. In this context, the superintendent warned that:

"If we are unable to introduce a new and effective programme alongside the establishment of the new hostel and a centralised system we will, in the eyes of much of the public, have failed to keep our promises." (84)

He considered that such a programme would need to preserve and enhance existing GCE work and to provide for pupils of lower academic ability:

"a more general course with some bias towards vocational relevance" (85);

the chairman of the education committee concurred. (86)

The outcome of this approach was the institution, in 1979, of the guided choice of an academic or non-academic course at age thirteen. In approving this measure, the education committee hoped that parents would understand:

"that there was no question of streaming children into either first or second class citizens but rather that the particular aptitude of each child was appropriately catered for." (87)

A few years later, there was:

"a consensus of rather cautious approval for the introduction of C.S.E. courses" (88),

based on their apparent ability to meet the needs of a majority of pupils and on the assumption that greater formal recognition of pupil achievement was desirable. (89) At the same time, it was noted that public assessment of the school's attainment continued to be strongly influenced by GCE results. (90)

Between 1975 and 1982, one hundred and fourteen higher grade GCE passes were achieved by ninety candidates, leading one adviser to comment that:

"many pupils are being set unrealistic objectives" (91)

but, with proposals for work in six CSE subjects submitted in 1983 (92), a greater number of pupils became eligible for public certification of their attainment. By special dispensation, Falkland Islands pupils took their final CSE papers at age fifteen and this has provided both a formal assessment of most leavers and a guide for those who opted to remain for a further year in pursuit of the GCE. The advent of the General Certificate of Secondary Education has occasioned a review of the arrangements for public examinations

and, if appropriate accommodation for science and other activities becomes available, will probably result in the effective raising of the school leaving age as the majority of pupils remain for an additional year.

In the late 1960s there had been some progress towards this long needed provision of facilities for the practical aspects of the curriculum. A workshop and science laboratory were opened ⁽⁹³⁾, land was made available for rural studies ⁽⁹⁴⁾, and senior boys took part in a work experience programme organised with the assistance of local employers. ⁽⁹⁵⁾ Bell approved of these measures and recommended that boys also be given a variety of craft courses for:

"All these skills would be valuable in the Camp and for children living in Stanley would provide useful pre-apprenticeship training" ⁽⁹⁶⁾;

the girls would study home economics, needlework and child care. ⁽⁹⁷⁾

The education department was clearly aware that, in any ensuing attempt at curriculum renewal:

"the task of incorporating a complex range of skills and subject requirements into a secondary school system with limited resources of staff facilities will no doubt prove difficult" ⁽⁹⁸⁾,

and it also reiterated:

"that the teaching facilities are central to this and that the hostel project has relevance and justification only if the curriculum renewal needs are met." (99)

A majority of parents appeared to favour such change for there was:

"considerable public support for the introduction of a broader and more relevant curriculum." (100)

Not all parents shared in this view (101) and when steps were taken in 1978 to revive the defunct rural studies course, with assistance from a British agency (102), for inclusion in the work of non-academic pupils (103), there were some strong objections from those who did not wish their children to engage in manual labour. Disagreeing with the education committee's support for rural studies (105), one parent argued that schooling relevant only to the Colony's internal needs was insufficient in view of the limited career opportunities and consequent emigration of young people. (106) In contrast, the provision of a commercial studies course (107) met with wider approval but a dearth of suitable staff has precluded its continuity.

In other areas of the curriculum, especially science and crafts, the lack of suitable buildings has interfered with the implementation of change, the major cause of the problem lying in a paucity of resources, both human and financial, available for construction (108) and in the difficulty of recruiting specialist staff in their absence. (109) At the Senior School in 1980:

"The school library and staff room are regularly used for class and tutorial groups and plans for further curriculum development can only be envisaged alongside a programme for the provision of additional classroom facilities" (110)

and, three years later, an adviser observed that the buildings and equipment were:

"inadequate for the expected enrolment and for effective modern education" (111),

a view shared by the headmaster (112) and the education committee. (113)

Plans were then made for the provision of additional teaching areas and led to a successful application for financial assistance from the European Development Fund (114), and the overseas training of a local teacher for technical subjects (115) but, despite these moves, the higher priority assigned to other projects and the consequent lack of capacity for construction have precluded all progress, although there are current proposals for the utilisation of second-hand prefabricated buildings surplus to military requirements.

In addition to enlarged facilities for craft and science, some thought was given to education of a specifically vocational nature with proposals in 1976 for agricultural training at Darwin (116), and later for an agricultural college (117) but, although some interest was expressed by farmers and government (118), no further action has ensued. There was also a day release scheme for junior government officers to acquire additional knowledge and skills by joining appropriate Senior School classes (119), those successful receiving increments of salary. (120)

In both the primary and secondary schools, a long forgotten area of controversy reappeared in the 1970s when a superintendent attempted to abolish the system of religious education, in which clergy entered the schools to teach children of their particular denominations, and to replace it with a "mutually agreed syllabus". (121) There were protests about lack of consultation from clergy (122) and parents (123) but the superintendent was:

"determined not to perpetuate systems that emphasise divisions" (124)

and pointed out that he was empowered to exercise such control of the curriculum. (125) When the clergy met to discuss the question of a syllabus:

"in some two hours of bigoted wrangling no agreement was reached." (126)

The executive council supported the proposal for an agreed syllabus to be prepared with any required assistance from British advisers, but warned that if no qualified teaching staff were available:

"it will be necessary to revert to the previous practice where clergy teach the subject in school time." (127)

The priests soon returned to the schools but were asked to consider using the Cheshire Agreed Syllabus as the core of the curriculum in religious education. (128) There were no objections from clergy (129) or the education committee (130) but a further proposal for teaching

on a non-denominational basis was unacceptable to the Roman Catholic authorities who insisted upon their children being instructed by a teacher of the same faith. (131) Formal education in religion did not survive much longer and clergy now pay purely informal visits to the schools.

Although affected by the religious question, the Infant and Junior School has been mostly spared from further problems. Organised into six classes with provision in 1973 for Spanish teaching and remedial clinics for pupils with learning problems (132), the school was administratively divorced from the Senior School in 1975, when a separate head was appointed. (133) A movement of population into Stanley and the opening of the hostel have caused an increase in roll from one hundred and three pupils in 1973 (134) to nearly one hundred and fifty at present; further increase would result in serious pressure on available accommodation.

Reorganising Camp Education

In a period which saw the demise of the Darwin Boarding School, a decrease and redistribution of the Camp population, the upgrading of itinerant teachers, and the exploitation of new technology in the schooling of pupils in remote locations, the settlement schools have continued to be:

"the stable backbone of Camp Education." (135)

From a total of four in 1967 (136) the number of schools rose to eight by 1976, catering for some fifty-three pupils. (137) Staffing

difficulties then occasioned another reduction ⁽¹³⁸⁾ but, after the 1982 conflict, there was an increase to nine schools with a total of seventy-seven children. ⁽¹³⁹⁾

Some pupils continued to reside in outside houses during the 1970s and the teachers in the settlement schools were expected to make visits and set work for them ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾, tasks which were not always agreeable particularly when there was evidence of "poor feeding" and "inconsiderate treatment" from parents ⁽¹⁴¹⁾ or even:

"a constant and almost useless battle to obtain permission to visit an outside house." ⁽¹⁴²⁾

In the school itself, the work could be onerous, one teacher with nine pupils observing that:

"All these children are working at different stages and you can imagine my task trying to keep them all busy and look after _____, who needs constant attention." ⁽¹⁴³⁾

Around the settlement constant social contact with parents and pupils could be very demanding ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾, not least where:

"one or two families take a keen interest in all affairs relating to the education of their children but the rest are apathetic." ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

On occasion difficulties were so great that farm managers were asked to intervene. ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

In spite of these difficulties, one problem appeared to be waning for Bell observed that the number of pupils in remote locations was growing less as:

"For economic reasons, some Farm Managers have begun to close outside houses and concentrate their labour in the Settlements" (147)

and he added:

"If this trend continues, it will make the work of the Education Department a great deal easier, to the point where almost all the children are concentrated in Settlement schools." (148)

In the short term this proved to be the case, only four children remaining in outside houses in 1976. (149)

Attempts to concentrate further the pupils at settlement schools were not successful; an adviser who was:

"strongly tempted to ask why Fox Bay East and Fox Bay West both need a settlement school" (150)

had not reckoned with parental opposition to the daily transport of their children by land or by sea (151), and the department was driven to conclude that a:

"move towards a few two-teacher schools as suggested by Bell, would not appear to fit in with present settlement patterns or foreseeable trends." (152)

The one-teacher settlement schools not only gave full-time education but their cost to the public purse was lower than the equivalent provision of travelling teachers or boarding school places. (153) Government was therefore most willing to subsidise education at those farms which maintained or set up schools (154), a course adopted by the Falkland Islands Company:

"because pressure has been brought to bear upon us by valued employees who indicate that, unless there is immediate and permanent improvement in the Camp education facilities, they will leave the industry and the Colony." (155)

To satisfy parents no longer content with itinerant teachers the company eventually employed its own staff at five settlement schools. Others followed this example but not without complaint at the relative proportions of cost borne by government and farm, one manager noting that:

"no employer in Stanley pays a penny to Government for having employees' children educated" (156),

and the company itself was later to argue that education in the Camp:

"should be the sole responsibility of Government which should include the capital cost and maintenance of school buildings as well as teachers' salaries in full and those associated costs that presently fall to the few remaining farms who like ourselves run schools." (157)

It is unlikely that the smaller settlement schools would survive such a shift of financial responsibility.

Children not attending settlement or boarding schools continued to be served by a small group of travelling teachers whose pupils in 1976 numbered thirty-four ⁽¹⁵⁸⁾, distributed between some twenty remote farms and houses, many with only one pupil. From time to time proposals were made for the reform of the itinerant teacher system, including the introduction of shorter and more frequent visits for:

"six weeks is a long time for the children to go without teacher guidance and is rather too long a period to set homework. Not many children are conscientious over homework and either nothing or the barest minimum is done. Progress is slow and teachers find this frustrating and disappointing" ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾;

limitations of transport prevented the implementation of this change. There were also measures to provide training for the unqualified travelling teachers (see below pp.286-7) and for their attachment to settlement schools which would function as sources of didactic material and would help to break down professional isolation. ⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ In addition there were attempts to prescribe a reduced role for them in consequence of the introduction of audio cassettes as a teaching medium ⁽¹⁶¹⁾ (see below pp.292-3) and also to phase them out altogether; neither was successful although much thought was given to possible alternatives.

A 1976 adviser's report averred, in this context, that:

"Only by increasing the ratio of pupils to teachers and by reducing the age range of pupils in classes can the system be made both economic and efficient" (162)

and went on to propose that settlement schools should be staffed by professionally qualified teachers (163) who would assume a peripatetic role where pupils in outside houses were unable to attend their schools. (164) He also recommended the institution of weekly and partial boarding at the proposed Stanley hostel to encourage the parents of young Camp pupils to send them to the Infant and Junior School; these measures would promote the redundancy of the itinerant teacher. The education committee and the superintendent favoured the proposals:

"provided the move was approved by Council and had the support of parents" (165)

and recommended that emphasis be given to:

"parental home tuition for young children" (166),

but lack of transport facilities and hostel capacity, together with parental disapproval of the scheme, ensured the survival of the travelling teachers.

Frequent correspondence (167) on the provision of these itinerant teachers was occasioned by the high turnover of such staff (168) and

their difficulty in obtaining seats on the limited government air service (169), despite an executive council directive to give teachers increased priority. (170) One manager complained that a long-serving teacher was transferred to Stanley because he was:

"too good to waste on mere campers" (171),

although when the teacher was present in a settlement he might well have suffered from those with:

"an inclination to make life difficult for teachers" (172),

but not necessarily for:

"As the role of the teacher is not clearly defined within the farm hierarchy he can be treated either extremely well or unbelievably badly." (173)

A proposal to withdraw travellers from outside houses with single children (174) brought strong protest from the chairman of the education committee (175) and the Sheep Owners Association (176) but the teachers themselves only occasionally made official complaints, usually on the subject of their poor pay and conditions in comparison with their certificated colleagues in Stanley. (177)

This problem was not seriously addressed until after the invasion in 1982 when many pupils who would have returned to Stanley for schooling were obliged to remain in Camp because of accommodation

difficulties, and the department was thus faced with the need to provide for greater numbers and a wider range of age and ability than were normal. (178) This prompted consideration of the quality of Camp teachers, the superintendent observing that:

"Traditionally, and for largely economic reasons this department has sent its poorest paid and least trained officers to perform what is probably its hardest task." (179)

He then recommended the recruitment of qualified personnel (180) to be attracted by the institution of one year terms of engagement. (181) This has resulted in the recruitment of several newly qualified teachers from the United Kingdom and, with the recent increase of their emoluments to match those of colleagues in Stanley, there is some possibility of fulfilling the wish for professionally qualified Camp staff expressed by A.R. Hoare in his address to the Advisory Committee in 1930. (182)

The additional problem of professional isolation, common to both itinerant and settlement teachers, has been reduced by annual seminars at which ideas and experiences can be exchanged with colleagues from the Camp and Stanley. The first gathering, held in 1967 with much official approbation (183), was attended by eight salaried teachers joined by three newly arrived and quite inexperienced British volunteers (184) but, perhaps because of a misunderstanding of Bell's comment that:

"temperament is even more important than training" (185)

in Camp teachers, the seminars did not appear to engender any great increase in their efficiency, leading a later observer to opine that:

"No serious thought seems to have been given to their training and consequently many think back to their own schooldays as their source of inspiration." (186)

There were attempts to promote greater professional cohesion amongst Camp teachers, and to standardise the curriculum (187) in order to provide greater continuity for pupils whose parents moved from one farm to another (188), but there was little enrichment, causing one adviser to note that:

"The pressure on all teachers at settlement schools is to induce them to concentrate on basic book learning" (189)

which resulted in:

"a somewhat arid educational diet." (190)

All this was nonetheless more than had previously been offered to many of the pupils, and their teachers have continued to attend seminars embracing contributions on a variety of subjects from specialist teachers in Stanley and visiting British lecturers. (191)

The seminars were often held at the Darwin Boarding School which continued to function in spite of frequent shortages of domestic staff (192), mutual lack of confidence amongst the

teachers (193), problems of water supply (194), the prevalence of enteric disease (195), and the disapproval of one Governor who remarked that the school was:

"a very expensive operation for only thirty-nine boarders" (196)

and added that:

"the academic level is, to say the least, indifferent and most of the students return to the camp to become shepherds and maids, without any real qualifications." (197)

The education committee, when first asked by the same Governor to consider the future of the school, counselled no action for at least a year (198) whilst the Falkland Islands Company favoured centralising education in Stanley and were therefore not prepared to make any further contribution to the school. (199)

Bell subsequently noted that parents were divided on the issue of the school's proposed closure, many fearing that the alternative of:

"education in Stanley might well prove to be the first step towards emigration" (200)

and that their children would not be properly supervised in a Stanley hostel nor enjoy the same quality of after-school life. He also observed that:

"Behind this there appears to be a deeply rooted distrust of Stanley, of the intentions of Government and of any new and radical proposal." (201)

Bell's recommendation to centralise secondary education in Stanley by closing the Darwin school was echoed by a later adviser (202) and, in 1977, government decided to close it as soon as a hostel could be built in Stanley (203) to house the thirty-five boarders from nineteen farms. (204) From 1980 the school functioned as a day school, staffed by government teachers (205), for some thirty-three pupils from the nearby settlements. (206) This number has since fallen but the school has acquired several pupils in distant locations for tuition by radio (see below p.294).

To promote more effective co-ordination of the changing provision of schooling in the Camp, the post of supervisor was restored in 1978 (207) with an initial proposal that the holder be based in Darwin (208), but this was soon superseded by location in Stanley for the achievement of closer integration between all sections of the education department. (209) The supervisor's office and a radio school have since been sited close to the primary school in Stanley, sharing common resources, and the enlarged and more highly qualified Camp teaching staff, acquired since 1982, has moved one superintendent to observe that:

"an ironic result of the Argentine Invasion
is a much strengthened Camp Education." (210)

This increase in resources was to prove particularly useful in view of the problems posed by the sub-division of large farms. Difficulties arose at the first farm to be broken up when the schoolroom and teacher's flat disappeared with the removal of a farm building (211)

and, at another station, only one family chose to remain in the original settlement following sub-division (212), thus giving the education department the task of schooling pupils at three additional locations. The new landowners have clearly preferred:

"to live on their own homesteads in the
middle of their land" (213),

actions with some pastoral advantage but almost none for the schooling of their children.

Distance Education and Technical Innovation

In addition to measures for the concentration of pupils from widely scattered settlements and houses, there have also been attempts to support and extend the work of the Camp teachers with supplementary systems for the delivery of the curriculum. The first of these was the proposal to introduce schooling by correspondence, rejected more in the past than once but later used successfully by a mother who had brought material from her native New Zealand, although an adviser opined that:

"the normal camp home could not cope" (214)

with such work. This continuing constraint has stemmed not so much from the strong New Zealand orientation of the material but from a history of poor educational provision and, until recently, a lack of significant economic opportunity in the Camp for non-elite personnel, resulting in some indifference to schooling and a significant degree of functional illiteracy.

A few years later, and with greater optimism than the adviser, the education committee recommended seeking aid from the long-established New Zealand Correspondence School with a view to introducing the system in the Colony. (215) In the meantime a crude form of correspondence education was forced upon the education department when, as a result of the 1982 invasion, large numbers of Camp pupils were unable to return to school in Stanley but, in a four month period, only a small proportion of pupils returned their work for assessment. (216)

Despite this apparent lack of success, another adviser recommended that the New Zealand link be pursued (217), not in order to totally replace existing provision but as:

"essential back-up material for other methods." (218)

He also warned that correspondence education was:

"predicated on a fast and efficient postal service" (219),

but the absence of this, through its consequences for pupil motivation, was eventually to make:

"the scheme unsuitable for adoption" (220)

in the Colony, although some New Zealand material was put to use.

A completely new development began in 1973 when Bell recommended the use of audio cassettes in Camp education. (221) The department was advised:

"to prepare a complete programme of tapes covering all ability ranges in all subjects together with work-sheets or work-books to go with them." (222)

It was claimed that such a scheme would increase the amount of work done by pupils, reduce parental stress, ease the teacher's task, and facilitate an appropriate and relevant curriculum for all pupils. (223) The number of Camp teachers could also be reduced at a later stage but Bell warned that he did:

"not think it would be possible to cover the first stages of reading, writing and number by means of taped programmes." (224)

A specialist from the United Kingdom was recruited for the task of preparing the tapes (225) which, slowed by a:

"lack of equipment and studio facilities" (226),

was not completed until 1978. (227) Although a parent complained that a:

"cassette contained just stories and no lessons" (228),

and an adviser did not consider the programme to:

"be the long term solution to the problem of providing adequate schooling for the children of camp families" (229),

the tapes continued in use until overtaken by developments in other fields. One of these changes was the growing popularity of imported video tapes, viewed primarily for entertainment but with educational possibilities, which led the department to seek expert advice in the United Kingdom. (230) As a result, a British training college began to record appropriate material from educational television and to despatch it to the Colony on a regular basis.

The greatest change has taken place in the area of educational broadcasting which, suffering from technical problems and a content described by one critic as:

"pitched far too high to have any meaningful purpose for Camp education" (231),

had continued into the 1970s on the one-way basis first adopted in 1944. (232) A proposal in 1970 for:

"Broadcast lessons direct to children by their teacher with immediate follow up by correspondence" (233)

indicated the department's awareness of a need for change but there was no action until 1979 when a teacher, who had already exploited the radio-telephone service for limited educational communications (234), began experiments in two-way VHF broadcasting. (235)

By early 1982, the superintendent was looking to the employment of suitably qualified travelling teachers, able to use VHF transceivers for daily calls to their pupils, in place of the uncertificated personnel who:

"lacked the confidence to work publicly in this manner." (236)

After the conflict this proposal was enlarged to include a radio school run on Australian lines (237), and made possible because:

"nearly every household in Camp has its own V.H.F. transceiver" (238)

and because the Falkland Islands Appeal was willing to supply equipment for use in the settlement schools. (239) Doubts expressed about:

"Campers' willingness to allow their sets to be used for this purpose" (240)

were rapidly dispelled when broadcasting began and, although some parents were at first anxious about their children's use of the equipment (241), all but the youngest pupils soon acquired the skills needed for daily communication either with their travelling teachers or with one of the three radio schools, staffed by government, at Fox Bay, Goose Green and Stanley.

The three schools were necessitated by the limited range of the equipment used, a difficulty recognised at an early stage when funding was sought for a repeater to amplify signals and thus relay

them over greater distances. (242) The request came at a time when the future of electronic communications in the Colony was under close scrutiny and a repeater solely for educational use (243) and a reserved channel for the department were considered inadvisable. (244) It thus remained impossible for the supervisor in Stanley to speak regularly and directly to pupils and teachers on West Falkland but, in 1986, the installation of a repeater on Pebble Island finally facilitated:

"a quantum leap in our capacity to talk directly to children and teachers in Camp." (245)

Some Political Aspects of Educational Change

The provision of schooling was frequently subject to criticism by senior officials and other influential figures, particularly landowners and farm managers, but it was not until 1967 that the inception of the education committee of the legislature allowed a degree of popular, formal representation in the making of educational policy. In the same year, the actions of the colonial secretary in requiring the superintendent to make a specific number of annual Camp visits (246) and to depute a suitable assistant for the work (247) were reminders of the subordinate position of a head of department in the colonial hierarchy, and they were reinforced by remarks to the legislature in which the same official claimed that:

"The driving force provided by the (Education) Committee and the fact that the Superintendent of Education knows that he can seek and receive positive guidance from this house has (sic) done much good." (248)

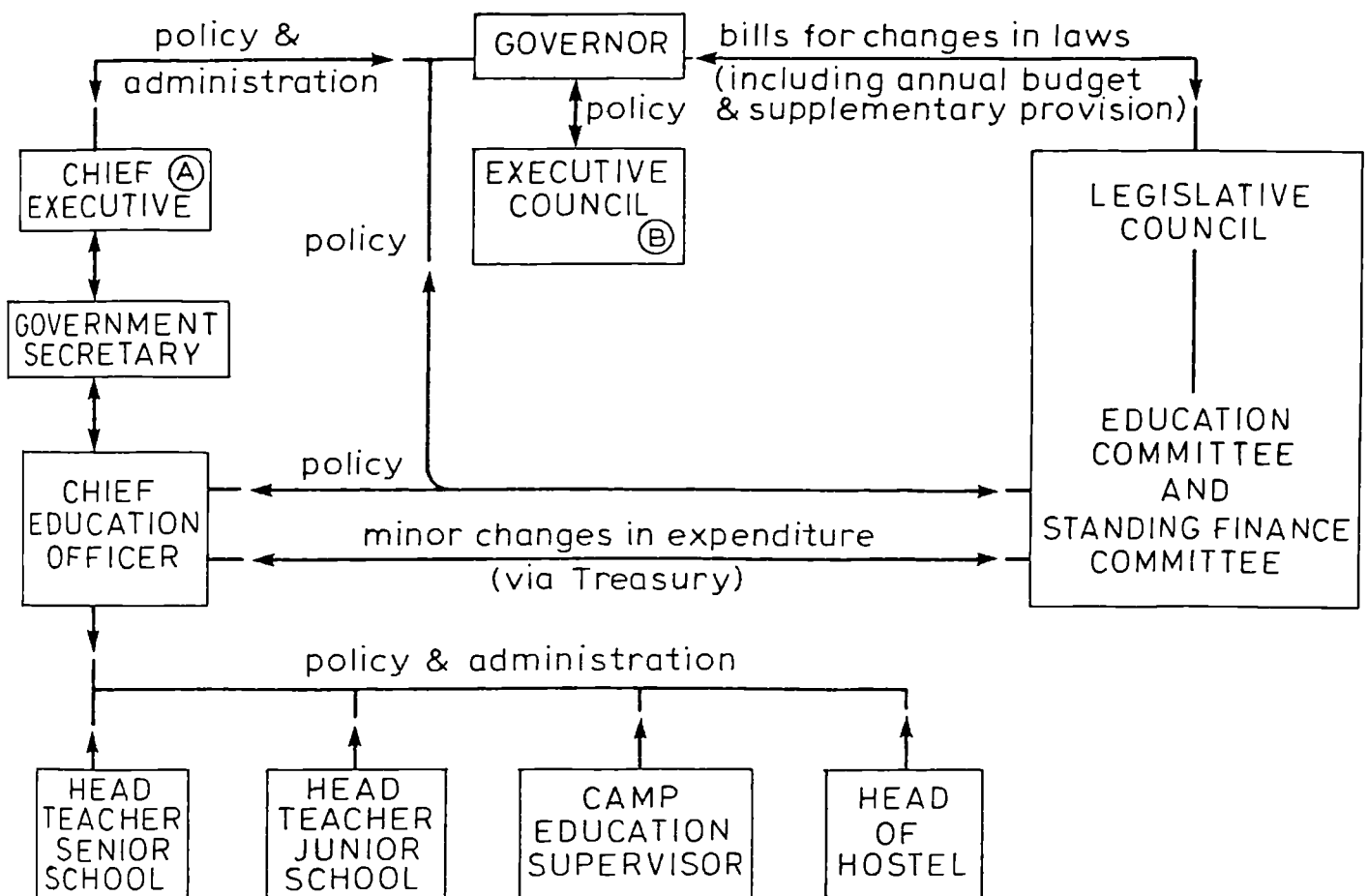
The committee had certainly supported the superintendent in recommending the withdrawal of subsidy to a Camp school when the teacher became unable to continue with her duties (249), and in advising the intervention of the manager at a farm which had become unacceptably inhospitable to its teacher. (250) The committee's more important role of giving advice on policy was clearly illustrated when it agreed to the trial of shorter and more frequent visits by travelling teachers. (251) Following the committee's recommendation, the superintendent indicated his concurrence and, through the colonial secretary, requested the approval of the executive council. This was granted (252) and the council in turn asked the standing finance committee of the legislature to vote the necessary additional funds. In this particular case the monies were made available (253) but the committee could have denied supply had it so wished. These relationships between the organs of government are summarised in Fig.5 below.

As the major policy-making body, the executive council could activate educational change on its own initiative and in 1970 it stated that:

"it was evident that consideration would need to be given to improving teaching arrangements both in Stanley and the Camp, while at the same time keeping overall expenditure on education to its present limit." (254)

Several suggestions were made which the superintendent was to study and then render his opinion (255) and, although the colonial secretary

Fig. 5 Political and Administrative Relationships in the Falkland Islands Education System



A. Formerly Chief Secretary & before that, Colonial Secretary.

B. The Executive Council is composed of a minority of officials, including the Chief Executive, & a majority of members selected by and from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Council

expressed himself "disappointed" (256) with the response, the council authorised a recommended redeployment of staff which had secured the support of the education committee. (257)

The executive council also assumed a role in the question of denominational religious education when, in the absence of qualified teachers, it directed that the subject:

"be replaced on the curriculum of both Stanley Schools with immediate effect." (258)

When the superintendent protested he was reminded that, had he obtained the support of the education committee in the first instance:

"no problem would have arisen." (259)

On another occasion, the department protested on stronger grounds when complaining that a broadcast had stated the council's view that education in the Camp was:

"inadequately and very poorly organised." (260)

There had been no consultation with the department, according to the superintendent who was anxious for:

"specific changes to discover where the faults, if any, lie." (261)

In addition to considering such matters as the future of the boarding school at Darwin (262), the education committee also become involved

in more controversial matters, in particular a request from two Colony-born teachers, professionally qualified and resident in the United Kingdom, for assistance from government towards the cost of their return passages to the islands. After an initial refusal, the superintendent was able to report the grant of the necessary funds following the "immediate and vigorous action" (263) of the new education committee.

Bell's proposal that teachers and parents be co-opted by the committee on appropriate occasions (264) has been followed but a further recommendation that the superintendent act as clerk to the committee was not adopted for some time (265), the clerk of councils continuing in that role (266), although now succeeded by the head of department. The committee itself has rendered advice to the Governor and executive council for some twenty years, during which time it has chosen to support most of the department's proposals, but its course has not always been smooth, particularly when one governor considered that a vigorous committee, led by a chairman who was a qualified teacher, might be in danger of failing to keep its:

"deliberations within the proper constitutional bounds." (267)

The same body had difficulties when the chairman and superintendent disagreed over the latter's interpretation of some of the committee's recommendations (268), the chairman alleging that:

"you have washed your hands of the Education
Committee" (269)

but, in spite of such occasional misunderstandings, it remains the
only forum at which professional, official, parental and other
educational opinions are regularly brought together.

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- (214) ED 'Visit by
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- (215) ED 2/P Minute 8.1 of Education Committee
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CHAPTER EIGHTAN IMPERIAL PERSPECTIVE

In the hope that the processes of educational change in the Falkland Islands can be illuminated by a:

"desire to compare notes on educational matters and to benefit by the educational experience of other parts of the Empire where similar difficulties have been encountered" (1),

this chapter will examine further the influence of certain metropolitan ideas and practices in the Colony's education system and will also compare its development with provision in Australia and New Zealand from the period of early European settlement, and with particular reference to sparsely-populated regions.

The free settlement (2) of the colonies which were to become modern Australia began in the early nineteenth century, with New Zealand and the Falkland Islands following in the 1840s. The early settlers in all three of these regions were almost entirely of British origin (3) although not wholly representative of those they had left behind (4) for:

"Colonists are never merely a cross-section of the society of the homeland. Those in the homeland who are quite satisfied with their lot have no motive for emigrating; those who are more or less defeated by life are incapable of making the necessary effort." (5)

The people who did choose to migrate to the new countries took with them a range of opinion in regard to formal education which reflected contemporary views in the United Kingdom, with elite groups generally favouring differential provision for their own children and those of lesser rank. Schooling was also to be voluntary, although pressure for compulsion was to grow as the century progressed (6), and the children of the lower orders were to receive only an elementary education lest they acquire:

"ideas beyond their station in life" (7)

and thus threaten the dominance of the elite colonists, who were also concerned to exert effective social control (8) for:

"There was a very rough side to life in the colony, and the spectacle of wild and disorderly behaviour among young people strengthened the notion that schooling for all was a necessary form of social insurance." (9)

At the same time, there were those among the lower orders who displayed little enthusiasm for schooling, and they included:

"a considerable section that was hostile or indifferent to the whole idea of education for its children" (10),

for their labour was frequently needed by pioneer parents who:

"had often received little if any schooling themselves" (11)

and whose:

"whole experience had encouraged an intensively practical outlook that saw small value in 'book learning'" (12);

for all potential employees the high demand for labour in the growing colonial economy made it:

"easy to obtain work without much education." (13A)

In this respect, the Falkland Islands showed marked similarity to the Australasian experience (13B) and there were also parallels in the attitudes of elite settlers (13C) and not least in those problems, arising from religious denominationalism in the provision of schooling, which form the subject of the next section of this chapter.

Religious Difficulties

The new colonists also:

"brought with them the prevailing British view that the provision of elementary education for children of the 'lower' classes was of little concern to the government but was rather a matter for the Church or for philanthropic or private initiative" (14)

and, in the early stages, virtually all formal education was provided by the various religious bodies, subsidised from government funds in some colonies but not in others. (15)

In consequence, the distribution of schools in the Australasian colonies tended to reflect the concentration of adherents of the

different denominations, and of their ability to raise funds for school buildings and equipment and for the remuneration of teachers. Such a system inevitably led to an:

"excessive multiplication of schools and teachers" (16)

in these larger territories, with a:

"wasteful overlapping of effort" (17)

in some locations and a paucity or absence of provision elsewhere, especially in rural areas. (18) At the same time, denominational provision satisfied the wishes of many parents and clergy in regard to the religious dimension of schooling, a matter on which a wide variety of opinions was often firmly held.

A useful classification of the various Australian views of the relationship between schooling and religion in the nineteenth century, has been given by Maclaine (19), who distinguishes four major categories:

- i) total denominationalists, favouring denominational schools which taught the doctrine of a specific church;
- ii) 'common Christianity' denominationalists, favouring denominational schools with non-secretarian religious instruction;
- iii) 'common Christianity' secularists, favouring public schools with non-sectarian religious instruction;

iv) total secularists, favouring public schools with no form of religious instruction; a similar range of views was found in the metropole and in other southern colonies. (20)

For as long as the churches were able to finance schooling with little or no government assistance, the total denominationalists remained a major force in education but the need for additional funding from the state, and for concomitant compliance with conditions which reflected contemporary political opinion, frequently led to 'common Christianity' compromises. Later, towards the end of the century, the influence of the total secularists grew stronger both in the New Zealand and Australian colonies, and in the Falkland Islands.

In New South Wales, the earliest of these colonies to be settled:

"the Church of England had a special perogative where public education was concerned" (21)

and the teachers, like their counterparts in the Falkland Islands:

"came under the superintendence of the Church of England chaplain although the latter's powers to initiate schemes in education were limited by his subordination to a naval governor." (22)

By 1826 there was a proposal to extend this perogative to a virtual monopoly, through the creation of an Anglican corporation for the

provision of elementary schooling, but very strong opposition from other religious bodies precluded such development. (23) This led Governor Bourke to propose, in 1836, the adoption of the national school system of Ireland where:

"a compromise on the religious question had been reached whereby the elementary schools gave non-denominational religious instruction for which a book of Scripture Abstracts was prepared, but free use of the Bible was prohibited." (24)

In addition, the system provided for the separate doctrinal instruction of the children of the different denominations.

This proposed adoption of the Irish compromise in New South Wales met with initial Roman Catholic approval but the Anglican clergy took the opposite view, and there followed in consequence a long period of mutual sectarian suspicion which was reinforced by social division for:

"The upper-class Protestant landowners feared that the Irish National system would enable the lower classes, who were mainly of convict, Irish and Roman Catholic origin, to rise in the world." (25)

In the Falkland Islands, where social divisions were based on class, but were not reinforced by religion or nationality, and where the small population of Stanley and its relative poverty would have rendered almost impossible the provision of separate denominational

schools, a religious compromise initially found greater favour. (26)

The Regulations of 1860 made clear that the government school was:

"to embrace all children without distinction
of religion" (27A)

and gave parents the right to withdraw them altogether from Bible reading and religious instruction, but the proselytizing tendencies of the Anglican colonial chaplains, who were ex officio inspectors of the school, confounded the intention of the Regulations and even precipitated a temporary halt to Scripture reading in the school. (27B)

In the meantime, the Australian and New Zealand colonies attempted to bring some order to the irregular distribution of schools which had resulted from unfettered denominational provision. The Australian colonies saw the growth of public schools and the imposition upon church schools of stricter conditions for grants-in-aid. (28) These varied from state to state but included a minimum roll, a minimum distance from the nearest public school and various stipulations in regard to religious instruction. (29) By the end of the 1860s, most Australian Presbyterians and nonconformists were prepared to accept non-sectarian religious teaching in church schools, but the Roman Catholics feared for the future of their denominational schools and now objected to non-sectarian religious instruction as a matter of principle. (30) In consequence, when the 'secular' Education Acts were passed from the 1870s onwards and withdrew public funding from church schools (31), the Protestant institutions were largely abandoned to the state whilst the Roman Catholics continued with their own unaided provision.

In parallel with the Australian colonies, arrangements for the provision and regulation of schooling in New Zealand varied between the provinces but from the 1850s:

"there was a general movement from church control to public control of schooling" (32)

which included restrictions upon religious instruction in the public schools and a reduction of grants to denominational institutions in spite of objections from both Roman Catholics and Anglicans. (33) Following the abolition of the provincial administrations in 1876, an act to provide for free, secular and compulsory schooling became the basis of a national system of education in New Zealand (34) and paralleled similar provision in each of the Australian colonies. (35A)

In the Falkland Islands there was a trend towards denominational provision for, despite the compromise embodied in the 1860 regulations and the right of clerical access for denominational instruction contained in the regulations of 1888 (35B), the arrival in the late nineteenth century of two Salesian priests and a Baptist minister resulted in the opening of denominational schools (36A); at one time four schools served a total Stanley population of less than seven hundred. Clearly, there was continued suspicion of Anglican motives (36B) and some parents may have been less than satisfied with the curriculum of the government school although there appears to be no evidence to support such a view until the 1907 report. (36C) Others may have wished their daughters to benefit from what they perceived to be a more suitable regime, for the Roman Catholic school always had a preponderance of female pupils,

many of them Protestant, especially after the arrival of the sisters of a teaching order shortly before the first world war. (37)

Concurrent with the establishment in Stanley of the church schools, which received government grants-in-aid, there was a move towards secularism in the government school where religious instruction was abolished in 1895 (38A), public opinion remaining in favour of this move when it was later contested by the Anglican clergy. (38B) Voluntary morning prayer, in an agreed form, continued (39A) but there was to be no further study of the Scriptures in the government school until Governor Hodson requested its restoration in 1927 (39B), on a non-sectarian basis which met with no significant opposition. (39C) After the second world war and the closing of the Roman Catholic school:

"an arrangement is in force whereby the clergy take children of their own denominations once a week; attendance at these classes is on a voluntary basis, dependent on the parents' wishes" (40);

the Irish compromise thus continued to be acceptable one hundred and twenty years after its first inception and, although formal religious instruction has all but disappeared from the curriculum, the clergy continue to visit the Colony's schools.

Unlike the Falkland Islands, the great majority of the Australasian colonies had abolished state grants to denominational schools with the passage of acts for compulsory schooling, but

extra-curricular sectarian instruction was permitted in Australian public schools and provision was also made, in the acts or at a later date, for non-dogmatic teaching during school hours. (41)

In New Zealand no such compromise proved acceptable and the act of 1877 resulted in totally secular public schools (42) where education was to be free and compulsory.

All of these late nineteenth century acts gave legislative form to the growing consciousness of a need for universal education, both for the acquisition of useful skills and knowledge, and as an instrument of social control. In this context it was clear that a purely denominational provision of schooling was unable to cater for all potential pupils and thus:

"In a sense, the movement towards secularism was an incident in the movement towards universal education" (43),

for:

"In a colony of small and often struggling communities, in which several sects were represented, each of equal standing before the law and each anxious to extend its influence, complete secularism - or a close approximation to it - was the price that had to be paid for economical and efficient organisation of schooling." (44)

Whilst some religious bodies would continue to regard such cost as unacceptably high, the strong central direction of education in the individual Australian states and in New Zealand, which resulted

from the weakening of Church control and the absence or demise of local government (45), was to be an important element in the provision of schooling for those children who lived in remote and sparsely-populated areas.

Schooling in Sparsely-populated Areas

During the nineteenth century, the populations of the southern colonies increased and began to move into new territories, including peripheral regions suitable only for extensive pastoralism: the Camp of the Falkland Islands, the High Country of southern New Zealand, and the interior of Australia. (46) These areas have since become characterised by small pastoral settlements, each with very few inhabitants and separated from others by distances of some ten to one hundred kilometres or more; there are also a few larger centres. (47)

The poor roads and tracks in these areas result in slow travel and most settlements are at least one day's return journey from the nearest rural town, although small aeroplanes have facilitated improved access to many remote locations in Australia and the Falkland Islands. Mail services to such settlements are often at only weekly intervals, or are non-existent, and a radio or telephone is therefore essential for urgent verbal contact with the outside world. These problems of communication are often exacerbated by spatial and topographical features for, in the Falkland Islands, there are not only isolated settlements on the two main islands but there are

others on small islands which are even more remote (see Fig.2) whilst, in the New Zealand High Country:

"the maintenance of roads across constantly moving fans of shingle and the bridging of erratic, braided river channels present formidable problems." (48)

With the exception of tutors and governesses employed by the wealthier pastoralists, there was at first little in the way of formal education in these remote and sparsely-populated areas, and the passage of bills for compulsory schooling failed to promote greatly increased rolls in such regions for, in parallel with the Forster Act, attendance was not enforced upon children who lived more than a certain distance from the nearest school. (49) The initial consequences were thus not dissimilar to experience in England and Wales of which Warner has observed:

"Rural education seems at once to have been a struggle and a compromise between those who wished for the provision of facilities for their children at a reasonable travelling distance from their home and the difficulty of enforcing educational provision on parents who were remote from the nearest school" (50);

the greater distances between so many colonial settlements, in comparison with the metropole, greatly exacerbated these problems in the new countries.

In addition to the difficulties which ensued from the sparse distribution of the potential school population and which were

sometimes compounded by climate and negative parental attitudes (51), political and economic factors also influenced the development of schooling in remote areas where:

"Providing a school in every tiny settlement, and in new settlements as the country was opened up, was an immense task, especially in the districts that had been educationally backward, and it could not be completed all at once." (52)

In this context, the reluctance of local school boards in New Zealand to surrender their powers to the national government did little to remove disparities of provision following the passage of the 1877 act (53), although the later growth of central authority was to facilitate a more equitable distribution of educational opportunity.

The Australian states also had problems of rural provision but:

"local government was relatively undeveloped at the time the educational pattern was established" (54)

and the state governments therefore acquired control of public schooling at an early stage. As a result, from the beginning of the twentieth century:

"The meeting of all educational costs from State finances has ensured a more even spread of facilities than could be achieved in any other way. The child living in an isolated or undeveloped district is not educationally handicapped as he commonly is (55A) in countries with decentralized control."

This has not proved to be the case in the Falkland Islands where the passage of the 1889 ordinance initially led to increased disparity between the Camp and Stanley for, until the recruitment of the first travelling teachers, only the few Camp pupils attending the Darwin school or enjoying private tuition received any formal education at all, whilst the parents of their peers in Stanley could no longer exercise a choice in the matter. (55B) Various attempts have been made since to redress this imbalance in provision but the Colony has by no means matched the Australasian achievement in rural education; possible reasons for this are discussed below.

In contrast to the Falkland Islands, the introduction of compulsory schooling in Australia and New Zealand was followed, although not immediately, by the building of new rural schools at centres with no previous provision but with sufficient children living within the prescribed radius. In many of these locations, there has recently been much consolidation of rural schooling as a consequence of depopulation and improved communications, but small schools with one teacher continue to form an important element in Australasian provision. (56) Such institutions tend to suffer certain disadvantages, particularly the relatively restricted scale of their resources, including young and inexperienced staff, and the problems of managing a wide range of age and ability (57), but young children living in their vicinity can at least receive full-time schooling in the company of others. This experience is frequently denied to their peers who live in very sparsely-populated areas unless they are considered old enough to leave home and attend distant schools.

Hostels and other boarding accommodation have been provided in all three countries to encourage the attendance of children from sparsely-populated areas, especially those of secondary age, at schools located in or near larger centres. Various combinations of boarding and transport subsidies and allowances have been offered as additional incentives (58) and, in earlier periods characterised by competitive entry to a limited number of secondary school places, there was also positive discrimination in favour of rural candidates, although this did not necessarily result in their increased uptake of secondary education. (59) Enhanced rural provision and schemes for advanced study through distance education have since tended to lessen the demand for hostel places in some Australasian regions (60) but in the Falkland Islands the only path to regular secondary schooling now requires term-time residence in Stanley with kin or at the school hostel (see p.262). This need to send children to the urban environment of Stanley, consequent upon the closure of the Darwin boarding school, has given rise to greater parental anxiety than was the case when Camp children were schooled in more familiar surroundings. (61)

Even when boarding facilities are provided not all children can readily enjoy access to conventional schooling and, with regard to the consequent:

"small, but significant, group of children living in areas too remote to make regular school attendance possible" (62),

the compulsory education acts had authorised various forms of provision

alternative to the regular school housed in permanent buildings. They included: provisional schools located in temporary accommodation but with a trained teacher; half-time schools where a teacher gave the equivalent of three days instruction per week at each of two institutions; subsidised schools in which government paid a contribution to the salary of a teacher, not necessarily trained but often with prescribed minimum academic qualifications, who was retained by parents or their employer to teach a number of pupils too low to qualify for a government teacher; and itinerant teachers (63) recruited in accordance with the policy that:

"if the child cannot come to the teacher,
the teacher goes to the child", (64)

Some provisional and subsidised schools continue to exist in Australia (65) and New Zealand (66A), and in the Falkland Islands where the settlement schools form an important part of Camp provision. (66B) Travelling teachers have also been employed in all of these countries but their achievements have been limited by the infrequency of their visits (67) and some lack of parental support although there were efforts to overcome this problem in Queensland where:

"An elder brother or sister is encouraged to help the little ones; the mother, as a rule, has scanty time to do so owing to her manifold domestic and maternal duties", (68)

Regular instruction by itinerant teachers now survives only in the Falkland Islands for, in the Australasian territories, the development

of correspondence education has rendered their original role redundant. (69)

Correspondence education for children of school age was introduced in Victoria in 1914 and soon spread to other Australian states (70) and to New Zealand where the national correspondence school opened in 1922. (71) The system is not without drawbacks for:

"In the correspondence setting, it is clear that the range of offerings is constrained by the limitations of the communications media" (72),

but it nonetheless facilitates the schooling of children who would have no alternative opportunity, and it also extends the otherwise restricted curricular offerings of small subsidised and regular schools. (73)

In the case of isolated pupils working at home with a mother or governess:

"The success of this form of tuition, particularly with younger children, depends to a large extent on the home supervisor" (74)

whose:

"educational level.....would clearly affect the quality of the support provided". (75)

At some locations in Queensland:

"home supervisors were for practical purposes illiterate" (76)

and their consequent difficulty in assisting pupils is paralleled by experience in the Falkland Islands (77), but most mothers able to act as effective supervisors appear to enjoy the work, in spite of occasional conflict with their other roles (78), and their efforts are supported by written and broadcast materials, attendance at appropriate seminars, visits from itinerant advisory teachers, and through radio or telephone links. (79)

Correspondence education has been considered as largely successful in both Australia and New Zealand for:

"Many pupils gaining an education by means of the 'School in the Mailbox' have done as well as children in ordinary schools, and some have been conspicuously successful despite their isolated position" (80),

but this mode of schooling:

"obviously lacked any first-hand personal relationship between teacher and child" (81)

and, in addition:

"long delays in returning corrected lessons - delays which could not be avoided due to postal difficulties and sheer distance - were often discouraging to both teacher and pupil." (82)

In the Falkland Islands, which had not adopted correspondence education, a similar problem arose from the relatively long intervals between the visits of itinerant teachers and was not infrequently exacerbated by a lack of parental support, although a seminar for the mothers of young school age children in 1978 appeared to promote more positive attitudes. (83)

Some amelioration of these difficulties has been made possible by the development for educational purposes of two-way systems of verbal communication, in the form of a telephone 'lifeline' in New Zealand (84) and the utilisation of the radio networks of the flying doctor service in 'schools of the air' for isolated pupils in Australia. (85A) In the Falkland Islands the radio-telephone service was not suitable for educational work and it was not until the advent of privately owned VHF transceivers that regular verbal communication became possible between teachers and distant pupils. (85B)

The first Australian school of the air opened at Alice Springs in 1951 (86) and there are now thirteen such facilities in five states:

"operating from outback centres to supplement the work of the correspondence schools." (87)

In Queensland and in Western Australia over half of the resident pupils enrolled in the state primary correspondence schools are also enrolled in schools of the air (88) and, at some locations, primary pupils receive both correspondence and radio lessons from the same centre.

Air time is divided between periods for correspondence school lessons and opportunities to practise oral and aural skills (89), with the school of the air providing group experiences to complement the individual approach of the correspondence lessons. (90) The pupil benefits from this radio tuition in that:

"it extends his potential learning time, and provides resources beyond those provided by the Primary Correspondence School alone" (91),

and there is also provision for the training of home supervisors and for short-term residential courses and camps for pupils. (92)

Not all outback families possess the two-way radio necessary for access to a school of the air and those who do may, like their Falkland Islands counterparts, have reception problems varying from the almost insuperable effects of terrain and season to the more readily managed difficulty of a misaligned aerial. (93) In addition, although the teacher is able to receive all of the pupils in a class, those in peripheral locations may not be able to hear all of their peers, thus necessitating repetition by the teacher. (94) Despite such constraints, class contact times of thirty minutes per day are possible although:

"Pupil contact on an individual basis is considerably less". (95)

In the Falkland Islands, the small number of isolated pupils in any given age group and the restricted range of VHF transceivers have resulted in rather less emphasis on class work and more contact time,

on an individual basis, with either the radio teacher or the pupil's itinerant teacher.

This additional medium of radio appears to increase the effectiveness of distant schooling, for enrolment in the schools of the air in Queensland is associated with a higher rate of completion of correspondence lessons than that shown by pupils pursuing correspondence courses alone ⁽⁹⁶⁾, although it is not clear to what extent this is a reflection of the attitudes and abilities of the parents who choose to enrol their children and of the work of the schools of the air themselves. Experience in the Falkland Islands suggests that both factors play a significant role in the motivation of isolated pupils; the radio teacher is able to give encouragement with greater frequency and spontaneity than would be the case with only a travelling or correspondence teacher, and appropriate parental support is clearly more effective than indifference.

Despite the difficulties arising from those parents and pupils with low expectations and from the technical features of the media employed, distance education in all three countries attempts to provide equality of opportunity with their urban peers for at least the younger isolated pupils. Such a measure satisfies the wishes of parents and facilitates pupil transfer to regular schooling for, although the distant curriculum cannot be identical to the offerings of urban schools or even to that of a one teacher rural school, it is possible to provide a closely related alternative which, like other schemes, can be modified in accordance with changes in pupil needs and developments elsewhere.

The Changing Curriculum

During the later nineteenth century, elementary schooling in the southern colonies reflected contemporary metropolitan practice (97) often to the extent that it:

"reproduced all too faithfully many of the unsatisfactory features of its English prototype". (98)

In particular, the great emphasis placed upon 'the three R's', with the object of inculcating in pupils at least minimal literacy and numeracy:

"had the effect of exalting skill in the transmission of knowledge as the most necessary and desirable attribute of the teaching process". (99)

Concomitant with this narrow pedagogy and a "bookish and abstract" (100) curriculum, a:

"rigid system of inspection and examination narrowed the scope of the teaching, restricted experiment and progress, and in a great measure stultified educational thought and discussion". (101)

Much of this inertia stemmed from the colonial adoption of the Revised Code of 1862 as a model for the provision of elementary schooling in the belief that such:

"measures seemed the only answer to the problem of achieving effective instruction in the hands of poorly qualified teachers in remote schools." (102)

Even in the Falkland Islands, where the government schoolmaster was not paid according to the results of his pupils and, far from being remote, was subject to almost daily inspection, the curriculum showed similar characteristics to those of the metropole and the other southern colonies, including a close executive control. (103)

Towards the end of the century, in the Australasian territories, there were calls for the reform of such curricula, occasioned by a discontent felt in both metropole and colonies. This task was eventually essayed by the professional directors of education, who were appointed at this time (105) and, despite the problems of limited resources, large classes and the reactionary tendencies of teachers:

"blindly loyal to stereotyped systems
through which they themselves had risen" (106),

the new administrators had some success in reducing the element of rote learning in the curriculum and in enlarging it with new areas such as civics and nature study. (107A) The Falkland Islands were to experience similar change but had to wait for the visit of H.M. Richards in 1906 before any action could be initiated. (107B)

A few years previously, Sadler had drawn attention to another curricular problem when he noted the unease caused by the:

"divorce between school studies and the
practical interests of daily life" (108)

but noted that this tendency was countered by:

"a vigorous movement in favour of the introduction of manual training and of simple forms of technical education into primary schools." (109)

In consequence, colonial curricula soon embodied provision for art and crafts (110) and although:

"There was a tendency at first to expect too much from the new idea, as regards its developing general intelligence.....the main object, that of bringing children into contact with tangible realities and engaging them in constructive exercises and systematic purposive handling of material things, was kept in the forefront of the work." (111A)

After Richards' visit, the Falkland Islands also began to share in these developments as hygiene, general science, mechanical drawing, woodwork, cookery and gardening found places in the curriculum of the government school (111B) and, in addition to these and other new subjects and to changes in the content of existing areas, physical education and games also assumed greater importance. The curriculum thus evolved from a vehicle for imparting basic literacy and numeracy into an agency intended to contribute to a much wider spectrum of pupil development. (112)

In each of the Australian states and in New Zealand, this broader curriculum was centrally prescribed for all pupils in the public schools and little local differentiation has been permitted, with the exception of schools in rural areas. Here, there have been attempts to correlate the content of the curriculum with local conditions in a manner similar to that essayed in the metropole where:

"As a general rule, the 'agricultural bias' which has been given to instruction in rural elementary schools has not taken the form of vocational training" (113)

but:

"On the other hand, it has long been widely recognised that the environment should be freely drawn upon in order to lend reality to the teaching and to arouse interest in country life and pursuits." (114)

In consequence, British rural schools offered pupils a wide range of activities related to the immediate environment but relatively few offered "a definitely organised rural curriculum" (115) with a manifestly vocational basis for, as Mason has pointed out:

"Two assumptions underlie all ideas regarding education with a rural bias. The first is the belief that agricultural work is likely to be obtainable within the school area, and that pursuit of the occupation is desirable both for the individual and for the rural community. The second is implicit in the view that, by inculcating a love for the country and an abiding interest in rural life, by fixity of habit and ideals, the inducement may be strong enough to conserve rural community life." (116)

In spite of such provision the attractions of town life may prove stronger than rural ties, particularly if reinforced as a consequence of the consolidation of rural schooling in urban centres (117), and technological change may lead to a decrease in the demand for agricultural labour with the result that:

"the school cannot hope to arrest migration, and all efforts made through the medium of instruction in agriculture must fail. The work of the school must be directed towards a preparation for life, and not for farm labour" (118),

although it may include an optional course for the minority of pupils who choose to take up the available opportunities in agricultural employment. (119)

Parallel developments in Australia led to the encouragement of young farmers' clubs and of rural variations on the basic curriculum each of which had:

"some bias towards the particular agricultural pursuits of its locality" (120),

whilst in New Zealand the curriculum of the rural district high schools was to:

"have a bearing on the future life of the pupils" (121)

through the provision of agricultural courses. At first, this aim was not realised on any large scale and the schools maintained their academic character, but in 1930 an official report opined:

"that a fresh and definite orientation should be given to our educational curricula by the inclusion of agriculture as an integral (122) subject of instruction in all schools".

Every pupil would thus acquire knowledge of New Zealand's primary industry and those destined for agricultural employment were to receive Danish-inspired specialised training ⁽¹²³⁾ for a future made more promising by the government's efforts:

"both to promote closer settlement on lands already broken in and to bring into use hitherto undeveloped country". ⁽¹²⁴⁾

In the meantime, in the Falkland Islands, there had been no attempt to give any form of rural bias to the curriculum of the government school in Stanley or to the work of the settlement school in Darwin, and the pupils of the travelling teachers were limited to 'the three R's' on the infrequent occasions when they were fortunate enough to receive instruction. It was not until 1937 that the question of a rural curriculum arose with the proposal for a boarding school at Fox Bay and Governor Henniker Heaton, clearly anxious to arrest the drift of population to Stanley, pressed for a vocationally-biased rural curriculum in the hope that it would encourage pupils to remain on the land, a view strongly disputed by one of his officials who perceived the lack of opportunity which then confronted the majority of the rural young. ⁽¹²⁵⁾

A few years later, Governor Cardinall proposed a curriculum with a strong rural bias to meet "local rather than universal needs". ⁽¹²⁶⁾ Such a system was clearly designed to change the whole basis of Camp life and Cardinall realised that the existing system of land tenure and use would require substantial modification before his educational reforms could be effectively pursued. ⁽¹²⁷⁾ This point did not escape

the attention of the Colonial Office (128) and it was also highly unlikely that the landowners would have supported the conversion of their estates into replicas of Danish co-operative farms.

Proposals for a curriculum with a rural bias were revived in 1945 with new plans for a boarding school in the Camp (129) and received the support of most farmers, trade unionists and officials. (130) In consequence, the curriculum of the boarding school at Darwin included agricultural subjects taught by farm staff, some of whom had close personal ties with New Zealand. The course lapsed with the closure of the school, and subsequent efforts to introduce similar work at the senior school in Stanley have failed through lack of appropriate facilities and the antipathy of urban parents. (131) This lack of provision is unfortunate for, with an increasing number of large farms becoming sub-divided, there are now greater pastoral opportunities for non-elite Falkland Islanders than at any time since the middle of the nineteenth century.

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- (3) The term 'British' as used here includes the considerable number of both free settlers and, in Australia, convicts who had come from Ireland.
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- (5) ibid, p.10.
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- (7) Maclaine, A.G. (1974) Australian Education: Progress, Problems and Prospects Ian Novak, Sydney, p.20.
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- (10) ibid.

- (11) *ibid.*, pp.25-26.
- (12) *ibid.*, p.26.
- (13A) Barcan, Alan (1980) *op.cit.*, p.8.
- (13B) See pp.44-45
- (13C) See pp.37-38, 67-68
- (14) Maclaine, A.G. (1974) *op.cit.*, p.19.
- (15) *ibid.*, p.22.
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- (24) ibid., p.21.
- (25) Barcan, Alan (1980) op.cit., p.44.
- (26) See p.81 et seq.
- (27A) FIA/E4 Stanley Gazette Public Notice 2 ii 1860.
- (27B) See p.82
- (28) Maclaine, A.G. (1974) op.cit., p.24.
- (29) ibid., pp.24-25.
- (30) ibid., pp.26-27.
- (31) ibid., pp.27-28.
- (32) New Zealand National Commission for Unesco (1972) op.cit., p.13.
- (33) ibid., pp.14-16.

(34) ibid., pp.20-21.

(35) Maclaine, A.G. (1974) op.cit., p.27.

(35B) See p.87

(36A) See p.114

(36B) See pp.114-115

(36C) See pp.126-128

(37) The following data for school rolls in selected years illustrate this point:

Year	Government School		Roman Catholic School	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1910 ¹	87	74	29	67
1920 ²	69	47	18	45
1930 ³	100	64	20	40
1940 ⁴	112	74	5	48

1. Falkland Islands Gazette 1 vi 1911, p.101.
2. Falkland Islands Gazette 2 x 1922, pp.107-108.
3. Falkland Islands Gazette 1 vi 1931, pp.86 & 88.
4. Falkland Islands Gazette 1 ix 1941, pp.78-79.

(38A) FIA/Desp.No.12 of 1896 Goldsworthy to Chamberlain 28 i 1896.

(38B) See pp.118-120

- (39A) CS 520/22 Col.Sec. to McNicoll 28 vii 1922.
- (39B) See p.169
- (39C) See p.169
- (40) Falkland Islands Gazette 1 vi 1951,
p.121.
- (41) Maclaine, A.G. (1974) op.cit., p.27.
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There were some religious compromises in later years but the New Zealand "system remains basically secular": see *ibid*, p.24.
- (43) *ibid*, p.18.
- (44) *ibid*.
- (45) In Australia, local government was not well-established in many areas at the time of the compulsory education acts (see Australian National Co-operating Body for Education (1951) op.cit., p.102) and in New Zealand, the abolition of the provincial governments eventually opened the way for the central control of schooling (see New Zealand National Commission for Unesco (1972) op.cit., pp.20-21 and 25).
- (46) Sheep are the characteristic livestock of the Camp, the High Country, and the cooler and drier regions of the Australian interior. In the hotter and wetter savannah of northern Australia, sheep are replaced by cattle.

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- (55B) See p.102

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- (66B) See pp.279-280
- (67) Cole, Percival R. (ed.) (1955) op.cit., p.234 gives data for Queensland, in 1925 and 1930, which are similar to the Falkland Islands situation in the same period.
- (68) Quoted in Turney, C. (ed.) (1975) op.cit., p.265.
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- (76) ibid., p.50.
- (77) See pp.224-225 & 290-291
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- (80) Maclaine, A.G. (1966) op.cit., p.38.
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- (84) McVeagh, Hector E. (1981) op.cit., p.220.

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- (109) ibid.
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- (125) See pp.159-160
- (126) CS 119/41 'Policy of Education: Secondary Education': address by A.W. Cardinall 19 xii 1941.
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CHAPTER NINESCHOOLING IN A SMALL COUNTRY

Although showing a tendency to the tardy imitation of practice in other countries, educational provision in the Falkland Islands has nonetheless been much constrained by problems of both economy and demography and, in respect of the latter, it is clear from the data for the smallest Commonwealth states and dependent territories given in Table V below that the Falkland Islands have a very small population which is distributed at a much lower density than in any of the other territories listed. Such figures reflect the low productivity of the Colony's pastures, stemming from a combination of climatic constraint and a system of extensive pastoralism which, although providing a return to investors, has failed to promote stocking rates sufficiently high to support a growing Camp population. (1)

The Colony also displays the oceanic insularity characteristic of island states and which, in the case of the Falklands, is currently exacerbated by the lack of mutually acknowledged common interest with neighbouring countries and a consequent absence of regional co-operation. In these circumstances a continuing close relationship with the metropole remains an unavoidable necessity which, together with the geographical remoteness and small population of the Colony, has important implications for educational provision. The role of such factors in the development of educational systems in small countries has been the subject of detailed study by Brock (2)

Table V: Selected Data for the Smallest Countries of the Commonwealth

COUNTRY	STATUS	POPULATION	AREA km ²	POPULATION DENSITY ha/person	DISTANCE FROM METRO- POLITAN CAPITAL km**
Cook Is	Associated State (NZ)	17 400	234	1.3	3 000 (W)
Kyman Is	Dependency (UK)	19 000	259	1.4	8 000 (L)
British Virgin Is	Dependency (UK)	13 000	153	1.2	8 000 (L)
Montserrat	Dependency (UK)	13 000	102	0.8	8 000 (L)
Nauru	Independent	8 000	28	0.4	-
Tuvalu	Independent	8 000	21	0.3	-
Turks & Caicos Is	Dependency (UK)	8 000	499	6.2	8 000 (L)
Anguilla	Dependency (UK)	7 700	91	1.2	8 000 (L)
St. Helena	Dependency (UK)	6 000*	122	2	8 000 (L)
Niue	Associated State (NZ)	3 002	259	8.6	3 000 (W)
Christmas Is	External Territory (Aus.)	2 800	135	4.8	5 000 (C)
Falkland Is	Dependency (UK)	2 000	12 173	609	12 000 (L)
Norfolk Is	External Territory (Aus.)	1 849	35	1.9	2 000 (C)
Tokelau	Territory Overseas (NZ)	1 600	10	0.6	4 000 (W)
Cocos Is	External Territory (Aus.)	584	14	2.4	5 000 (C)
Nitcairn	Dependency (UK)	55	4.5	8.2	14 000 (L)

* exclusive of Ascension I. (popn. 1 022) and Tristan da Cunha (323)

** to nearest thousand (the West Indian islands are much closer to regional centres such as Miami)

W = Wellington, L = London, C = Canberra.

Partly after: Bacchus, Kazim and Brock, Colin (eds.) (1987) The Challenge of Scale Commonwealth Secretariat, London, pp.159-160.

and his analysis of the relationship between causative agents and consequent forms of provision will supply the theoretical basis of this chapter. It should also be noted at this point that not a few of the problems found to occur in small education systems are also characteristic of some larger entities, although smallness of national scale tends to result in a greater severity of their expression. (3)

Education and Scale

In addition to the wide range of population and area found in very small countries (see Table V), there is also marked variation in per capita income, ranging from relatively poor grant-aided territories such as St. Helena to mineral-rich and wealthy islands like Nauru. (4) This variety makes it:

"difficult to generalise since the relationship between geographic, demographic and economic dimensions will be peculiar to each state, providing a unique context for its educational provision". (5)

In particular, extremes of smallness variables will lead to incomplete provision, especially if schooling is organised in a conventional manner, and the Falkland Islands system (see Fig.4) clearly shows this effect with a more or less complete primary sector, but with secondary provision restricted to the age range 11-16 and a complete absence of indigenous tertiary institutions.

Effective conventional provision for the over-16s is clearly precluded by the very small size of the colonial population but, as

Brock reminds us ⁽⁶⁾, political factors can also act as constraints upon educational change. In this context, one of the greatest drawbacks for education in the Colony has been the expatriation of the wealth created by sheep farming ⁽⁷⁾ and the consequent limitation of funds for local reinvestment. The educational disadvantage which resulted from this dearth of colonial resources has not been entirely redeemed by overseas aid for, although councillors recommended the use of aid funds to provide a new hostel in Stanley for Camp pupils, they failed to provide resources for a much-needed concomitant expansion of facilities at the junior secondary school.

This action of councillors in according low priority to educational expenditure reflects a continuing tendency on the part of many parents and employers in the Camp, and to a lesser extent in Stanley, to attribute no great value to formal education for non-elite children. Such attitudes point to a further characteristic which the Falkland Islands education system shares with those of other small countries:

"the problem of servicing a dual economy comprising a highly localised and concentrated sector and an international sector requiring diffuse skills as well as those of advanced information technology", ⁽⁸⁾

Until the second world war, this difficulty posed no major problem for the indigenous educational system since posts in the inter-

national sector, both in government and farm management, were mostly filled by recruits from overseas or by the children of elite personnel who had been schooled outside the Colony; any remaining minor posts in government and commerce were taken by graduates of the continuation class. This dichotomy greatly limited the expectations of non-elite Falkland Islanders and its effects have continued to influence the attitudes of some parents to the present day.

From 1943 there were some opportunities for non-elite Falkland Islanders to acquire the knowledge and diffuse skills appropriate to elite positions, but the number of scholarships made available for this purpose was greatly restricted and in consequence a process of selection was necessary. In such circumstances, as Brock has noted:

"comes the influence of personalised politics and patronage, with the powerful sector of a small country often utilising private schooling which may lead to a weakening, even neglect, of the state system of schools". (9)

Although there is no evidence of elite Falkland Islanders denying access to overseas education for academically able pupils from the lower orders (10A), such children were more likely than others to reject the opportunity (10B), whereas children of elite parents were better positioned to take advantage of fee-paying schools in Uruguay and Argentina. (10C) This was especially the case when

overseas education allowances, tax concessions and additional scholarships became available, and such moves most certainly delayed the eventual transition of the senior school from an elementary institution to a junior high school facilitating universal secondary education within the Colony. Selection has not been abolished in consequence of this change, but does now take place entirely within the school, at 13 plus and again at 16 plus and, in this respect, parallels change in the metropole.

One of the reasons advanced for the overseas scholarship scheme was a belief that the cost of the limited secondary provision then considered necessary would be lower than if it were made within the Colony. This was no doubt the case when only a few scholars were funded but, as their number increased, a concomitant rise in expenditure, together with other factors (10D), eventually led to the repatriation of junior secondary schooling. The overall cost of this and other aspects of educational provision has continued to be a source of concern, especially during periods of low prices for wool, and has led to a reliance on overseas aid as the major source of capital for the development of such facilities as the primary school and the hostel in Stanley. Although reducing capital demands on the colonial exchequer, these applications of aid funds have resulted in higher recurrent expenditure, partly through greater heating and maintenance costs but mostly from the increasing number of Camp pupils receiving board, accommodation and supervision in the hostel at heavily subsidised rates. (11)

The provision of teachers is another function associated with overseas aid and, whilst differential payments to expatriate officers are met from aid funds, the colonial government is obliged to provide them with housing at a rental often below market value, and to bear the cost of maintenance. This problem has been particularly difficult in Stanley where there is considerable local demand for housing and a shortage of suitable sites readily available for development.

The presence of a majority of expatriate teachers in the Falkland Islands reflects the lack of professionally qualified personnel born in the Colony and wishing to return and work in its schools. This characteristic is shared by other small countries for:

"One of the few obvious effects of national smallness of scale defined demographically is the limited pool of human talent available. Before independence, when in many countries the emigration often necessitated by progress up the ladder of formal education tended to become permanent, disproportionately large numbers of talented individuals were lost." (12)

The emigration of such people has long characterised the Falkland Islands and has been much encouraged by policies of overseas recruitment for elite positions, the differential remuneration of local and expatriate officers, and continuing open access to the metropole.

One important consequence of the restricted number of professionally qualified personnel in a small country, whether local or expatriate,

is that specialisms are often represented by only one individual or not at all. (13) This has educational repercussions for Falklands children with moderate to severe handicap; they can receive no special provision in the Colony and have perforce to be sent to the United Kingdom. (14) In addition, subject specialists at the junior secondary school are frequently the sole representative in their field and are therefore denied opportunity for interaction with pedagogic peers. In this context, Brock has argued that small countries require adaptable polymaths rather than personnel whose expertise is narrowly focused, but he has noted that it is:

"particularly difficult for such countries to promote these objectives through an inherited philosophy of education that favours extreme specialisation" (15),

and there is an additional problem that:

"If curricula comparable to those of larger states are to be resourced and staffed then this is bound to be proportionately more expensive." (16)

This question is compounded in the Falkland Islands by the difficulty of recruiting specialist teachers and a consequent lack of continuity of provision.

In Brock's view:

"The alternative is to provide a less specialist teaching force and a more integrated curriculum" (17)

but:

"While this may be desirable in respect of increased localisation, it may be damaging to the international dimension that has to be addressed in a nation state, whereas a small or peripheral component of a large state does not have this dimension to cope with." (18)

Clearly, Falkland Islands pupils who intend to continue their schooling in the United Kingdom will need to acquire academic credentials acceptable to metropolitan institutions of further and higher education. In practice, this means appropriate grades in British public examinations or their equivalent and thus limits the scope for curricular change in the Colony. In contrast, the centralised curricula of the Australasian states are susceptible of some modification, for reasons of both delivery and relevance, to meet the special needs of rural and distant pupils and, in any case, their offerings are the products of educational systems whose boundaries are coincident with those of the political units they serve.

The restricted scale and relative homogeneity of the environment in small countries, in comparison with larger states, renders them particularly vulnerable to natural disasters, the consequences of industrial mismanagement and the collapse of commodity markets. In this context, Brock has argued that the smallest nations have "very narrow margins of error" (19) compared with larger polities and therefore need to promote a "holistic perception of education" (20)

which pays special attention to the local environment as a resource for learning and as a system requiring sensitive management based on ecological principles. The need to promote a more intensive pastoralism, to regulate offshore fisheries for the conservation of stocks, and to arrive at an understanding of the options for the future of Antarctica, underline the importance of these principles for the curriculum of the Colony's schools, but the propensity of the young and able to emigrate, the frequent departure of expatriate teaching staff and the continuing influence of metropolitan examinations are not conducive to any radical change, although advantage is taken of the opportunity to localise elements of the curriculum where it is permissible and deemed desirable. (21)

The problem of localising the curriculum can also be made more difficult on technical grounds for:

"The smaller the state, the less [is the] likelihood of the economic and technical capacity for producing new, more locally relevant curriculum materials at any level" (22)

but in the Falkland Islands class size is often so small that a photocopier can be employed to produce material of acceptable quality at reasonable cost, and, although the supply of spare parts can be problematic, there are local personnel capable of the required maintenance. The same cannot be said of government buildings, including the schools in Stanley, for the public works department

suffers from a chronic shortage of skilled labour, seasonally exacerbated by the greater rewards to be earned in the shearing shed and now reinforced by the expansion of activities related to the offshore fishery.

Such scarcity of public resources does not encourage the rapid implementation of change for, with barely adequate provision for routine requirements, the supply of new facilities is necessarily much constrained. In such circumstances, the:

"proximity of major elements in the
community" (23),

characteristic of Stanley, does not at present give rise to any of those:

"enhanced possibilities of community orientation
and involvement" (24)

envisaged by Brock and Parker, but appears instead to perpetuate a widespread apathy to formal education. In the Camp there is often close parental involvement where pupils are taught by radio, and similar attitudes may be displayed towards the settlement school, but parental proximity is equally likely to occasion unfriendly criticism of the teacher, although it should be added that this is not uncommon in regard to a much wider range of relationships in the isolation of small Camp stations.

The Educational Consequences of Isolation

The geographical remoteness of the Falkland Islands from the United Kingdom and their spatial, cultural and political separation from continental South America have given rise to various forms of isolation for the Colony as a whole. Remoteness is also a characteristic of many clusters of population within the Colony and reflects the archipelagic nature of the territory, the poor quality of physical communications within and between its components, and the pattern of settlement necessitated by large-scale extensive pastoralism. Together with the low density of population and lack of economic diversity, the relative isolation of so many settlements results in a poor "index of compactness" (25) and, as Brock has observed, in such conditions:

"the greater [is] the likelihood of serious disparity in educational provision and consequent need for radical compensatory measures of some sort." (26)

In this context of geographically based variation in educational opportunity, the Falkland Islands have long displayed an urban-rural dichotomy in the provision of schooling with greatly restricted opportunity in the Camp in comparison with the capital. Political and economic factors, such as negative attitudes to schooling and a continuing outflow of pastoral revenues, have contributed to this differential provision and have been reinforced by the difficulty of recruiting and retaining Camp teachers. In addition, relatively high unit costs are incurred in making opportunities for Camp pupils

comparable with those in Stanley, particularly in the transportation of travelling teachers, the maintenance of sufficient itinerant staff to ensure visits to pupils at educationally desirable intervals (27A), and the subsidy of the hostel in the capital.

Until the second world war, the provision of schooling for Camp children was confined to travelling teachers, to the small school at Darwin, and to places in the Stanley schools for those pupils whose parents were willing to part with them for long periods; some children received little or no schooling. (27B)

This level of provision was in marked contrast to the efforts made in Australia and New Zealand to provide elementary education for pupils in similar environments and points to major differences in the expectations of enfranchised Australasians (28) in comparison with those of the majority of Falkland Islanders who enjoyed no vote until 1948. At the same time it should also be noted that the task of outback provision in Australia and New Zealand was made less daunting than the problems of the Falkland Islands Camp by an economic diversity which reduced Australasian sensitivity to fluctuations in commodity prices, by the relatively small numbers of isolated pupils in proportion to national or state totals (29), and by the presence of well-developed and urban professional bases for the service of rural education. In the event, some Australasian solutions were to be applied in the Colony but not until much later than their initial adoption in the larger states.

Since the introduction of universal suffrage, provision for Camp pupils of primary school age in the Falkland Islands has been

allocated increasing resources, from both public and private funds. In consequence, settlement schools have experienced some improvement in the quantity and quality of their materials and equipment and, although some settlement teachers employed by farms are lacking in formal qualifications, radio school staff and itinerant teachers have undergone professional training. In standardised tests, their seven year-old pupils were found to obtain similar results to their peers in Stanley but ten year-old Camp children had relatively lower scores. (30) This was probably due to parents sending academically able pupils to the hostel in Stanley at a younger age than their less able peers with the consequent depression of mean scores for ten year-old Camp pupils, but it may also reflect an inability on the part of the present Camp system to cater effectively for older children.

A solution to this problem not involving the movement of pupils to Stanley, except on an occasional basis, might be found in the extension of distance education beyond present provision for, given appropriate levels of professional expertise and funding:

"there is no reason why even the smallest country should not provide an educational service out of all proportion to its limited scale". (31A)

The equipment required for such provision is not inexpensive but neither is the employment of travelling teachers who are difficult to recruit and tend to serve for only short periods.

The effective reduction of scale afforded by distance education is now assuming greater importance in the Falkland Islands as a

consequence of the sub-division of large farms and the attendant fragmentation of already minuscule clusters of population. The distribution of younger school age children in the Camp is now changing from a concentration in the settlements, which characterised the period from the 1950s to the 1970s, to a more widely dispersed pattern which resembles that obtaining in the days of occupied outside houses (see Fig.6 below). At the same time there is some change in parental attitudes, for the independent proprietors of the new holdings tend to expect more from formal education than the employees who preceded them.

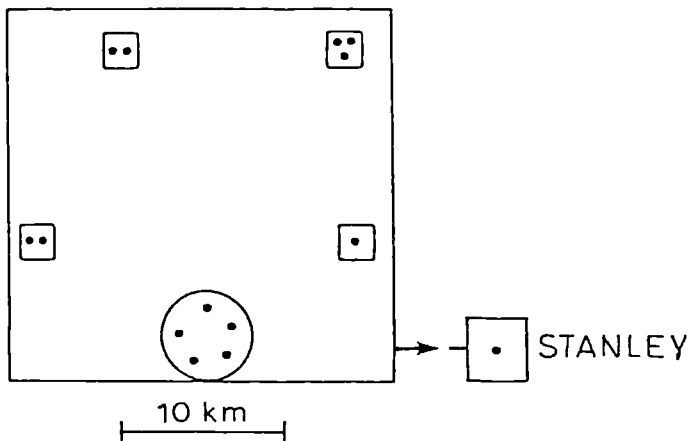
In addition to summarising changes in population distribution within the boundaries of an original large farm, Fig.6 also illustrates both the increasing proportion of pupils attending distant schools, and the absolute decline in the number of school age children in the Camp in consequence of the shift of population from peripheral areas to the capital. (31B) The development in Stanley of facilities for the offshore fishing industry may well accelerate this trend but, as long as sheep farming remains capable of providing families with a living, the logistical problems of delivering a curriculum to isolated young pupils will continue.

The isolation of the Colony as a whole is not simply a product of geographical remoteness for it is compounded by political and cultural factors which have varied in strength during the last one hundred and fifty years but have never been wholly absent. Before

Fig. 6 Trends in the Location of the School Age Population of a Typical Large Falkland Islands Sheep Farm

SCHOOLING ON FARM

SCHOOLING OFF FARM



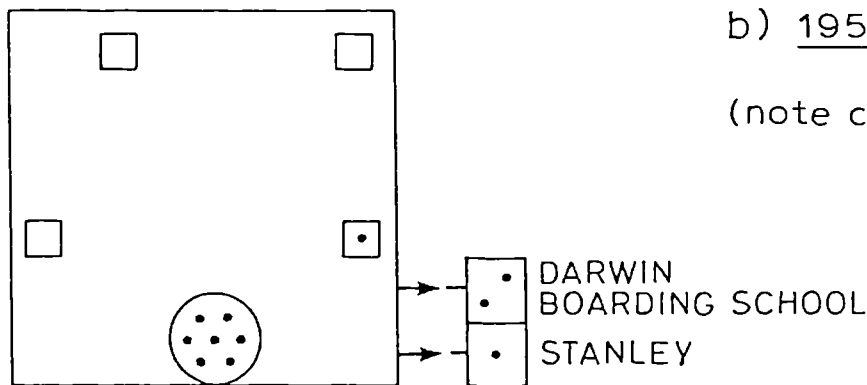
a) until the 1950s

□ = outside house (not to scale)

○ = settlement (not to scale)

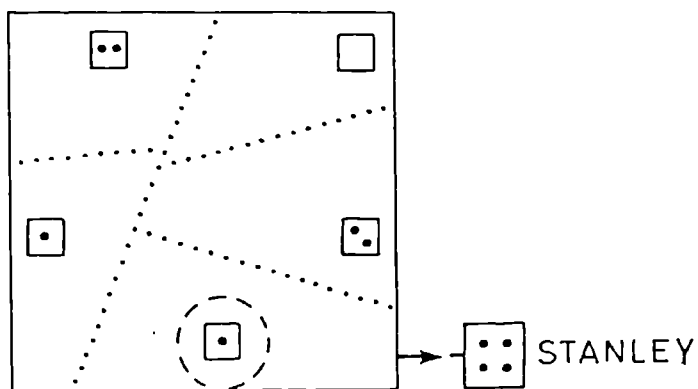
• = child of school age

(mean area of large farms c. 50 000 ha.)



b) 1950s to 1970s

(note concentration in settlements)



c) 1980s -

..... = subdivision boundary

○ = boundary of former settlement

(each subdivision c. 10 000 ha.)

resumption of Spanish teaching. At the same time, Argentine culture, institutions and future intentions are regarded with the deepest suspicion by the islanders whose sense of British identity, reinforced by the grant of full United Kingdom citizenship, continues to be strong and is clearly a potent force for colonial unity. Within the Colony, some rivalry does continue between Stanley and the Camp, and between East and West but, apart from an occasional exchange in the legislature or local press with regard to the equity of provision for various services, these divisions are insignificant in comparison with the islanders' perception of their small nation as a settler extension of the United Kingdom.

Education and Dependence

The question of economic dependence has occasioned much discussion and analysis of the relationships obtaining between primary producers and the industrialised metropolises which purchase and process their commodities. (33) With the price of many such products dependent on international markets or bilateral agreements, there is a tendency for economic decisions made by the more powerful nations and multi-national trading organisations to be imposed upon weaker primary producers; the consequences of such pressure are felt with particular keenness in a small state with only one primary product which it cannot produce in sufficient quantity to acquire any significant influence in the market. Wool production in the Falkland Islands fits this description closely and government's consequent inability to make reasonably accurate forward estimates

of its potential income ⁽³⁴⁾ clearly has implications for the provision of services, not least for education.

With regard to educational aspects of dependence, various arguments have been employed to demonstrate an active role on the part of metropolitan agencies in the promotion and maintenance, in colonies and former colonies, of educational systems designed for the ultimate benefit of metropolitan interests and often dysfunctional for a large proportion of the population. ⁽³⁵⁾ Such considerations are of doubtful relevance to a territory in which a large majority of the population claims close kinship with present day inhabitants of the United Kingdom ⁽³⁶⁾ but, at the same time, it is clear that factors associated with the economic system have played an important role in the development of education in the Colony. In particular, the long delay before educational opportunities in the Camp became in any way comparable to those in Stanley was caused by a lack of available resources which, at least in part, reflected both the hostility of land owners to measures which threatened to deprive them of future labour and the passivity of employees with no prospect of upward social mobility and an attendant disinterest in the formal education of their children.

In spite of this slow development, schooling in the Colony has not been immune to the influence of educational practices developed in other states and mediated through the agency of religious bodies, expatriate teachers, visiting advisers, metropolitan texts and

public examinations, and contacts with Australia and New Zealand. This contribution from external sources is made stronger by the need for advanced studies to be pursued overseas in consequence of the incomplete structure of the colonial education system. Secondary school facilities in neighbouring countries have been used to fill this gap in colonial provision and, in the short term, the Colony gained clear cost benefits from this form of regional co-operation but, in the longer term, has lost the services of the large proportion of recipients who chose to become permanent emigrants. (37) Argentina had no doubt hoped to gain rather more from the 1971 agreement which instituted, inter alia, the scholarship scheme for, although the question of sovereignty was not directly addressed, the future intentions of the British were deemed to have been signalled, however vaguely, by their agreement to its terms.

The problem of permanent emigration has also been characteristic of pupils who received secondary schooling in the United Kingdom and particularly of those who proceeded to tertiary institutions. In consequence, there is a dearth of professionally qualified Falkland Islanders practising in the Colony and, although current expansion and diversification in the colonial economy may reverse this trend, the wider opportunities in larger countries will doubtless continue to exert a powerful attraction for the highly qualified and not least for potential teachers. For those who elect to return there remains the problem of their metropolitan training, especially in

the relatively narrow curricular fields of the secondary school;
a small country would benefit more from personnel with broader
knowledge and skills for:

"There are fewer people available than
in larger countries to do a wider variety
of educational work". (38)

REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR CHAPTER NINE

(1) If the 1911 Census population of 2 161 had increased at a compounded annual rate of only one per cent, the 1988 population would be over 4 600.

(2) See especially: Brock, Colin (1984) Scale, Isolation and Dependence: Educational Development in Island Developing and Other Specially Disadvantaged States Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

(3) Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., p.33.

(4) In this context, it is interesting to note the non-availability of economic data in Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., Table 3, p.7; smallness of scale is associated with the absence of the necessary bureaucratic apparatus for such assessment.

(5) Brock, Colin (1987) 'The Educational Context' in: Bacchus, Kazim and Brock, Colin (eds) The Challenge of Scale: Educational Development in the Small States of the Commonwealth Commonwealth Secretariat, London, p.8.

(6) Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., p.18.

(7) Shackleton, Lord (1982) Falkland Islands Economic Study 1982 (Cmnd. 8653) HMSO, London, pp.33-34.

(8) Brock, Colin (1987) op.cit., p.9.

(9) . ibid.

(10A) One Camp employer's offer of an interest-free loan to an employee, whose daughter had won an award, was rejected and the child remained in the Colony (see p.233).

(10B) See p.233

(10C) See pp.263 & 266

(10D) See pp.260-261

(11) In 1985-86, the average cost of schooling a child living with parents in Stanley was £890 p.a., the cost of schooling a child in the Camp was £1500 p.a., and the cost of schooling and boarding a Camp child in Stanley was £2800 p.a. (see ED 4/R: 'Education Report 1985-6'). These figures were based on annual estimates and did not include provision for the maintenance of government school buildings or the contributions of farms to settlement schools.

(12) Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., p.27.

(13) Brock, Colin (1987) op.cit., p.10.

(14) At present the Falkland Islands government pays for one such child and his mother to reside in U.K. and thus obtain access to appropriate medical and educational facilities.

(15) Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., p.27.

(16) Brock, Colin (1987) op.cit., p.9.

(17) ibid, p.9.

(18) ibid, pp.9-10.

(19) Brock, Colin (1980) "Problems of Education and Human Ecology in Small Tropical Island Nations" in Brock, C. and Ryba, R. (eds.) A Volume of Essays for Elizabeth Halsall University of Hull Institute of Education, p.81.

- (20) Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., p.27.
- (21) C.S.E. courses developed under Mode 3 have facilitated a significant local element in several areas.
- (22) Brock, Colin (1987) , op.cit., p.10.
- (23) Brock, Colin and Parker, Roy (1985) 'School and Community in Situations of Close Proximity: The Question of Small States' in Lillis, Kevin M. (ed.) School and Community in Less Developed Areas Croom Helm, Beckenham, p.44.
- (24) ibid.
- (25) Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., p.32.
- (26) ibid.
- (27A) If a travelling teacher is assigned to eight pupils distributed between four locations, enabling him to visit each location for two weeks out of every eight, the effective teacher: pupil ratio is 1:8. This compares with 1:21 at the primary school in Stanley and 1:15 at the junior secondary school.
- (27B) See pp.148-152
- (28) New Zealand National Commission for Unesco (1972) Compulsory Education in New Zealand Unesco, Paris, second revised edition, pp.59-60.
- Barcan, Alan (1980) A History of Australian Education Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p.256.

(29) In 1985-6 pupils in the Camp schooled by radio and travelling teachers represented 12 per cent of the total school population (see ED 4/R 'Education Report 1985-6'). In Queensland, in 1979, isolated pupils enrolled in the primary correspondence school amounted to less than one per cent of primary age pupils (see Varley, Peter J. et al. (1979) Evaluation of Educational Provisions for Isolated Children Enrolled with the Primary Correspondence School in Queensland Research Branch, Department of Education, Queensland, p.3).

(30) ED 4/N 'Vernon Graded Arithmetic Test and Neale Analysis of Reading' April 1985.

(31A) Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., p.31.

(31B) See Table I, p.23

(31C) See p.172

(32) Brock, Colin (1984) op.cit., p.27.

(33) The resulting theories of economic dependence and their implications or otherwise for educational dependence are discussed at length in McLean, Martin (1983) 'Educational Dependency: a critique' Compare Vol.13, No.1, pp.25-42.

(34) Shackleton, Lord (1982) op.cit., p.27 and pp.35-36.

(35) See especially Altbach, Philip G. and Kelly, Gail P. (eds.) (1978) Education and Colonialism Longman, New York and London, pp.1-49. The absence of a colonised indigenous population and the importation of almost unmodified metropolitan practice have effectively precluded the evolution of the Falkland Islands school as an "alien institution" (ibid., p.4).

(36) Before they acquired full United Kingdom citizenship in 1983, the majority of Falkland Islanders were deemed to be 'patrial' under the relevant British legislation governing the right of abode in U.K.

(37) See pp.265-266

(38) Brock, Colin (1987) op.cit., p.18.

CONCLUSION

The development of schooling in the Falkland Islands has clearly been determined by factors generated within the Colony, and from external sources, particularly the United Kingdom. Both sets of influences have been encompassed in the continuing imitation of metropolitan practice in the provision of schooling in Stanley, where local choice and British example resulted in the early adoption of the national school model, the introduction of compulsory schooling in 1889 and, more recently, have given rise to primary and junior secondary schools catering for pupils of all abilities. Such development has necessarily been informed by metropolitan cultural patterns, mediated by a longstanding colonial relationship and reinforced by the frequent interchange of personnel with the United Kingdom ⁽¹⁾ and by the continuing political and cultural isolation of the Colony from the South American mainland. Broadcasts from the BBC in London and the importation of books, magazines and video tapes from Britain have also contributed to this continuing metropolitan influence.

These strong colonial ties stem from the very beginning of the Colony in the nineteenth century when, in common with the Australasian colonies, the Falkland Islands were not spared the conflicts which arose between religious bodies and colonial governments over the control of education. In the Colony, a marked lack of clerical co-operation made attempts to overcome the religious difficulty, by the adoption of the Irish national system, only partly

successful and, in any event, such efforts became effectively redundant with the opening of denominational schools towards the end of the century. Although religion continued to be the subject of occasional educational controversy in the present century it was not to be so passionately debated as it was in earlier times and, in this respect, the Colony's experience has paralleled events in Australia, New Zealand and in most of the United Kingdom.

Not only were religious matters subject to metropolitan influence but contemporary British educational regulations, Board of Education publications, and teachers recruited in the United Kingdom did much to determine the content of the entire colonial curriculum. In consequence, there was some lack of local relevance in the curricular offerings, and their limited efficacy was compounded by a geographical remoteness which made it very difficult to keep abreast of British developments. This problem was not addressed until Richards' visit in 1907 after which, and since the second world war in particular, an increased frequency in the movement of teachers, advisers and periodicals from the United Kingdom has enabled the Colony to be aware of developments elsewhere, although a considerable time may elapse before metropolitan change is incorporated into colonial practice; C.S.E. examinations were not taken until 1985.

In addition to the external influences discussed above, certain characteristics of the Colony itself have had profound consequences for the provision of schooling, especially the social structure associated with extensive pastoralism, the low density of population

in the Camp, the dependence on a single primary product, and the expatriation of wealth. The division of the Camp population into a small elite and a much larger but static or declining group of employees, with no significant intermediate class of tenants or small proprietors until very recently, has resulted in limited opportunities for employment and almost none for upward social mobility. The resulting tendency to migrate would appear to have deprived the Colony of many of its potentially able people ⁽²⁾ and has made problematic the provision of locally relevant curricula; future migrants tend to display little interest in such material and those forced to remain in subordinate positions often have no great enthusiasm for any form of schooling. Migration has also necessitated the continuing importation of metropolitan teachers for efforts to promote local teacher training have been much limited by the quality of material available.

The constraint upon educational development imposed by the dearth of human resources has been reinforced by a continuing shortage of finance which has delayed or precluded much change deemed desirable by government if not by all elements of colonial society. Such fiscal stringency and official involvement characterised the very beginning of formal education in Stanley, where the inability of the early settlers to support a school necessitated a government subvention with a concomitant official influence in its application. Unlike the capital, educational provision in the Camp remained problematic until the end of the nineteenth century, despite increasing wealth and population.

Not least among the reasons for this lack of development was the hostility of many landowners ⁽³⁾ to the provision of greater educational opportunities for the children who were their potential future employees. The negative implications of this elite attitude for the schooling of subordinate children was later reinforced by the expatriation of profits to absentee owners and shareholders. Not only the Camp, but also the capital, suffered from the consequent lack of investment for public purposes, and the Colony's dependence on a single commodity, subject to marked fluctuation in price, did nothing to alleviate this difficulty.

The children of elite colonists in the Camp were often schooled at home by parents or governesses with sufficient learning and leisure to discharge this task, and such boys and girls could later proceed to independent schools on the Coast or in the mother country. ⁽⁴⁾ Similar opportunities were not available to others until the scholarship scheme of 1943 gave them limited access to secondary schooling in Uruguay and later in the United Kingdom. The advent of co-operation with Argentina increased this provision but rising demands on the colonial exchequer and Argentine political ambitions, expressed at first through greater Hispanic emphasis in the education of Falkland Islands scholars and then by the invasion of their homeland, resulted in the relocation of all secondary schooling within the Colony. After the 1982 conflict, secondary pupils of all social backgrounds were for the first time schooled in a single institution for, with the closure of the Darwin boarding school and in the absence of communication with the Coast, there was no real alternative.

An increasing proportion of the secondary and older primary pupils attending school in Stanley in recent years has therefore come from the Camp where restricted educational opportunities so long reflected a marked urban-rural dichotomy. This relatively poor provision in the Camp was caused not only by negative attitudes and a shortage of resources but was in a large measure due to the sheer logistic difficulty of providing regular schooling to small numbers of pupils at widely scattered locations linked only by frequently impassable tracks. The early response to this problem closely paralleled Australasian provision in the employment of travelling teachers but the absence of appropriate parental skill and motivation has precluded the adoption of correspondence education. Later efforts to attract older pupils to the schools in Stanley, by the provision of accommodation and allowances, have met with some success, particularly in recent years, and children of all ages have benefited from the greater provision in the Camp which followed the second world war. The foundation of the settlement schools and the Darwin Boarding school in this period coincided with buoyant wool markets and the introduction of a universal franchise, giving the elite both the means and the motive for the expansion of rural educational facilities. (5) .

More recent developments in the Camp have involved the application of communications technology to primary distance education, thus emulating to a limited extent the modes of tuition utilised in the Australian outback. At the same time, the aeroplane has greatly increased the mobility of the itinerant teacher but,

despite such changes, there remains the problem of parental illiteracy and the consequent constraint upon the variety of delivery systems which can be usefully employed in the Camp. Research into the present abilities and future needs of the increasing number of isolated Camp parents in regard to the schooling of their children is clearly needed but, in a small close-knit community, such work requires the utmost discretion; the public exchanges of VHF radio would not be an appropriate medium for the investigation and remedy of parental illiteracy. In addition to measures designed to assist Camp parents, a longitudinal study of selected groups of Camp and Stanley pupils could provide useful pointers for educational planning, particularly in regard to the best mix of media for primary distance education.

In the meantime, increased revenues from economic diversification should eventually lead to more resources becoming available, not only for schooling, but for other aspects of education which have hitherto received scant attention. Were this new-found wealth to be matched by a comparable increase in goodwill on the part of the Colony's nearest neighbour, the outlook of the islanders would be more secure than at any time in the past but, in the absence of any sign to this effect, the overall prognosis remains pessimistic and the education system, in particular, appears bound to continue with the employment of outsiders for the schooling of future migrants.

NOTES FOR CONCLUSION

(1) Falkland Islanders commonly refer to the United Kingdom as "home". Many have kin resident in Britain and not a few islanders have gone "home" temporarily on holiday or permanently on retirement.

(2) It would be an instructive, but logistically demanding, exercise to trace as many migrants as possible and to compare their destinations and educational attainments with peers who remained.

(3) Although somewhat inconsistent in its enthusiasm for schooling, the Falkland Islands Company has a better record in this respect than most other landowners.

(4) The Falkland Islands Magazine of October 1898 notes that the son of a prominent landowner and legislative councillor will be leaving to attend an independent school in southern England. A current landowner and member of the Legislative Council also attended an independent school and his eldest son is now benefiting from a similar experience.

(5) Legislative councillors representing the Camp have largely been drawn from the ranks of the pastoral elite although they now include independent small proprietors.

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