OPINION, POLICY, AND PRACTICE IN N.S.W.
EDUCATION, 1833-1880

The Development of an Educational Tradition.

by

Alan Barcan

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OPINION, POLICY, AND PRACTICE IN N.S.W. EDUCATION,
1833-1880

The Development of an Educational Tradition.

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by

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All of this thesis is the candidate's own original work. -- A. Barcan
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SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The peculiar conditions of a new, pioneering country fashioned the educational institutions of colonial New South Wales. These special conditions included the lack of well-established class divisions, the relatively rapid rate of social mobility, a shortage of labour, and a shortage of private capital. The shortage of labour contributed markedly to the educational tradition of N.S.W. between 1833 and 1880, producing such characteristics as brief schooling (an early commencing age and an early leaving one), irregular attendance and movement from school to school. Frequently both parents and the state were over-anxious that schooling should be economical, cheap. The prevalent utilitarian approach to education affected not only length and regularity of attendance but also the curriculum. On the other hand, the limited importance in a pioneering country of education for vocational training and social mobility produced such special characteristics as a greater degree of democracy in schooling, evidenced by a less rigid conception of the class character of various types of school. The shortage of private capital hindered the growth of endowed independent corporate schools and of the university; coupled with the harshness and infertility of much of the country it encouraged state intervention in education as in other spheres.
Some of the major incentives for educational reform were the desire to economise in schooling, particularly prior to the 1870's, the necessity of improving the efficiency of elementary schools, the need to provide education in rural areas, and the constant growth in the child population.

Four important periods of educational reform punctuate the 50 years under survey, these reforms usually embracing a wide range of educational institutions. Between 1832 and 1836 a system evolved of state subsidies for four competing elementary school systems—Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist. The elementary school curriculum was centred on the four R's, though already there was some tendency to widen its scope. Teaching methods were generally inefficient, and in rural areas provision of schooling was quite inadequate. The main success of the elementary schools, measured in terms of enrolment, was the support given them by infants, that section of the population not greatly involved in the labour market. A few corporate schools providing higher education managed to survive during the 1830's and 1840's. The curriculum of higher education for middle and upper class children tended to be practical and utilitarian, with "modern" or commercial subjects prominent.

A second series of reforms were effected in the years 1848-1852, starting with the establishment of the first state elementary schools and ending with the opening of Sydney University. These educational reforms established a pattern
which lasted until 1867. The national schools existed as a fifth, state-supported, system alongside the four major denominational systems. Originally, national schools were intended to concentrate on rural regions, but they rapidly spread in Sydney, and by their example started to raise standards of educational efficiency. The national system took the lead in introducing a broader curriculum, a system of inspection of teachers, the pupil-teacher system, and the training of teachers. The creation of Sydney University, followed by Sydney Grammar School, improved scholastic levels in higher education a little. But few students aspired to the university and the matriculation examination did not have the far-reaching impact on "secondary" education which might have been anticipated.

From 1867 to 1880 the Council of Education maintained an efficient and general system of elementary schooling, in both city and country, for the first time in the history of education in N.S.W. Teaching was no longer the last resource of the educated man. The regime of the Council also saw the steady closing down of the denominational elementary schools under its supervision. The Anglicans and Catholics now gave more attention to fostering their Sunday Schools, a sphere in which the dissenting Protestants had hitherto been more prominent. The introduction by Sydney University of its
Junior and Senior Examinations in 1867 raised academic standards and helped determine the curriculum in many secondary schools. In the 1870's an increase in the number of Church corporate schools is to be noted, particularly those of Roman Catholic persuasion. The irrelevance of advanced education in a "new", pioneering community was evidenced in the isolation of Sydney University, which remained a small, aristocratic, classical and English enclave. Few social pressures were exerted on it; on the other hand, its impact on society (some had envisaged it as the source of an educated elite fostering stability in a radical democracy) was also very limited.

The reforms of 1880-1883 were the culmination of tendencies which could be seen as far back as 1833 - the desire to spread the influence of schooling over the population as a whole, the slow but steady growth of secular feeling, an anxiety to reduce the costs of education to parents, the steady advancement of the state's role in education, the growth of centralisation. But while the introduction of compulsory education, ministerial control of public instruction, and the cessation of aid to denominational schools did modify the colonial educational tradition in many particulars it did not overthrow its main characteristics. As on previous occasions, educational reform reached out to most sectors of the system of instruction - state high schools were established, as well as Superior Public Schools giving advanced subjects.
More provision was made for the education of girls, technical education was remodelled, and the university extended its facilities. The Catholic Church established an independent system of primary schools, but the Protestant Churches concentrated on developing their secondary schools.

The most cheerful aspect of the colonial tradition in education was its element of democracy, its fostering of considerable equality of educational opportunity. In the early years this was expressed in the provision of equal treatment for the school systems of the leading religious denominations and in efforts to provide facilities in the countryside similar to those in the city. By the 1860's the tradition of equality was leading to the provision of similar curricula in many elementary schools to that proffered in advanced schools. From 1867 pupils from the public schools were admitted to the University's Junior and Senior Public Examinations side-by-side with candidates from private, "higher" schools. From 1871 girls were admitted to these examinations also. The admission of women and evening students to the University shortly after 1880 is further evidence of the growth of educational democracy. One reason why the principle of equality was conceded so easily was the very unimportance of education in colonial N.S.W. for social advancement or economic improvement.
FOREWORD

The initial aim of this thesis is to provide a factual account of the development of the various branches of education in New South Wales from the collapse of the Anglican monopoly about the time of Governor Bourke's arrival until the Public Instruction Act of 1880, which established a structure which has endured almost to our own day. Of equal importance with this aim has been an attempt to identify the persistent, broad features of N.S.W. education which, taken as a whole, went to make up a distinctive educational tradition.

"A history of education in the Australian colonies" (wrote an observer in 1873) "would be a history of their social, intellectual, moral, and religious progress". Clearly, the context of changing economic, social, political, and ideological conditions must not be ignored in a survey of education in N.S.W. The analysis of the development of education in this thesis includes consideration of social pressures, which sometimes took the form of public opinion; it considers the growth of educational institutions, developing their own purposes and sometimes themselves exerting an influence on society; it surveys the growth of educational theory, including both educational philosophy (concerned with ends) and educational psychology (concerned with

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1 James Allen, "Education in Australia", in the Dublin University Magazine, November, 1873.
means); and it investigates **educational practice**, in terms of the curriculum, teaching methods, standards of discipline, the examination system, and the like.

Thus the title of the thesis - "Opinion, Policy, and Practice in N.S.W. Education, 1833-1880. The Development of an Educational Tradition" - is justified by the scope of work covered. "Opinion, policy, and practice" covers pretty well the whole complex of educational developments. It is worth pointing out that in the past historians have concentrated on "policy" - the history of educational administration and links between politics and education. This has helped to obscure many aspects of what might be called the colonial tradition of education.

The terms "opinion", "policy", and "practice" deserve separate discussion. "Opinion" includes both public (political) opinion, that is to the opinions about education held by people such as politicians, clergymen and the editors of newspapers; and also educational opinion, ideas expressed by people closely associated with education, such as schoolmasters, clergymen, and university teachers. At times these two forms of opinion overlap, as when politicians express views on the educational aspects of schooling, or educational administrators on the political implications of education. The principal spokesman of educational opinion vary; administrators, clergymen, academics, teachers, politicians, journalists, and parents contribute to the debate with
differing strength at different times. Some individuals participate in the debate in dual functions, for instance as both politicians and part-time administrators. But in early colonial society "popular" opinion was often well-nigh inarticulate and often has to be inferred, from practice as in the attitudes of parents to schooling.

"Policy" is taken to mean the official policy of the controllers of education. Control of education has always been shared; hence policy includes the aims of governors and church leaders, of educational administrators and politicians, and (especially in the private schools), of headmasters and parents. Discussion of policy also involves investigation of the administration, organization, and control of schools.

"Practice" refers to what happens in schools. It is influenced by educational ideas and policies. It includes numbers of pupils enrolled, the quality of teaching, the subjects of the curricula, textbooks in use, and methods of teaching and examining.

The distinctive features of N.S.W., the educational tradition, are made clearer by comparison, implicit or explicit, with other educational systems. Comparison with contemporary education in England, Scotland, Ireland, other British Colonies, and even the United States makes it possible to establish the debt of N.S.W. to these countries and also highlights what is unique in the colonial system.
There is a significant distinction between "education" and "schooling", and the writer is aware of this in his thesis, even if at times the words are used interchangeably. Education goes on all the time. The family, the school, the neighbourhood group, the religious group, newspapers, all contribute to it. Schooling is only part of education. This survey concentrates on the contribution of the schools, but since in the 19th century some formal education took place in the home attention has to be paid to domestic education by tutors, governesses, and parents.

Within the school system there are a number of interacting institutions; the infant school, primary school, secondary school, and university. Until after the mid-19th century, however, their interconnection was not very close. This makes it possible to treat elementary and higher education in separate chapters. Secondary schooling can also be separated into private-venture schools, church grammar schools, corporate schools (often under church auspices) and state-maintained schools, such as Superior Public Schools and Sydney Grammar School. Although these gave some elementary instruction they are usually treated together in the chapters on "higher" education.

The problem of assessing public opinion presents special difficulties. Not the least of these is the determination of
whose voice is the voice of public opinion. It might be more accurate to insist that at any time there are several public opinions. In early N.S.W. avenues for the expression of public opinion were the law courts, public meetings, newspapers and pamphlets, and after 1842, the Legislative Council and the hustings. Petitions to the Governor, to the legislature, and to London were common forms of expression. These avenues were more often used by the middle and upper classes than by the lower classes. The middle class was not extensive and lacked both leisure and education. Up to 1850 the contributors to public opinion were mainly the higher ranks of the clergy, senior officials of the government, leading landowners, and a sprinkling of professional men such as lawyers. A few journalists and clergymen of lower rank also contributed. After 1850 society became more complex, and it is harder to be specific, but broadly articulate public opinion on education tended to be restricted to the urban


middle and upper classes. Only occasionally were the bulk of the people stirred over education, and then this was usually for sectarian-political reasons.

Contemporary opinion was concerned not only with educational policy and practice but also to some extent with educational philosophy. In most periods the current philosophy of education dwelt on the social function of schooling (e.g. vocational training, preparation for citizenship), but frequently the religious implications of different types of schooling, and even the reconciliation of educational theory with broader philosophies, were discussed. The central concern of a philosophy of education is the purpose or aims of education; the key question is "what subjects should be taught?" and, as a derivative, "who should be taught?". In the busy, practical, colony educationists were often averse to stating in clear terms their presuppositions or purposes, and much of the philosophy of education has to be deduced from practice.

A third issue involved in educational theory is "what is the best method of instruction?". This raises questions of educational psychology. Throughout the 19th century there was little change in this aspect of educational theory in N.S.W.; the doctrine of mental training or faculty psychology held pride of place.

There are many ways in which a history of education covering 50 years could be approached. For example,
particular themes could be pursued exhaustively over the whole period. I have chosen to examine the development of education chronologically, but within the chronological treatment companion chapters have been given to elementary or lower class education and liberal-modern or middle and upper class ("secondary") education. If the chapters on elementary education are the longer ones, this reflects the fact that colonial society was mainly concerned with these schools, that they catered for the bulk of children under instruction, and involved greater public debate.

The order of procedure in each chapter follows a basically similar pattern, but some variations occur according to the changing importance of different aspects of N.S.W. education with the passage of the years. Topics (infants' education, Sunday Schools, female education) are given greater attention as they become specially relevant. In order to keep the thesis within the prescribed limit of 100,000 words two chapters had to be discarded at the last moment. The original Chapter I ("Introduction: The Attempt to Transplant British Education to Australian Soil") has been replaced by a brief generalized description of the colonial tradition in education prior to 1833. The penultimate chapter on "The Educational Revolution, 1880-1883" also had to go, and has been replaced by a brief "Intercalation" summing up the essence of the 1880-1883 reforms. Shorter sections on the colonial schoolboy of the 1830's and 1860's, Ragged and Industrial Schools 1848-1866, and teaching techniques in higher schools in the 1870's also had to go.
A number of interesting questions have, or necessarily, been treated very briefly; the role of finance and in the Treasury, the impact of the gold rushes and of free selection, the religious affiliations of politicians, inspectors and similar persons. Adult education has been largely excluded from the scope of the thesis, with only some occasional references. A detailed study of methods of teaching selected subjects has been omitted. Likewise a number of sources of information have been ignored or used only to a limited degree: a study of Australian novels would have illuminated the quality of education and teaching methods; manuscript records of institutions (the various educational Boards) or individuals (Henry Parkes) would repay detailed study; a painstaking analysis of the classified advertisements in newspapers might add to our understanding of private schools and the work of tutors and governesses; a detailed survey of the University Senate's Minute Book would throw additional light on Sydney University.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge the valuable stimulus to this work from discussions with staff and scholars of the Australian National University. Often this help came informally, almost accidentally, through the exchange of ideas or through the practice of that mutual aid which is likely to develop when a number of people are working together on related subject-fields. In particular, I have benefitted from the guidance and assistance of Dr. R.A. Gollan of the History Department; and during the revision of the thesis I was helped by the comments of Miss Helen Palmer of Sydney.
INTRODUCTORY: THE COLONIAL TRADITION IN EDUCATION
PRIOR TO 1833.

By 1833 N.S.W. education had passed through two distinct phases of development. During the first 27 years Church, teachers, parents, and children were heavily dependent on the state, and both elementary and higher education subsisted under the shadow of state patronage. A considerable degree of religious tolerance in education existed in fact. During the next 15 years a landlord class and the Established Church struggled to establish their supremacy in colonial society. The state handed elementary education to the Anglican Church, but needed to subvent the Church and Schools Corporation. A private sector developed in education independent of state control.

Attempts had been made to introduce many English educational institutions and practices - parochial elementary schools, tutors and governesses, Schools of Industry (the Orphan Schools and Lady Darling's school), Sunday Schools, Infant Schools. But these had already assumed distinctively colonial features.
Many of the characteristics which were to underlie N.S.W. education in the next fifty years had emerged - dependence on state financial support (encouraged by shortage of private capital and the absence of a strong philanthropic middle class and a closely settled agricultural upper class), brief schooling, and irregular attendance (resulting from the shortage of labour), the moral problem as a motive for educational effort, high enrolments in infants' schools, the poor quality of teachers (many more attractive and remunerative vocations being available), lack of boarding schools (resulting from the absence of a numerous, concentrated upper class) and a preference for tutors; denominational rivalry in education; and parental indifference to education. Another important general tendency was the desire of government (in the early 19th century the English government) to cut down expenditure on education.

Already a striking feature was the similarity between the elementary education of boys and girls. Attempts in the 1820's to provide advanced or grammar-type education in the public elementary schools foreshadow later events. In higher

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The shortage of labour and rapidity of social mobility had been noted by Governor King as early as 1805. King to Cooke, 1 November, 1805 (H.R.A., I, vol.V, pp.601-602).

By 1814 the close approximation in literacy between men and women born in the colony, by contrast with those born in Britain, is remarkable (Goodin, op.cit., p.205).
education the classical-modern compromise curriculum had emerged. The "median" standard in Australian education was already in existence - there were few very highly educated in the community, and many with a "fair average education". Literacy seems to have been more widespread than in England, but excellence of education in the classics was less frequently encountered. (1)

In the elementary schools co-education, gratuitous instruction, and grammar classes may be taken as the first signs of democratic strand in N.S.W., with its stress on equality of opportunity. The "mixed" or compromise classical-commercial curriculum of the private schools may also be interpreted in this spirit.

The Bigge and Scott Reports of 1823-4 were the first of a series of enquiries which punctuate the history of N.S.W. education. Bourke's despatch of 30 September, 1833 performed a similar function to this and subsequent reports - the Lowe Report of 1844, the Select Committee's Report of 1855, the Knibbs-Turner Reports of 1903-5, and the Wyndham Report of 1957. These Reports were frequently followed by legislative acts - 1826, 1848, 1861, 1911. The Bigge-Scott Reports (3)

Neither in N.S.W. nor England were accurate assessments of literacy yet possible, but (as shown at the end of section (g) above) N.S.W. seems to have led England. According to Goodin (op.cit., p.189) as early as 1821 one in 18 was attending school in N.S.W. compared with one in 16 in England.
Recalled features which were to appear in future ones; for instance, the fact that many of its recommendations had begun to emerge in practice and the delay between the submission of the report and its final implementation with the proclamation of the Church and School Corporation's Charter.

A public opinion began to emerge on education in the 1820's, but was mainly concerned with the religious and economic implications of Anglican dominance. The educational and moral implications did not receive so much stress from this colonial public opinion, though official and semi-official opinion, voiced by administrators and clergymen recently arrived from Britain, was agitated by such problems. An absence of concern with general education was to be a marked feature of succeeding decades.

The future development of N.S.W. education may be viewed in terms of the growth of the local tradition in education which we have just been considering. Because this tradition involved state intervention rather than laissez-faire, educational change was often marked by disputation between state and Church. In the 1830's Bourke had his plans frustrated by sectarian strife. In the 1850's parliament was deadlocked over educational reform by the "religious difficulty". Finally, sectarian feeling was a vital factor in forcing through the reforms of 1879-80.
The link between religion and public (political) attitudes to education owed much to a special feature of 19th century N.S.W. - the tendency of religious denominations to derive their strength from particular social groups or classes. Views on education were often strengthened by the religious and social backgrounds of advocates.

In its political expression the struggle for democracy in education took the form in the 1830's of a struggle for religious equality. This went beyond increased toleration in keeping with liberal principles. The special religious pattern of the colony (the absence of one predominant religious group and the association of class and religion) produced the solution of state support of four elementary systems. In the 1850's democracy in the overall educational pattern became associated particularly with political democracy ("we must educate our masters") though the need for social democracy (elevation of the manners of the lower class - the moral factor) continued strong. The first slight impact on education of economic (vocational) democracy becomes apparent with the construction of a fragile ladder from the elementary school to the University after 1867. From 1880 to 1883 a major period of democratic advance is under way with such reforms as the improvement of the public examinations, the introduction of evening courses at the university and technical college, and improved higher education (secondary and tertiary) for women.
DENOMINATIONAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION FOR THE HUMBLER CLASSES, 1833-1848

(a) Bourke Attempts to Introduce the Irish National System, but Strengthens the Denominational One.

The first public statue ever erected in Australia was of Governor Sir Richard Bourke, on its base the words: "He established religious equality on a just and firm basis, and sought to provide, for all, without distinction of sect, a sound and adequate system of national education". The significant word is "sought"; the reasons for his failure appear below.

Bourke reached Sydney in December 1831, bringing with him a new approach to the religious and educational problems of the Colony, one in sympathy with the liberal principles of the Whig Ministry which appointed him. He quickly found that the growth of sectarian feeling and the development of a public opinion were beginning to influence colonial life. Both these tendencies originated in the social structure of the young colony.

Inter-denominational bitterness was primarily a matter of Protestant-Catholic relations. The Roman Catholic

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He was knighted on 26 January, 1835.
Emancipation Act of 1829 had been officially proclaimed in N.S.W. on 18 January, 1830. In February 1832 the Legislative Council voted £350 for the salary of the Roman Catholic Chaplain and the maintenance of his schools, and some five weeks later £500 for completing the Roman Catholic Chapel. Roger Therry, who had recently arrived in N.S.W. and was the first Catholic to be appointed to a prominent colonial office, advocated state aid to Catholic churches and schools in two public addresses during 1832. Broughton answered Therry in a pamphlet, and more controversial pamphlets followed. Bourke was faced with the need to placate this rivalry.

According to the 1836 census Catholics made up 28% of the population, of 77,096, Protestants 71%, and Jews and Pagans the remainder. But Catholics made up only a quarter of the free population and nearly half the convicts. Catholics were overwhelmingly the lower social ranks.

In the decade of Whig rule in England the transportation of convicts reached a higher level than ever before. But free

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3 Ibid., p.260.
immigrants were at last arriving in substantial numbers. From 1832 to 1842 nearly 70,000 immigrants, of whom more than three-quarters were assisted, landed in N.S.W. The migration of men of capital also increased, encouraged by the 1834 N.S.W. Act restrictions on usury.

The population of N.S.W. rose by almost 200% between 1831 and 1841, when it reached 128,800. The juridical status of the people was also changing rapidly, as seen in the following Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Convicts</th>
<th>Emancipists</th>
<th>Colonial-Born</th>
<th>Free Immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>15,668(43%)</td>
<td>7,530(20%)</td>
<td>8,727(24%)</td>
<td>4,673(13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>26,453(23%)</td>
<td>18,257(16%)</td>
<td>28,657(24%)</td>
<td>43,621(37%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-convicts (57% of the total in 1828) began to assert their own demands in public affairs, including education. As yet they were divided into three groups, emancipists, colonial-born, and free immigrants. However, by 1836 the free citizens outnumbered convicts by 49,300 to 27,800; Sydney

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was a city of 18,000, with only 3,500 convicts. The distinction between colonial-born and free immigrants was significant for many years; but convicts had dropped to 1.5% of the population and emancipists to 14%.

The 1841 census, the first to distinguish different Protestant denominations, registered 73,700 Anglicans (57% of the total), 35,700 Roman Catholics (28%), 13,200 Presbyterians (10%), 3,200 Methodists (3%), 1,900 other Protestants (1%), 900 Jews (1%) and 200 others. It was among the non-conformist groups that the small middle class was mainly found. In 1833 Bourke commented that many of the Catholics were of Irish and convict origin. The Presbyterians were fewer, "but are amongst the most respectable of

Cf. Burton, op.cit., Appendix XVII, F. Clancy, They Built a Nation (1939), pp.107, 114. The majority of convicts were assigned to settlers in the interior or employed on government road work.


Burton states (The State of Religion and Education in N.S.W., 1840, Appendix XVII) that there were 18,500 Protestant convicts, 9,000 Catholic convicts, and 300 others. There were 36,100 free Protestants, 12,900 free Catholics, and 200 others.
the inhabitants, and are to be found with few exceptions in the Class of Free Emigrants".  

The increasing importance of free settlers and the development of social and religious variety during Bourke's governorship encouraged the growth of public opinion. By 1840 there were ten newspapers in New South Wales, reflecting differing social and religious interests. The oldest was the Sydney Gazette (1803-42), originally an official journal. After press censorship was abolished in 1824 additional papers appeared. The Australian (1824-48) and the Sydney Monitor (1826-41) were "patriotic" and emancipist organs, the former supported by Catholics until W.A. Duncan founded the Australasian Chronicle as a radical Catholic paper in 1839. J.D. Lang's Colonist (1835-40) was radical, Protestant, and anti-Catholic. The Sydney Herald (1831) was the main conservative organ, in its early days strongly Anglican. In 1840 it became the first paper to be published daily, adding the word "Morning" to its title in 1842.  

Bourke found the Church and Schools Corporation dying but not yet dead, the Crown Schools being administered for the Corporation by Commissioners and sustained by government

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11 For newspapers cf. G. Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture (1957), pp.100-103.
monies. As an initial response to Catholic claims, Bourke extended subsidies for clergy and schools to include the Catholics. From 1832 the masters of the Anglican parochial schools received $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per day for each child in attendance, paid by the government where the parents could not afford it, in addition to a small salary, also paid by the government. Catholic school-teachers received the $\frac{1}{2}d.$ "head-money", and from 1833 they were granted government salaries as well. 12 In 1833 the Catholics received £450 for their chaplains and £350 for school expenses; 13 in 1834, £800 was voted for Catholic schools. 14

The dissolution of the Church and Schools Corporation was gazetted on 28 August, 1833. No advice being given to the governor concerning an alternative system, he submitted on 30 September a lengthy report to Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies. 15 This despatch ranks with the

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12 Cf. "Education" in Returns of the Colony of N.S.W. (Blue Books), 1832, 1833.
13 Bourke to Goderich, 3 November, 1832 (H.R.A., Series I, vol. XVI, p. 790). In England J.D. Lang had already persuaded Goderich to guarantee £3,500 for a Presbyterian-sponsored Academy, provided a similar amount were raised by subscription (Memorandum of Goderich, 12 January 1831, H.R.A., Series I, vol. XVI, p. 25).
15 Stanley had been transferred from the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, 12 April, 1833.
earlier Bigge-Scott Reports and the subsequent Lowe Committee Report as a major policy document in the early history of N.S.W. education.

Bourke pointed out that the largest religious groups were the Anglicans, Catholics, and Presbyterians. He estimated the charge on the Treasury for 1834 at £11,500 for the Church of England clergy, £600 for the Church of Scotland, and £1,500 for Catholic clergy. Dissenters received no support, apart from some small grants of land. Similar disproportions characterized aid for schools. The 35 primary schools established by the Corporation ("necessarily considered as belonging to the Church of England") would cost the Treasury £2,756 in 1834, to which had to be added the two Orphan Schools (£2,800) and the King's School, Parramatta (£180 for salaries, £2,300 for the permanent building), making a total of £8,036. The Presbyterians had recently been given a loan of £2,500 for the erection of Scots College, and the Catholics had been voted £800 for schools. 16

To overcome this discrimination Bourke suggested that the "National System" which Stanley had recently introduced in Ireland should be established in N.S.W.

I am inclined to think that Schools for the general education of the Colonial Youth, supported by the government and regulated after the manner of the

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Irish Schools, which since the year 1831 receive aid from public funds, would be well suited to the circumstances of this Country ... I allude to those in which Christians of all creeds are received, where approved Extracts from Scripture are read, but no religious instruction is given by the Master or Mistress, such being imparted one day in the week by the Ministers of the different religions, attending at the School to instruct their respective Flocks.

The Irish National System was controlled by a Board of Commissioners of National Education consisting of the Anglican and Catholic Archbishops of Dublin, a Presbyterian clergyman, and four laymen of the different churches. The Board issued a series of textbooks, including a book of Scripture Extracts, which were sold to the schools at reduced prices, maintained a normal (training) school, appointed inspectors, and made grants for school buildings.  

Bourke argued that the existence of transportation made "the general education of the People" a sacred and necessary duty of the government. Since persons of all religious persuasions were permitted to enter N.S.W. it would be impossible to establish "a dominant and endowed Church without much hostility and great improbability of its becoming permanent. The inclination of these Colonists, which keeps

17 Cf. S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, History of Education in New South Wales (1788-1925), p.55. This system was variously known as the National, Irish, Stanley, or Derby system (Stanley was later Earl of Derby).

pace with the spirit of the Age, is decidedly adverse to such an Institution". He believed that equal provision for the three major churches would foster religious tolerance and that his plans would "meet with the favour and support of the great majority of the Colonists".  

But already Bourke was discovering the strength of the opposition to his ideas. Together with his despatch to Stanley he forwarded a proposal from the Archdeacon to maintain Anglican predominance, interspersing Broughton's suggestions with critical comments of his own. Broughton urged that the revenues of the Church and School Fund should be devoted to the Anglican clergy and schools. Roman Catholic schools had increased sharply in number between 1832 and 1833, from four to seven, but Broughton had been unable to add to the existing parochial schools. In March 1834 he set off for England in pursuit of Bourke's despatch. The Governor sent his son over, to counter the Archdeacon. He also appears to have enlisted the aid of

19 Bourke to Stanley, 30 September, 1833, op. cit., p.225.
21 Foster, op. cit., p.263.
Spring Rice, who became Secretary for Colonies shortly before
Broughton reached London. 22

In the meantime a move to establish the Lancastrian
system of the British and Foreign School Society, 23
non-conformists 24 complicated the picture. In
February 1835 an Australian School Society was formed in
Sydney for the education of children of the poor. The joint
secretaries of the committee of 18 were two Wesleyans,
G. Allen and the Rev. R. Mansfield, and it was supported by
J. D. Lang. 25 It was proposed to establish schools in which
the Bible was read, but sectarian religious instruction
excluded. Both Anglican and Catholic clergy opposed the
scheme. 24 A boys' school was established in June 1835 and a
girls' school in the following January. An appeal to Governor
Bourke for financial assistance (10 June, 1836) met with a
refusal, the Society being informed that it was frustrating
the Governor's own arrangements. 25 But Bourke might have been

22 K. Grose, "The Educational Compromise of the Lord Bishop of
Australia" in Journal of Religious History, December 1961,
p. 234.
23 The Colonist, 5/2/1835; Sydney Gazette, 7/2/1835.
24 The Rev. Mr. McEnroe expressed Catholic opposition to the
use of the Bible without note or comment at the inaugural
meeting of the Australian School Society (The Colonist,
5/2/1835).
25 Cf. Nadel, op. cit., p. 197. The petition of 10 June, 1836
is in J. Macarthur, New South Wales. Its Present State and
Future Prospects (1837), Appendix 50 (p. 267 of Appendices).
wiser not to have alienated this group of dissenting Protestants, for he certainly had little support from the Anglicans. 26

In May 1836 the reply to Bourke's despatch of 30 September, 1833 at length arrived. It came from Glenelg, not Stanley. 27 The long delay was caused by changes in the office of Secretary for Colonies, perhaps by Glenelg's own slowness, 28 and by negotiations with Broughton in England. The growing complexity of colonial life was probably another reason for delay in the administration of colonial affairs. 29

In effect, there was an interregnum of some seven years in the official formulation of educational policy following the decision in 1829 to discard the Church and School Corporation.

Glenelg approved the introduction of the Irish National System and the Governor then brought the matter before the Legislative Council and, thus, to public attention. He laid an extract from his despatch to Stanley and Glenelg's reply

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26 The Australian School Society applied through their parent body in London (application dated 12 January, 1837) for Glenelg's support and the Colonial Secretary requested Bourke to grant aid. (H.R.A., I, vol.XVIII, pp.663-4).


28 McCulloch, "The Attempt to Establish a National System of Education in New South Wales, 1830-1850" (Pacific Historical Review; February 1959, p.22).
upon the table of the Legislative Council on 2 June, 1836. For months there was furore in the colony.

Archdeacon Broughton returned from his visit to England as first Bishop of Australia on the very day that the Governor made public the two despatches on the Irish National System. Owing to a technicality connected with his new status he was unable to resume his seat in the Legislative Council till towards the end of the year, but outside the Council he placed himself at the head of the momentarily-united opposition. The non-conformists joined the Anglican Church in the opposition, partly because of Roman Catholic willingness to accept the national system. A protest meeting at the Pulteney Hotel, Sydney, on 24 June, 1836, under the Chairmanship of Bishop Broughton, represented "the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Independent, the Baptist, and the Wesleyan Denominations of Christians" and passed a resolution opposing "any system of general education, which shall be founded on the principle of interdicting, either wholly or in part, the use of the Holy Scriptures according to the Authorized version". At this meeting a General Committee of Protestants was set up, the secretary being the Rev. Mansfield of the Australian School Society, and a petition was drawn up stating that the Irish System was

calculated to produce religious animosity among children, was practicable only in heavily populated areas, and would "recognise the authority of the Romish Church, in withholding the Bible from the Laity". 30

Twenty-five sub-committees were formed in country towns, and other public meetings and petitions followed. The Legislative Council on 25 July received two petitions adverse to Bourke's plans and then allocated £3,000 to establish national schools, by eight votes to four - but the majority was made up of the nominated members, and all four non-official members opposed the move. 31 At the same time appropriations to continue Anglican and Catholic schools, and to extend state aid to Presbyterian, also passed.

The "Exclusive" landholders, many of them Anglicans, 32 joined whole-heartedly with the Anglican churchmen and their non-conformist allies in opposing the scheme for a general system of education on the Irish National model, which seemed designed to provide for the Irish working class elements in

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30 Burton, The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales (1840), Appendix V, (p.xxxiv).
32 Unless otherwise evident in the text, I include for purposes of broad distinction all non-Roman Catholic Christians under the term "Protestant". Where a distinction within the Protestant body is being made, I include Presbyterians among non-conformists or dissenters.
the community, many of them convicts or ex-convicts. In voicing this opposition, the Sydney Herald argued that the state should aid Churches and schools for the use of the free inhabitants, but that the British Treasury should support all those for persons with convict associations. The paper objected to the name "Irish" for the proposed system of education. "We have also a strong objection to theoretical Governors, and lawless Irish convicts, though we have no objection whatever to an Irish gentleman".

We do not ask how it works in turbulent Roman Catholic Ireland, but how it will work in this Protestant Colony. It will first of all give an ascendance to the children of the present race of transported Irish papists, at the expense of the Protestant landowners of this country.

The Herald believed that all Protestants could be catered for in a general system, while Catholics could have their own separate one. It concluded by reasserting that "the capital, intelligence and influence of the Colony is in the hands of the Protestant Emigrants" and that they must be consulted in any arrangements made.33

Similar arguments were presented by James Macarthur in New South Wales: Its Present State and Future Prospects, printed in England in 1837 and designed to advance claims for a new representative constitution on conservative lines. He argued that "the unsuitableness of the Irish National schools

33 Leader, 4 July, 1836.
to the colony of New South Wales, has no direct bearing on their fitness or unfitness in Ireland". In N.S.W. there was a Protestant majority; moreover, Catholics in the colony had been accorded a share in grants for education, whereas in Ireland they were excluded from direct aid. In New South Wales, "The numbers, wealth, and intelligence of the Roman Catholic body" were quite different from those in Ireland, and a national system would prevent "the Protestants of New South Wales, from attaining that influence in the government of the colony, which is proportionate to the influence they have attained in society". He saw no objection to Protestants uniting in one system, such as that of the British and Foreign School Society, and argued that "all measures for the promotion of education, would be best left to the consideration of the local legislature".34

In 1835 the Sydney Gazette had favoured the establishment of schools where the broad principles of Christianity rather than beliefs peculiar to one sect, were inculcated. Up till the end of August, 1836 it supported Bourke and opposed Broughton. Then it changed hands and opposed the National System.35 The Australian demanded the exclusion of any form

35 For Leaders in support cf. 29/1/1835; 10/2/1835; 11/8/1836; 16/8/1836. For Leaders in opposition cf. 1/9/1836; 3/9/1836; 6/9/1836; 15/9/1836; 20/9/1836; 24/12/1836. Up till 30/8/1836 the editor was Atwell Edwin Hayes, who advocated liberal principles. From 1/9/1836 Charles Henry Jenkins and George Cavenagh were joint editors.
of religious teaching from schools in 1834 but supported Bourke in his efforts to introduce the Irish National system.

The favorable Catholic reaction to Bourke's plan was influenced by the relief it promised from sectarian animosities and economic disabilities. Bishop Polding wrote a long letter to *The Australian* (under the pen name "Catholicus Ipse") arguing that in Ireland the National system had "smoothed down animosities ... encouraged the spread of education ... introduced a noble range of feeling".

I cannot condemn on the evidence now in my possession, a system which has received the sanction of such eminent divines and scholars as those confessedly are who compose the Board of Education in Ireland ... As regards its fitness for the colony, no evidence for its unfitness has yet been adduced; the trial is yet to be made.

The limited economic resources of Catholics prevented them sustaining an educational system on their own strength and they had to accept the best provided by government - a system on the Irish National model. But by comparison with the Protestants, the Catholics wielded so little influence in public life that their views could not greatly affect the issue.

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36 24 October, 1834 (Foster, *op.cit.*, p.265).
The leader of the Presbyterians, J.D. Lang, opposed the National system even though it was a Whig measure. "We don't like the Irish National System any better because of its being lauded by the Irish Roman Catholic Priests". He advocated a Board of Education representing the four major Christian communions to allocate government monies for education to these denominations.

The opposition to Bourke's proposals was made up of a medley of religious and social interests, but its core was the conservative Anglican landholders and churchmen. The educational arguments for and against the general system received little attention. A decade later many of the leaders of opinion admitted as much. William Macarthur informed the Committee that in 1836 he had not understood the "Irish System", and a Baptist Minister, when asked whether "the great body of Protestants who opposed the Irish system at that time was acquainted with that system", replied: "No large bodies are acquainted with the opinions they either uphold or oppose - we may take that as a matter of fact." But he claimed that the leaders were. His explanation of the 1836

39 The Colonist, 2/6/1836.

40 Ibid., 30/4/1835; 2/6/1836.
events was that there was a general belief that Bourke was favouring the Catholic body.41

A public meeting at Wollongong supported Bourke's proposals42 and the Governor obtained funds for the first national schoolhouse there, but it was not built until Gipp's Governorship, and not used as a school until Fitzroy's time.43

But public opprobrium was so strong that Bourke made no great effort to introduce the system. Instead, the Church Act, passed on 29 July, 1836, not only strengthened the control of the Churches over education, but also split the united Protestant front. The Act did not mention schools. It referred only to church buildings and clergymen's stipends. But in November Broughton asked Bourke to extend the principle of the Act to the maintenance of Church schools and the Governor agreed.44 The 2d. a day "head-money" system

41 William Macarthur, Report from the Select Committee on Education (1844), Minutes of Evidence, Q.67 (p.126); the Rev. J. Saunders, Q.27 (p.96).
43 Many writers, e.g. Gregory ("Church and State, and Education in Victoria to 1872" in Melbourne Studies in Education 1958-1959, p.18) assume this school was built, and even opened, under Bourke.
44 Grose op.cit., pp.240-241. In any case, churches were frequently used as schools. C.C. Linz (The Establishment of a National System of Education in N.S.W., p.26) incorrectly states that the Act provided for aid to schools.
started in 1832 continued; but newly established schools of
"the Principal Christian Churches in the Colony" were to
receive grants equal to the sums raised locally (the "half
and half" system). Bishop Broughton approved the move at
the General Committee of Protestants (3 August, 1836), but
Bourke believed that as a result of this speech the Dissenters
"now begin to find how adverse to their own interests are the
Exclusive views of his Lordship".

By strengthening the denominational system Bourke
inserted a wedge between dissenting Protestants and the Tory
Anglicans. Increasing social diversity encouraged this
trend. The system came fully into operation in the financial
year 1838 when Presbyterians received aid on the half-and-
half principle. The pound for pound subsidy was allowed to
17 Presbyterian and five Roman Catholic schools in addition
to the Anglican schools. The masters received a government
salary and ½d. per day per child from parents who could afford

45 For a summary of this Act cf. E.C. Rowland, The English
Church in N.S.W., pp.221-222 and Gregory in Melbourne Studies
in Education 1958-59, pp.14-24. It is frequently and
incorrectly suggested that all denominations immediately
benefited cf. Smith and Spaull, op.cit., p.70.
46 Bourke to Glenelg, 8 August, 1836. (H.R.A., Series I,
vol.XVIII, p.469). Bourke's educational reforms were more
extensive than those of 1833 in England. The English
parliament extended its grants to cover maintenance as well
as buildings in 1846, and in the following year admitted
Catholic and Wesleyan societies to these benefits.
to pay, and the same sum from the government when parents were unable to pay.

Methodist schools did not initially share the benefits of the 1836 Church Act. But Methodist activity was expanding. Methodist education revival In 1831 the Missionary Committee in England appointed Joseph Orton General Superintendent in N.S.W. and his period of office saw a growth in Methodist strength and prestige. The Methodist Sunday School Union was reorganized (George Allen of the Sydney College being the prime mover), the Tract Society revived, property ownership was reorganized, the Sydney District trebled its membership. Australian Methodists, however, looked to England for guidance and material aid. "If ever a country had claim on missionary enterprise it is New South Wales" the District Meeting of 1839 proclaimed. John McKenny, District Superintendent after Orton, told the 1844 Select Committee on Education that his views had been greatly affected by the measures of the English Wesleyans in establishing schools.

49 Ibid., p.245.
50 Minutes of Evidence, 22/7/1844, Q.84 (p.115).
The 1838 plan of the British Conference for Education came before the N.S.W. district meeting in September 1839, and a General Committee was appointed to establish schools. 51

As a result of their representations the Wesleyans received government aid in 1839 and by 1844 were maintaining 20 schools with some 780 children. 52 But whereas the advances of Methodist schooling in England was on a voluntary basis and received state aid (in 1847) only when its successes were behind it, in N.S.W. its success was dependent on state subvention and waxed and waned with that aid.

By the time Bourke left the colony, in December 1837, the merit of his liberal policies was more widely recognized. Dr. Lang, the Presbyterian leader, for instance, had left for England the day the Church Act was passed, a firm opponent. He returned in December 1837 a supporter of the Irish National system. 53 Bourke was accorded a stream of loyal petitions from Dissenters, Jews, and Catholics on his departure.

51 J. Colwell, The Illustrated History of Methodism, p.557.
52 Ibid., Q.7 (p.112). Baptists received a grant in 1839, and Jews in 1846, but neither denomination received regular aid; the former did not seek it (cf. Gregory, op.cit., pp.15, 21).
In assessing Bourke's failure we must accord great weight to the energetic efforts of W.G. Broughton. But we must also note that Bourke was absorbed in many other pressing problems apart from education - the pastoral extension, the organization of free immigration and the framing of a new pattern of government being among them.

Bourke had attempted to import the liberal principles of the English middle class revolution of 1830-32 to N.S.W. But the conditions of colonial society were different. The Whig Governor lacked strong middle class support. While it is difficult to arrive at accurate figures the 1841 census (the first to analyse occupations) seems to confirm this generalization. The free population gainfully employed was estimated at 56,400. Mechanics made up 19%, Shepherds, Stockmen, and Agricultural Labourers 53%, and Domestic Servants 17%. Thus 89% of the population belonged to various categories of the working class. Shopkeepers numbered 1,774 (3%) and "Landed Proprietors, Merchants, Bankers, and Professional Persons" 4,477 (8%). If we assume that most "Landed Proprietors" were rural residents and most "Merchants, Bankers,  

54 Cf. Grose, op.cit., p.238. 
and Professional Persons" urban the figures suggest some 4,500 of the former and some 500 of the latter. The commercial middle class was a small segment of the population. Moreover, the merchants were a client class, dependent on the pastoralists. The gap between shopkeepers and mechanics (skilled artisans) was not very great. The distinctive feature is the absence of a strong, clearly defined middle class.

A similar picture obtains if we approach the matter from the aspect of religion. The colonial middle class was particularly drawn from the smaller dissenting Protestant groups. In 1841 Presbyterians and Methodists made up only 13% of the population of 128,700. Congregationalists and Baptists, in later years an important part of the middle class, were barely in existence when Bourke reached Sydney. Congregationalist organization collapsed after 1815 and did not revive till about 1830. The first Baptist Church was not formed till 1831.

For the National system to succeed it needed more popular support. As yet the non-conformists supported the voluntary

57 Cf. Rev. John McKenny, Wesleyan Minister, Minutes of Evidence, Lowe Committee, 22/7/1844, Q.9 (V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1844, vol.II): "There are more shopkeepers and merchants among us than there are of the lower orders".

Australian School Society scheme and their own state-aided schools. Catholic support carried little weight, and alienated the Protestants, who were the majority. Bishop Broughton was obdurate. While this situation held, no new educational scheme would succeed.

(b) **Gipps advocates the British and Foreign System**

Sir George Gipps, son of an Anglican clergyman, arrived in Sydney in February 1838. Finance provides the key to his administration. From 1830 onwards the Colony's revenue exceeded expenditure, but 1838 brought a deficit of £164,000 and 1839 one of £121,500. Gipps was under constant pressure to balance the budget. "My whole official experience teaches me that in Downing Street at least the Governor who keeps his Government out of debt is the best." Steadily mounting

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59 Lang states, rather unfairly, that the "grand secret" of Gipps' government was his belief that it was the first duty of a governor "to transfer the money of the people, as largely as possible, into the Public Treasury" (An Historical and Statistical Account of N.S.W., vol. II, 1875, p. 285).

60 Report, N.S.W. Statistical Register for 1858, facing p. 30.

61 Gipps to Latrobe 12/11/1843, quoted S.C. McCulloch, "Unguarded Comments on the Administration of N.S.W., 1839-46" (in Historical Studies, November, 1959). Gipps was a self-made man without a private fortune and hence most sensitive to governmental wishes. In September, 1841 he feared that London might discard him, especially if he did not balance the budget (ibid., p. 32).
government expenditure on education caused by the expansion of state-aided denominational schools forced him to action. His solution was the British and Foreign School system (the Lancastrian system) for Protestants, with further aid to Catholic schooling. The wheel had turned full circle since the spread of this non-conformist system about 1814 had caused alarm in Sydney and London.

Gipps gave three reasons why the British and Foreign system should be introduced: the united Protestants had recommended it in 1836; Glenelg had sent out teachers trained in the system; and James Macarthur, "generally supposed in England to represent the party most opposed to the Irish National System", had recommended the British and Foreign System.

Gipps became patron of the Australian School Society. His estimates of August 1839 provided for the introduction of the British and Foreign School system, but this was strongly opposed on the Legislative Council by Broughton, while outside

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62 In May 1839 Governor Franklin of Van Diemen's Land announced he would introduce the British and Foreign School system in that colony. His regulations were published in October 1839. A similar system existed in Cape Colony. Cf. Austin, op.cit., pp.72-73.

63 Gipps to Normanby, 9 December 1839 (H.R.A., I, XX, p.428). A sub-committee of Broughton's General Committee of Protestants had recommended the system (cf. Report of Select Committee on Education, Appendix B, V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1844; Fogarty, op.cit., p.31).
the Council Anglican Clergymen raised numerous petitions. Gipps found that while the non-conformists did not join in the agitation, neither did they support his proposals, "their altered view on the subject being attributable, I believe, to the fact of their having since 1836 had the prospect opened to them of obtaining separate schools for themselves". Catholic opposition to the scheme was also doubtless encouraged by the growth of their own schools.

Even on the nominee-dominated Legislative Council Gipps lacked support. Those officials who had supported Bourke's scheme were less enthusiastic for this compromise. Gipps could have forced his resolutions through, but he saw that the lack of real social backing and Broughton's opposition would make this unwise. The scheme was dropped.

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64 Cf. Austin, Rusden and National Education, p.19. It was unthinkable, he said a little later, "that Roman Catholics should have their separate and unrestricted schools, while the Church of England must be compelled to an undistinguished association with all who may assume the name of Protestant". (S.M.H., 4/9/1842). Cf. Grose, op.cit., p.235.
66 Austin, Australian Education, 1788-1900, p.42.
67 The Australian School Society collapsed at the end of 1842, a victim of the depression. The grant to it ceased on 31 December 1842, when its last school closed (Returns of the Colony, 1843).
But the educational and financial problems were too pressing to ignore. From 1839 onwards Gipps urged both the Legislative Council and the London Government to adopt a policy of devolution through the establishment of District Councils, which would remove some of his financial and administrative burdens. This proposal met with approval in England, where a system of local rating had been introduced to supplement the funds of elementary schools. With this had come government inspection. The Secretary for the Colonies recommended similar reforms for N.S.W. in June 1840. Gipps twice attempted to get this through the Legislative Council, without success.

In July 1841 the Governor suggested to the Legislative Council that the £1 for £1 (or "half-and-half") subsidy be modified and that a limited form of inspection be introduced. The post-1837 system had been introduced to make schools less expensive to the government, but in fact schools established under the "half-and-half" system were costing the government 40% more than the pre-1837 "head-money" schools. Fees in these schools were often higher and hence government expenses

rose. In September, 1841 regulations were issued to take effect from 1 January, 1842. In all schools established since the Church Act of 1836 government aid was cut to a sum based on actual school attendances, a maximum of £25 a quarter being fixed. In schools established before 1837 aid was not to be increased, and salaries paid by the Government to teachers were discontinued. Attendance returns were to be sent to an Inspector of Schools to be appointed by the Government. In country areas the Police Magistrate or Clerk of the Bench was to act as Inspector and would visit the schools at least twice every month. The Regulations stated that

With the business of tuition the Inspectors will have no concern ... their duty being to watch over the financial and not the educational business of the school ... but in transmitting the quarterly lists to the Colonial Secretary they will report generally on the way in which each school may appear to them to be managed.

70 V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 6 July, 1841 (Cf. Grose, "The Origins in N.S.W. of the Board of National Education and the Denomina-
71 In 1845 Gipps commented that these regulations were issued to stop a practice, greatly prevalent in 1840 and 1841 (especially in Presbyterian Schools) of charging the public with half the expense of educating children of parents who could afford to pay (Gipps to Stanley 8 May, 1845, H.R.A., I, vol.XXII, p.338).
These innovations were designed to save money, "cheap Government" being a principle of the mid-nineteenth century. While some saving was effected on a per capita basis, the continued expansion of the settlement, increase in population, and denominational eagerness to establish schools meant that in absolute terms expenditure on schooling continued to rise. In 1842 the charge for schools was £12,671. In 1844 the estimates provided for £14,050.73

However, the changes in the subsidy system had other implications. Between the two years quoted above, the Church of England's share fell from £8,601 to £3,450, and the Catholics' from £2,500 to £2,450. Presbyterian and Wesleyan allocations rose. The attitude of the denominations to education was inevitably coloured by financial considerations. When the Government provided adequate funds denominationalism waxed. In 1836 there were 37 Anglican and eight Roman Catholic schools in the colony. Then came Bourke's Church Act, and by 1841 Anglican schools had increased to 41 and Catholic to 32, while 32 Presbyterian and five Methodist ones

73 "The Colonial treasury, which spent only some £5,000 on the upkeep of the Governor's establishment and £11,000 on jails, was not only paying well over £30,000 in clerical salaries and church building funds, but £14,000 on the upkeep of schools as well." (Nadel, op.cit., p.201).
had been set up. By 1844 there were 49 Anglican, 29 Presbyterian, 13 Methodist, and 34 Catholic schools. 74

Comment on the regulations of September, 1841 in the colonial press is conspicuous by its absence, possibly because few could fully comprehend the precise implications of the obscurely worded regulations. The Sydney Herald, for instance, had nothing to say. However, early in 1842, when the regulations were implemented the Protestant and anti-Catholic Colonial Observer published an article, "The Penny Education", which attacked the new financial scheme as adverse to education and in particular criticized the authority invested in the police magistrates as an anti-British system which could only work under a Napoleon and a Fouché. 75 The Presbyterians in Melbourne also criticized the 1841 regulations. 76

No Government Inspectors were appointed and the 1841 regulations merely encouraged teachers to increase their

74 Returns of the Colony of N.S.W. School Statistics were collected by police magistrates. Braim, op.cit., pp.192-193, gives slightly different figures. McKenny told the Lowe Committee of 1844 that there were then 20 Wesleyan schools. 75


76 Forbes to La Trobe, 12 May, 1842. (Colonial Secretary's In Letters, in N.S.W. Colonial Secretary's Archives, Mitchell Library), (Grose, op.cit., p.50); Report by a committee of the Presbytery in Melbourne on Education in Port Phillip, 1 August, 1842 (copy in Colonial Secretary's In Letters, 4/2572, Mitchell Library, cf. Grose, p.51).
head-money by falsifying returns. It was wholeheartedly condemned by witnesses at the 1844 Inquiry.

The Constitution Act of 1842 saved the situation, at least momentarily, by providing an annual grant of £30,000 for the maintenance of public worship. This was distributed on the basis of the 1841 census and meant that the Church of England received £17,581, the Church of Rome £8,511, the Church of Scotland £3,136, and the Wesleyans £772. The major Churches, some of which also received aid from voluntary societies in England, were able to maintain an intransigent attitude on denominational education.

(c) The Lowe Committee of 1844

Following the cessation of transportation in 1840 an enhanced measure of self-government was accorded by the Act of 1842 which increased membership of the Legislative Council to 36, two-thirds of whom were elected on a moderate property franchise. Six of the 24 elected members represented the towns and 18 the country districts. The remaining 12 members were still nominated by the Governor; but an

Memorial of Wesleyan Ministers, 9 January, 1847. (H.R.A., I, vol.XXV, p.381). The Wesleyans were faced with an annual loss of £378. It should be noted that church buildings were often used for week-day and Sunday schools.

oligarchy of pastoralists was in control. The Council displayed renewed concern with education, particularly with the provision of schooling for the humbler classes of the city and in pastoral districts. The Churches were feeling the strain of maintaining themselves and their schools. The 1842 Act transferred the cost of Police and Gaols to colonial revenue and the Government's need to economise became all the greater.

The provision in the 1842 Act for local government through District Councils seemed to Gipps to be the solution he needed. The District Councils would raise revenue through local rates, and establish and support schools. Gipps rapidly issued charters establishing 28 District Councils and appointing councillors. But petitions poured into the Legislative Councils.

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80 Bishop Broughton, the main opponent of the state system of schooling, complained "My means, at all times inadequate, have been of late more severely cramped, through the extreme pecuniary distress which has befallen this community". (Bonwick Transcript, Box 49, quoted Goodin, op.cit., p.203).

Council seeking either a suspension of the functions of the District Councils until economic conditions improved or the total abrogation of the section of the Constitution Act setting them up. The Legislative Council endorsed this opposition and did what it could to prevent the District Councils working. The Parramatta and Sydney District Councils appointed Education Committees, but these indulged in little activity. In the meantime, the Colonial Secretary informed the Methodists that Government aid would cease at the end of the year, and the expense of schools would devolve on the District Councils.

Before the District Councils could levy rates authorization by the Legislative Council was necessary. The legislature rejected the enabling bill (July 1844). Local government participation in education was blocked, and some other solution was needed.

The educational problem was made more urgent by the increasing juvenile population. "While the population has very greatly increased since 1841", (a witness told the 1844

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82 Cf. S.M.H. 3/11/1843 (Lang in L.C.), 18/12/1843; (Parramatta D.C. Meeting) Weekly Register, 8/6/1844.
83 J. Colwell, The Illustrated History of Methodism, p.557.
Select Committee) "the increase of the means of public education has been very inconsiderable since the publication of the Government Regulations on Public Education, dated 24 September, 1841". In 1836 children made up about 18% of the population, in 1841 19%, and in 1846 26%. The percentage of scholars among juveniles - in all schools, public and private - was 23.9% in 1836, rose to 35.7% in 1841, and then fell to 32.8% in 1846.

The new Legislative Council first met in August 1843. In September the Rev. J.D. Lang introduced a series of resolutions favouring a "comprehensive" or "general" system of education (i.e. the Irish National system). The Sydney Morning Herald took the view that the attempt was premature and urged postponement. The motion was strongly attacked

85 Peter Steel, Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844. Q.2.
86
The 1836 census gives 77,096 children under the age of 12; the 1841 census 25,384 aged two to 14; the 1846 census 49,614 aged two to 14.
87
In 1836 there were 3,391 scholars (N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1861 - "Statistical View, 1827-1861" opposite p.1); in 1841 9,059 and in 1846 16,263 (Statistics of N.S.W. from 1837 to 1851, p.6). The Returns of the Colony for 1841 give 7,016 in public schools, 2,356 in private, and 260 in colleges; for 1846 3,351 in public schools, 5,840 in private, and 178 in colleges. If these figures are to be taken seriously there was a fall of 52% in public schools and an increase of 148% in private. This may reflect the impact of the 1841 regulations on statistics. The number of private schools increased from 95 to 210 and public from 111 to 180.
88
29 September, 1843.
by Bishop Broughton, and Lang withdrew his resolutions, disclaiming any hostility to the Church of England or alliance with the Church of Rome. The Herald commented: "We have all along avoided entering into the general question, confining our remarks to the assertion that the resolutions were opposed to the interests of the Church of England." 89

In the next session Robert Lowe, who had become a nominee member in November, 1843, moved for the formation of a select committee "to enquire into and report upon the state of education in this colony, and to devise the means of placing the education of youth upon a basis suited to the wants and wishes of the community". 90 Lowe became Chairman of the Select Committee, which consisted of four Anglicans (including Lowe and Cowper), two Roman Catholics (Plunkett and Therry), three Presbyterians (Lang being one), and a Quaker (Robinson). They examined 21 witnesses, of whom nine were schoolmasters and eight were clergymen. 92 Bishop

89 Sydney Morning Herald, 12 October, 1843.
90 12 October, 1843.
92 Report from the Select Committee on Education, with Appendix, and Minutes of Evidence, V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1844, vol.II (p.449); McCulloch, op.cit., p.30.
Broughton and Archbishop Polding were amongst those appearing.

Though mainly concerned with the elementary schooling of children of the lower classes, the Committee paid attention to education in the pastoral districts, infants schools, the training of teachers, and even higher education. The 11 basic questions to be asked of the witnesses were published in July, 1844. The first question was "What is your opinion of the state of education among the humbler classes in this colony?", followed by the critical one - "Do you recommend a general system of education, or one carried on by each religious denomination separately; or do you think that these two systems could be in any way advantageously combined?". Other questions included, (5) "To what branches of education do you think the system adopted should extend?", (6) "Ought the education of children to be optional with their parents?", and (7) "Can you suggest any means by which the children of shepherds and farm servants dispersed over the interior may be brought under instruction?".

The terms of reference suggested the aim of the Committee, namely to find out "the wants and wishes of the community". Mr. Windeyer put it more directly to Broughton:

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93 S.M.H., 1/7/1844; an analysis of the questions was made by W.A. Duncan, in the Chronicle, 10/7/1844, and is reprinted in Fogarty, op.cit., pp.43-44.
"Your Lordship will observe that the object of the enquiry is to find out what the different denominations would be content with." The Churches were recognized as the main organized public opinion. During the enquiry it became clear that the great majority of the committee favoured some sort of general system, Charles Cowper (Broughton's "Man Friday") being the only strong supporter of denominational schooling. Witnesses favouring the denominational system were manoeuvred, where possible, into conceding that at least in the pastoral areas a general system was needed. Most witnesses considered education for children of the humbler classes in Sydney inadequate in extent and quality, though a few claimed it was satisfactory or at least as good as in England; but none could say this of the pastoral districts.

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94 Question 97, p.86, Minutes of Evidence. Cf. Lowe, at the School of Arts, 7 September, 1844: Some witnesses were examined "not so much to ascertain what system might best be introduced, but what terms they were willing to accede to". (S.M.H., two-page supplement, 9/9/1844).

95 "Bishop Broughton ... and his Man Friday, Mr. Charles Cowper", in the Leader, Colonial Observer, 24/10/1844 ("The Board of Education").

96 Of the 21 witnesses eight advocated a general (i.e. national) system, 15 advocated the British and Foreign system (i.e. General for Protestants), and eight advocated a denominational system. By calling the British and Foreign system "general" it was possible to discover a majority for the general. Cf. Lowe: "Twenty-one witnesses have been examined by the Select Committee, seven of whom were in favour of a Denominational System, while 14 advocated a general system of education" - School of Arts, 7 September, 1844 (S.M.H., 9/9/1844).
On 28 August, 1844, Lowe laid the report of the Select Committee on the table of the House, and moved that it be printed. He immediately resigned, having quarrelled with the Governor over his freedom of opinion as a nominee member. 97

The Committee's report condemned the existing system for its failure to educate colonial youth and its excessive costliness. Of the 25,676 or so children in N.S.W. between four and 14, only about half (12,507) were receiving schooling, 98 at a cost estimated at £1 per head. These criticisms were essentially the utilitarian ones of nineteenth century liberalism which assumed that education should be governed according to the strict laws of political economy. 99

The Committee recommended against education as a function of the District Councils 100 and supported the introduction of

97 Paper No.47, _V. & P._, Sir T.L. Mitchell, another member of the committee also resigned a few days earlier.

98 7,642 in public schools, 4,864 in private. As Broughton pointed out, these figures omit children being educated at home by tutors (Minutes of Evidence, 15/7/1844, Q.18).

99 "The first great objection to the denominational system is its expense; the number of schools in a given locality ought to depend on the number of children requiring instruction which the locality contains. To submit any other principle is to depart from those maxims of wholesome economy upon which public money should always be administered." (Report of the Select Committee, p.2).

the Irish National system administered by a central Board of Education, composed of men of differing religious beliefs. They advocated efficient school inspection, the foundation of a Normal School for training teachers, and expressed the belief that education should be neither compulsory nor free. But it was only after three years of public debate that any of these recommendations were implemented, and then only partially.

Early in September, 1844 the "friends of general education" led by Lowe attempted to hold a public meeting in favour of the report, but because of disruption they succeeded only at the third attempt. Opposition meetings of Protestants (under Broughton) and Catholics (under Polding) swiftly followed. The Anglican and Roman Catholic Clergy circulated petitions against the adoption of the report. Fifty petitions (15,118 signatures) were presented to the Council opposing the Report and only 24 (with 2,120 signatures) favouring. The Dissenters in general

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102 Between 1836 and 1844 Catholics had received greater aid for education and hence were no longer disposed to tolerate the Irish National system. Cf. P.F. Moran, History of the Catholic Church in Australasia (Sydney, 1893, p.864).
supported the plan, though the Wesleyans officially opposed it. 104

The conservative Sydney Morning Herald was in opposition and considered the Lowe Committee's report partisan. "It is quite clear they have come to a decision not only not justified by the evidence, but in direct opposition to it". 105 Nevertheless, it condemned the turbulent methods of the Catholic opposition at the public meetings called to support the Select Committee's Report. "The meeting of the friends of general education was dissolved yesterday without doing any business, in consequence of the disorderly and disgraceful conduct of a mob of illiterate persons, principally Irish". 106 A month later it wrote that Protestants must insist on the inclusion of the Authorised Version of the Scriptures in the schools. It was for the Catholics to decide whether or not they could accept such a general system. 107

104 The Rev. Robert Ross, Independent Minister stated (Minutes of Evidence, 17/7/1844, Q.102): "It is the duty of the Government, if it is their duty to provide education at all, to provide it for all the people; and if any body of Christians refuse to avail themselves of the advantages of the system, let them, from their own resources, carry on their own system".

105 Leader, "The Irish System", 7 September, 1844.

106 4 September, 1844. The Herald had changed its position somewhat since 1836. Then it gave more space to education and was more partisan. By 1844 its ownership had changed (the Anglican Kemp and the Congregationalist Fairfax).

107 3 October, 1844.
Register, edited by W.A. Duncan, a liberal and a Catholic convert, supported the National system. He promised to return to the "Education Crusade" in 1845, but the promise was not kept. The Australian came out in favour of the Irish system, though not very energetically. Only The Atlas, under the guidance of Robert Lowe, kept up a reasonable campaign until 1848. The press was, in general, more concerned with the squatting problem than education. Many of the radical papers ignored the question completely.

In an early issue of The Atlas Robert Lowe drew attention to an important aspect of public opinion on education when he asked: "Has His Excellency looked at the last controversy without being fully aware that the bigoted clamour against the general system has not been raised by the people, but solely by the clergy". This opinion was shared by the clergy themselves. Although the Lord Bishop of Australia publicly claimed that the 3,000 signatures in 1839 to

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108 Weekly Register, 21 December, 1844. Duncan edited the Australian Chronicle from 1839 to 1843 and his own Weekly Register from 1843 to 1846.

109 McCulloch, op.cit., p.33.

110 Ibid.


112 7/12/1844. He quoted Therry's remark that in the preceding ten years the government had been in advance of public opinion.
petitions against Gipps' resolutions was evidence of the attachment of the people to the Church of England, in private he admitted that the people were indifferent to the fate of the Church. "The odds are fearfully against me. I really have no effective support. The hearts of the best part of the community I have no doubt are with me; but there is little sense or comprehension of what it is to oppose a government measure upon principle". In August 1844 he wrote: "All signs betoken that we shall fall". Those, he said, who in past times had stood by him in defence of the Church schools had fallen under the disastrous influence of the changed circumstances of the community - the establishment of the partly-elective Legislative Council. Even within the Church there seemed little independent life. The Church of England Lay Association established in 1845, was described by The Atlas as merely an instrument of Bishop Broughton.

Not only the new Legislative Council but also the enfranchised press had detracted from the influence of the

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114 Broughton to Coleridge, 17/8/1844, cited ibid., p.236.
115 Broughton to Coleridge, 15/8/1844, ibid.
116 1 March, 1845; 18 July, 1846.
clergy. A Presbyterian Minister in 1844 contrasted conditions in the 18th and 19th centuries. "Then the Church and Pulpit were the vehicles of knowledge, now it is the daily press ... The voice of the people was echoed by the Minister, now the Editor is the organ of politics and liberty". 117

The unskilled labouring classes appear to have been little moved by denominational loyalties when it came to educating their children. The locality of the school and the ability of the teachers were usually more important. The Wesleyan Minister, John McKenny, told the 1844 Committee that among the 70 children at the Methodist school at Newtown there were not half-a-dozen Methodists. They were principally Presbyterians or Anglicans. 118 But these were chiefly children of mechanics. The Presbyterian master of a private school for infants and young children claimed that Catholic parents made no objection to their children attending his school unless the priest intervened. 119 Presumably, too, these children came from higher social grades. The bulk of the lower classes were Anglican or Catholic. The fact that these Churches could hold large public meetings suggests that at times the lower orders

118 Minutes of Evidence, 22/7/1844, Q.10, 24.
119 Peter Steel, ibid., 9/7/1844, Q.16.
could be stirred. But once pressure was relaxed, apathy returned.

In the countryside where the majority of the children belonged to the lower class, mixed religions in the few schools that existed appears to have been common.\textsuperscript{120} However, Catholic schools seem to have contained fewer non-Catholics.\textsuperscript{121}

By 1844, then, major changes in public attitudes had occurred. The dissenters (the Wesleyans excepted) had come to favour the Irish National system. The Catholics were firmly in opposition. A considerable portion of the press, though not the \textit{Herald}, was also in support. But in general apathy was widespread.

Mr. Robinson, the Quaker member for Melbourne, moved in the Legislative Council for "Lord Stanley's system of National Education" on 20 September, 1844. But the motion finally carried by 13 votes to 12 on 10 October supported the National system, combined with aid to denominational schools conveyed in trust to a Board. Gipps informed the Council that

\textsuperscript{120} William Macarthur, \textit{Evidence on the school on Camden Estate, 30/7/1844, Q.16.} \\
\textsuperscript{121} B.P. Scannell, \textit{Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844, Q.21.} In 1856 21\% of children in Anglican schools were of other denominations, 36\% in Presbyterian, but only 6\% in Catholic schools. Cf. Fogarty, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.I, p.137, n.68.
in view of the opposition of the clergy and the existence of Clause 42 of the Constitutional Act delegating education to District Councils, he would take no action. A second attempt on Council to introduce the new system (17 December, 1844) brought no response from the Governor; he drew attention to the unsatisfactory state of the colony's finances.\(^{122}\)

Gipps' term of office, originally expiring February, 1844, had been extended by the Home Government. Before leaving the colony he had to make another major decision involving finance, education, and the Churches; the distribution of the £30,000 for the Churches under the 1842 Act. In August 1845 he proposed that this be divided among the four denominations receiving aid on the basis of the 1841 census, this proportion to remain fixed despite any future population changes.\(^{123}\) This proved adverse to the Wesleyans. When the

\(^{122}\) McCulloch, "The attempt to establish a National System of Education in N.S.W." (Pacific Historical Review February 1959). In 1844 there was a deficit of £34,600. In his paper, The Atlas (14 December, 1844), Lowe suggested that a bargain had been made between Gipps and Broughton, whereby Gipps would abandon his educational plans in return for the Bishop's support of his squatting regulations. This theory was mentioned in Rusden's National Education and Lang's Historical and Statistical Account of N.S.W. and it is repeated in Smith and Spaull (pp.82-83). Recent writers discount it. (Cf. Austin, p.20; McCulloch, p.35). Grose ("1847: Educational Compromise", op.cit., pp.237-238) is uncertain.

\(^{123}\) Gipps to Stanley, 7 August, 1845, H.R.A., I, vol.XXIV, p.441. Gipps also preferred that "public worship" should remain undefined, thus including education. Gipps' suggestion was approved, Gladstone to Gipps, 17 January, 1846, ibid., p.713.
1846 census revealed a great increase in their numbers (from 2.6% to 4.2% of the total) they memorialized London, claiming that the 1841 census had under-stated their strength. The Colonial officials denied this and asserted that immigration explained the growth of Methodism.\textsuperscript{124} No change was made in the method of distributing aid and the Wesleyans, finding the denominational system of education burdensome, were more disposed to consider reform.

(d) Fitzroy and the Pressures for Reform

Gipps departed for London in July, 1846, Sir Charles Fitzroy arriving in the following month. Soon after, Lowe (elected to the Legislative Council in April 1845) successfully moved for money to be placed on the estimates for national education. For financial reasons Governor Fitzroy did not comply with the request. Yet in August, 1847 the estimates for 1848 providing funds for a Denominational and a National Board of Education, were approved.

How was it that Governor Fitzroy was able to establish a Board of National Education which went a long way towards meeting the 1844 proposals only two years after Gipps had

left the colony? The answer to this question lies in four spheres. First, the census of 1846, and the reanalysis of it which Fitzroy ordered, revealed that a large proportion of children were receiving no formal schooling, and that the number of children of school age was about to rise rapidly; secondly, Fitzroy's tour of the inland emphasized to him the inability of the existing denominational system to provide schooling there; thirdly, financial problems predisposed the Churches, particularly the Anglican, to be less obdurate; fourthly, a reorganization of government fiscal methods in 1847 permitted it to face the prospect of increased expenditure on education. We will examine each of these influences in turn.

In November, 1846, soon after his arrival, Governor Fitzroy directed a re-analysis of the 1846 census in regard to education. This was the first census to include returns on literacy - itself a reflection of growing interest in the state of education. The re-analysed figures revealed that of the 9,406 children in the 7-13 years age

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125 A.G. Austin poses this question in George William Rusden and National Education in Australia, p.21. I have deviated somewhat from his answers.


127 N.S.W. Government Gazette, 11 August, 1847 (p.845 et seq).
group within the County of Cumberland (i.e. the Sydney district) 15% could not read, 29% could read but not write, and 56% could read and write. In the other 19 counties, 29% of the 7,386 children in the same age group could not read, 31% could read only, and 40% could read and write. Finally, of the 998 children outside the boundaries, 41% could not read, 32% could read only, and 27% could read and write. The number of illiterate children increased steadily as one moved away from Sydney. The denominational system, clearly, could not cater for the needs of rural areas.

Another point revealed by the census was that in 1846 there were 35,491 children aged six and less, compared to 17,790 between the ages of seven and 13. In other words, there would be a considerable influx into the schools between 1846 and 1852, and a doubling of the children of school age. In fact, due to the early starting age, this was already beginning. Could the denominational schools handle this increase?

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128 This region was divided into 11 Commissioners' Districts (excluding Melbourne and Brisbane) and consisted of Bligh, Clarence River, Darling Downs, Lachlan, Liverpool Plains, McLeay River, Menaroo, Moreton Bay (outside the County of Stanley, i.e. Brisbane) Murrumbidgee, New England and Wellington.

129 According to the returns of the colony, the number in elementary schools rose from 9,337 in 1844 to 10,944 in 1845, and 13,015 in 1846.
A second influence on Fitzroy's attitude to elementary education was the tour of rural N.S.W. which His Excellency made in late 1846 and early 1847, accompanied by Lady Fitzroy, his son George, the Colonial Secretary, Deas Thomson (son-in-law of Sir Richard Bourke), and his Aide, Lt. Col. Mundy. Fitzroy found that the District Councils, whose responsibilities included education, were in complete abeyance. This tour reinforced the picture provided by the census of a complete lack of provision for education in the rural areas.

In the early 1840's there was not a single Church nor a resident clergyman in the 400 odd miles between Yass and Melbourne. Absence of ministers implied an absence of schools. At the commencement of 1839 13 out of the 21 counties lacked schools or schoolmasters of any denomination, while in another there was only a single Presbyterian school. The number of children under 12 in these 13 counties was estimated at 1,989 (1,041 boys, 948 girls). Outside the 21 counties, the number of children was 207 (103 boys, 104 girls). This gave a total of 2,196 children in areas where there were no schools (the total number of children receiving schooling in 1838 was about 5,154). \(^\text{131}\)

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\(^{131}\) Burton, *Religion and Education in N.S.W.*, pp.133-134. The figures are based on the 1836 census. Burton, one must bear in mind, was concerned to impress Englishmen with the need to aid Anglican religion and education in N.S.W.
The absence of basic education in rural areas, however, was not entirely due to inadequate provision. Lieutenant-Colonel G.C. Mundy's account of the 1846-47 tours emphasizes the general shortage of labour which led to the employment of children in useful occupations from an early age. ¹³²

Bush boarding-schools were sometimes seen as the solution to problems of rural education. William Macarthur's boarding-school on his property at Camden catered for as many as 50 children of various denominations. ¹³³ Indeed, some squatters appear to have feared that the Irish National system would attract their servants to the more settled regions to obtain schooling for their children, and they accordingly advocated that boarding-houses be attached to national schools. ¹³⁴

A third important reason for the educational reform of August, 1847 was a changed attitude on the part of Bishop Broughton and the Anglican hierarchy. The Bishop's influence on state policy had been weakened by the granting

¹³² *Our Antipodes* (1854), p.432. Burton, rather rashly, regarded all children in the hinterland as belonging to the "lower orders". It is certain that the great majority were. Cf. Mansfield, *op.cit.* Outside Sydney domestic servants, shepherds, stockmen, agricultural labourers, etc. (convicts excluded) outnumbered the rural upper class by over nine to one (36,351 to 3,915).

¹³³ Select Committee (1844), Minutes of Evidence, 30/7/1844, Q.14-20.

¹³⁴ *Austin, George William Rusden and National Education in Australia*, p.44.
of representative government. But he continued to sit on the Executive Council after he left the Legislative Council in 1843. He resigned from the Executive Council in 1846, when Gipps' departure had been decided upon,\textsuperscript{135} and was replaced by the Collector of Customs and Attorney-General John Plunkett; Plunkett was a Liberal and a Catholic, and since 1836 a staunch supporter of the Irish National system. Robert Lowe's Atlas attributed the partial victory of the Irish National system in 1847 to "the happy removal of the Bishop of Australia from the Executive Council, and the elevation of the Attorney-General to his Lordship's seat".\textsuperscript{136}

But in addition to a loss of political influence the Bishop had also suffered economic losses. In 1844 Broughton stated that in the preceding eight years he had received nearly £2,000 from Church Societies in England to help build schools in N.S.W. "Several of the schools could not have been carried on but for the assistance afforded by the Societies".\textsuperscript{137} In 1845 Broughton received notice from England that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

\textsuperscript{136} 15 May, 1847.
\textsuperscript{137} Questions 53 and 54, Minutes of Evidence 15/7/1844. (Select Committee on Education). In 1840 Judge Burton on a visit to England persuaded a Gloucester vicar to give £1,000 for education in Australia (Whittington, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 158-159).
wished the colonial Church to become more self-supporting and he agreed that from 1847 on the colonial Church should be economically independent.\footnote{138} From 1844 the colonial government started to enforce stringently the Regulations of September, 1841, limiting the sums granted to the Churches for education and preventing the transference of any surplus into the following year.\footnote{139} The number of pupils in the post-1837 schools was increasing, in all denominations, more rapidly than in the pre-1836 schools. The Regulations of 1841 were producing a financial crisis.

To make matters worse, the Executive Council decided in April, 1845 that grants under the Church Act of 1836 were restricted by the Constitution Act to a maximum of £30,000 a year, and moreover that this grant was permissive rather than obligatory. The Bishop was fighting a losing battle.\footnote{140}

Another shock came in 1846. The census of that year revealed that Anglicans formed 51% of the population rather than \footnote{139} 57% as in the 1841 census. As the Methodists quickly pointed out, if the distribution of the £30,000 grant were based on this census they would receive an

\footnote{138} Grose, "1847: The Educational Compromise", \textit{op.cit.}, pp.244-245.  
\footnote{139} Grose, unpublished B.A. thesis, p.147.  
\footnote{140} Grose, "1847: The Educational Compromise", \textit{op.cit.}, p.244.
increase of £545 and the Anglican grant would shrink by £1,866. This discovery came at an awkward time, for in March 1846 Gladstone had approved Broughton's plan for three new bishoprics - Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide. The Church was encumbered with debt, and even though the depression was passing, there was little disposition among the people to contribute to Church funds. "The Church in New South Wales has only one source to look to for the support of its Clergy", wrote Tyrrell, the new Bishop of Newcastle to Earl Grey, "namely, to the portion appropriated to it out of the £30,000". He suggested that this would shortly prove inadequate and urged an increase.

Bishop Broughton was being driven towards a compromise over education. On 3 May, 1847 he wrote to Fitzroy suggesting that if finance were given to the Anglican Church to maintain their schools they would accept a syllabus of

141 Memorial of Wesleyan Ministers, 9 January, 1847, op.cit.

142 E.C. Rowland, A Century of the English Church in N.S.W. (1948), p.95. The situation was sufficiently critical for Broughton to contemplate surrendering £1,000 (half his salary). This stirred Gladstone and in the event Broughton suffered a loss of £500 p.a. only. Considerable aid also came from the Colonial Bishoprics Fund (cf. Whittington, op.cit., pp.169-171).


secular instruction from the government and government inspection. On 11 May the Colonial Secretary, Deas Thomson, made his decisive proposal to the Legislative Council to grant £2,000 for National Schools.

Finally, an improvement in government finance made educational extension easier. In January, 1847 Fitzroy recommended the resumption of a system tried a few years earlier by which the costs of immigration were met by the issue of debentures, secured on the land revenue. Grey approved this in August. This relaxation of pressure on colonial revenue freed funds for education.

(e) The Compromise of 1847

In April, 1847 the Sydney Chronicle, a Catholic paper, proposed a new solution for the education dispute. Considering both the denominational system as it existed and a general system unsuitable, the paper suggested the distribution of an annual Legislative Council grant to educational boards appointed by the heads of the respective Churches. This

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Broughton to Fitzroy, 3 May, 1847, 47/4786 N.S.W. Col. Sec. In Letters, Box 2/1717, M.L. (Grose, ibid., p.238-239)

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Fitzroy to Grey, 30/1/1847. H.R.A., vol.XXV, p.334;

148

Austin suggests yet another reason why Fitzroy so quickly solved the education impasse - the squatter had been placated by the Order-in-Council of March 1847 and an atmosphere of goodwill existed (Australian Education, p.45).

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Leader, "Education", 7 April, 1847. The establishment of a training college in Sydney was also recommended.
idea had been rejected by the Anglican Bishop of Australia at the Lowe Committee hearings in July, 1844. But this scheme had the attraction of shielding the executive government from the direct pressure of the ecclesiastical educationists and relieving it of the burden of the general supervision of elementary education.

Deas Thomson made his proposal for a grant for national schools on 11 May, 1847. But the final form of the new system was still in doubt. In June 1847 it was announced that no aid would be given to any new school, nor would expenditure on existing schools exceed the legislature's vote.\textsuperscript{151} Grant's motion in July for a vote for education outside the limits of settlement was deferred through the influence of Deas Thomson.\textsuperscript{152}

The \textit{Sydney Chronicle} came out against any system of state-controlled schools and argued for improvement of the existing denominational system.\textsuperscript{153} In August the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} opposed the Irish National System mainly because it excluded the Protestant Bible from schools in a society where Protestants formed the majority.\textsuperscript{154} But once

\textsuperscript{150-151} \textit{Government Gazette}, 18 June, 1847. The years 1847 and 1848 were deficit ones. (\textit{Statistical Register} for 1859, Report, Table facing p.30).
\textsuperscript{152} \textit{V. & P.}, 20 July, 1847; \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 21 July, 1847.
\textsuperscript{153} \textit{Sydney Chronicle}, Leaders, 24 July, 1847; 21 August, 1847, 4 Septemberm 1847.
\textsuperscript{154} \textit{Leader}, 20 August, 1847.
the £2,000 for national schools was voted the Herald came out for two Boards - a Board for the Irish system and one for the denominational.  

Neither the Thomson statement of 11 May nor the vote in August 1847 brought opposition from the Anglican Bishop. The Bishop was reconciled to a compromise. Proceedings in the Legislative Council were \( \text{PLACED}, \text{MODIFICATION} \). The main \( \text{RESERVATION} \) to the Government's proposals was that, under prompting from Charles Cowper, the chief advocate of denominationalism, the distinction between different Church schools, and between those established before 1837 and those since 1836, was abandoned. Instead a single grant of £4,120 was made to a Board.  

The Catholic press was surprised at the general apathy. The Chronicle promised to oppose the vote, but was quite at a loss to see why Charles Cowper, Broughton's protégé, did not remonstrate in the Council.  

The Catholic community lacked firm leadership. Roger Therry, Judge of the Supreme Court, John Plunkett, Attorney-General, and W.A. Duncan, editor of the Weekly Register, all liberal Catholic intellectuals, supported the Irish National system. The Archbishop, Dr. Polding, had been in Europe from

155 Leader, 8 September, 1847.
156 S.M.H., 27 August, 1847.
157 Sydney Chronicle, 4 September, 1847.
January 1846 to February 1847, and came back to find the basic decisions made. His absence, together with the Church of England's willingness to compromise, goes far to explain the calm which the 1847 arrangements.

The Sydney Morning Herald summed it up in a sub-leader on the "intellectual barrenness of New South Wales". Apathy and torpor were general. There was not sufficient unity of purpose and public encouragement, and the truth was that the public cared for none of these things; "self-self-self is at the top, at the bottom, and in the middle of the barrel". Public mind was non-existent in Sydney. Everything was sectarian or schismatic and one-sided.

A reason for the lack of public interest in the educational issue was that religion did not occupy a prominent part in the concerns of the small community. As Nadel puts it,

The clerical fights were performed before an audience which generally watched, rather than participated in, what they sometimes believed to be shadow-sparring. On vital occasions - that is, when issues were debated not between denominations but between secular and religious opponents - many of the laity even disavowed the opinions of their Clergy.

The opinions which did find public ventilation reflected the views of clerical leaders and the religious or intel-

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158 23 March, 1847. But cf. also the following chapter for mid-century optimism.

159 Nadel, op.cit., p.242.
lectual commitments of newspaper proprietors. In times of economic crisis agitation arose over the financial aspects of schooling. On particular issues, feeling could be aroused over the sectarian aspects of education. But the mass of the people had little knowledge of the educational question. Official administrators were in advance of public opinion, but they found it difficult to assess this opinion.

As a "free society" emerged it became clear that schooling was not a major means of social mobility nor of vocational training — it was quite possible to rise in the world without education. Schools, however, were useful baby-minding centres for working mothers. Concerned with promoting education for reasons of social or moral improvement were few in number, and mainly found amongst the middle class. Impersonal factors — the need for financial efficiency, the growing population of school age — were among the major reasons for educational reform.

The final decision about elementary education was taken under strong pastoral pressure. Grant's ineffective move in July 1847 was followed in September by a motion for £1,000 for education beyond the boundaries which was lost by one vote. The Governor's opening address to the Council in

For a discussion of social mobility about 1850 vide Nadel, op.cit., Ch.15: "Social Mobility and the Working Man".

Moved by O'Connell, V. & P., 28 September, 1847; S.M.H., 29 September, 1847.
March 1848 recognized the need for provision for education beyond the limits and for this purpose the vote for national schools was increased to £3,000 for 1849. The newly-established Board of National Education attributed the growth in public support for a "general system" to the rural problem. "The general feeling now seems to be that no other system can be so advisable for our vast pastoral districts".

The solution adopted in 1847 was not that recommended by the Lowe Committee nor that suggested at the last moment by Broughton, but a combination of both. The Irish National system was created alongside, not in place of, the denominational system and at the eleventh hour the scheme of two Boards was adopted.

(f) Diversity in the Philosophy of Elementary Education: Are Religious and Social Ends Compatible?

In the 1830's and 1840's the main themes of N.S.W. educational thinkers regarding elementary schooling were the importance of religious and moral education in discouraging

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162 V. & P., 21 March, 1848.
163 S.M.H., 6 June, 1848.
crime, the special role of the state in education, and the
importance of a religious education in fostering social
cohesion and respect for authority. There was a growing
difference, however, between those who stressed the moral and
religious functions and those who wished to distinguish between
secular and religious education in the interests of social
harmony and cohesion. Little attention was given to the
vocational role of education. Theorists and popular spokes­
men were silent on the educational aspects of schooling, as
distinct from the political, social, or religious aspects.165

James Macarthur provides an upper class view of the
purpose of elementary education. In New South Wales; its
Present State and Future Prospects (1837) he mentions the
growing belief in England that moral education rather than
punishment provides the best means of countering crime and
suggests that in N.S.W.

demoralization and crime can be checked by providing
and the social condition of the colony improved by providing
a "sound religious education", for it is "the
characteristic attribute of education, rightly conducted, to
implant religious and moral principles, to instil and nourish
the disposition towards good, instead of merely keeping down

165

Referring to the period 1825-1875 Professor Francis
Anderson of Sydney University wrote in 1914: "There was never
at any time in those early years any broad or scientific
discussion of educational means or ends". (Federal Handbook
of Australia, edited G.H. Knibbs, 1914, p.510). The position
was not quite as sterile as this.
the outward manifestations of evil". But in the special conditions of the colony religious and moral education requires state support. "Whatever room there may be for differences of opinion about the utility of government interference as regards education in Great Britain, there appears to be no ground for doubting the necessity for such interference in New South Wales." This view was associated for political-social reasons with opposition to the Irish National system, and support for the Australian School Society.

William Woolls, an English immigrant and teacher who ultimately (1873) took Holy Orders in the Church of England, based his approach on religious-moral-social grounds. While the purposes he hoped to serve were essentially similar to those of Macarthur, his emphasis was to a much greater extent on social improvement. He believed that the three prime evils in N.S.W. in 1838 were drunkenness, an insatiable desire for money, and want of religion. Education was the cure for social ills. "A want of competent instruction has been

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167 Ibid., p. 219.
the primary source of all the crimes and wickedness which abound among us."\textsuperscript{169}

Woolls found "the most lamentable ignorance" prevailing among "the children of the humbler classes of society". Ignorant of religion, unable to read and write, hundreds of children were cast upon the world without a compass to guide them. "Early tutored in the ways of vice and debauchery, exposed to the fearful example of hardened criminals, and destitute of any principle which is capable of counteracting the evil influence of their associates, they labour under difficulties of no ordinary nature."\textsuperscript{170}

Woolls believed it was the duty of the State to educate the children of the lower classes - they had neither the means nor inclination to undertake this for themselves. He rejected the old view that education of the lower classes might be dangerous.

Experience has demonstrated that education, when based on principles of true religion, is productive of the most beneficial effects. Far from raising the lower orders to a station not intended for them by Providence, or of causing them to entertain feelings of contempt towards their superiors, it has taught them to do their duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call them, and to render that respect to those in authority which religion and reason require.\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{169} "Education in New South Wales", \textit{op.cit.}, p.91.

\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., p.92.

\textsuperscript{171} Ibid., pp.95-96.
The government should make religion, the chief bond of human society, the basis of education. "Nothing is better calculated to restrain the vices and follies of a people, and to keep them in a state of due subjection, then to impress upon their minds the fear of God, and a future state of rewards and punishments." 172

Woolls believed that differences between Protestants and Catholics excluded a general union in a national system, but that the Government should nevertheless provide a system of national schools.

Macarthur spoke for the privileged classes whose powers were being threatened by the emancipists and whigs; Woolls shared the ideas of social improvement then becoming prevalent amongst English middle class reformers; Robert Lowe was in the van of the new movement, believing that enlightenment of the masses was desirable for its own sake and that, as Mill and Bentham argued, general education was the essential concomitant of an enlarged suffrage.

Lowe argued that a general system of education was necessary "to give the means of enlightenment to a community - to disseminate a spirit of harmony and brotherly love". 173

He regretted the division of the colony into sectarian

172 Ibid., p.99.
173 A.P. Martin, idib.
parties. The existence of convicts and ex-convicts in N.S.W. made an efficient and general system of education urgent. "If we refuse to give the power to read to the many ... the colony must sink down into the depths of degradation too dreadful to describe." Sectarian education, Lowe believed, would not lead to enhanced religious and moral education, but to a lack of general education altogether. It was the duty of the state to put down the spirit of sectarian rivalry.

Lowe supported "secular" education not so much because of his anti-clerical views as on the solid grounds of political economy. The denominational system was expensive and inefficient; hence its repugnance to the man who was later to introduce the "payment by results" system in England. In his speech before the Legislative Council on 9 October, 1846, Lowe stated: "I would have a child instructed in religion as in anything else, but what I want is that religion should not necessarily be mixed up with instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic."\(^\text{175}\)

J.D. Lang's views on elementary education were biased towards the Scottish pattern - widespread elementary education with a practical and commercial curriculum suitable for both


lower and middle classes. He pointed out, was a religious one. The Holy Scriptures were placed in the hands of Scottish children without note or comment. He advocated a similar system in N.S.W., and his anti-Catholic prejudices were heightened by Catholic opposition to this practice.

Lang believed that it was "the first duty of the legislature of any country, as well as of its press" to promote "the intellectual, the moral and the spiritual welfare of its general population". The Government had the right to insist on children being educated, since it had a duty to protect the state against ignorance.

In 1837 Lang reversed his attitude to the Irish National system. During the 1840's he came under the influence of Lowe and absorbed many of his ideas. In 1844 he asserted that lack of education encouraged crime. Only six out of 48 inmates in Woolloomooloo gaol were literate! If the state did not provide the machinery for education, in all probability

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176 As we have seen (Ch. I) he sponsored a move for a parochial school catering for both lower and middle classes and suggested that the failure of the Church and School Corporation to provide higher education was designed to prevent the humbler classes rising.

177 The Colonist, 12/2/1835.

178 Leader, "General Education", Ibid., 5/5/1836.

"the vice and crime that are the natural result of ignorance" would be imposed on the community, necessitating a vast expenditure on police, gaols, and judicial establishments. In addition, since the franchise must be extended, the state had to ensure that citizens were educated so as to exercise their rights properly.

Robert Lowe and the 1844 Select Committee were concerned to assess the strength of the link between religion and education. The Anglican clergyman, Robert Allwood, told the Committee that education was a system "to enable men duly to fulfil the ends for which they are created".

They have certain powers and faculties bestowed on them, and the object of education is to train them to the right use and development of these powers and faculties ... a Man's whole life is but an education for another.

But in N.S.W. the social function of education was as cogent a matter as preparation for eternity, for the economic limitations on the franchise could be fairly easily surmounted and a considerable degree of democracy existed in fact. Allwood agreed that it might be well to restrict the franchise and the holding of government office to those

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180 Speech at meeting of the "friends of a general system", School of Arts, Sydney (S.M.H., 9/9/1844).
181 S.M.H., 7/10/1844.
182 Minutes of Evidence, 5/7/1844, Q.29.
able to read. Moreover the doctrines of faculty psychology to which Allwood referred could apply to a state, secular, system as easily as to a religious. Thus the *Weekly Register* remarked in September 1844 that it was "the duty, the indispensable duty of the state to cultivate the moral and intellectual faculties of its subjects" by a general system of education.

Bishop Polding conceded to the 1844 Committee that it was possible to give religious knowledge without teaching to read, but wished to see reading and religious knowledge conferred simultaneously. He took education to include not only "the mere instruction of children" but also "the curbing and repressing of the animal propensities" and "the training of the moral sentiments". Charles Kemp, the Anglican co-editor of the *Herald*, argued that since the most important part of education was religious instruction, the schools should be largely under the control of the clergy. He linked religion with good citizenship ("By 'education', I mean such instruction in secular and religious knowledge as is calculated to form a good citizen"), but the Committee extracted an admission that even under this definition it was

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183 Ibid., Q.49.
185 Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844, Q.81-83.
186 Q.1.
the duty of the state to give every citizen such an education; but he believed the people might insist on specific religious tenets being introduced. Congregationalist, the Rev. R. Ross, believed that education should instruct in the great fundamentals of the Christian faith, constitute good citizens, and "harmonise the community". Specific beliefs should be left to other instructors. The Lowe Committee illuminates the manifold difficulties preventing the growth of a common philosophy of education.

Some clergymen were reluctant to admit that secular education might diminish crime. In 1838 Ullathorne conceded the possibility of giving elementary education without religious instruction, but asserted that "those men who have gone through a course of systematic catechetical religious instruction are not generally a class of men that sink down and become thoroughly degraded". The Anglican Bishop stated in 1844 that "no doubt education to some extent represses crime, but I think not in the degree which some have laid down".

187 Ibid., 22/7/1844, Q.38, 39, 47.
188 Ibid., 17/7/1844, Q.4, 16.
189 2nd Report, Molesworth Committee on Transportation, Minutes of Evidence, 8/2/1838. Q.195.
190 Broughton, Minutes of Evidence, Lowe Committee, 15/7/1844, Q.38.
There was widespread acceptance of "the duty of the state" in education, even though this challenged current English principles of voluntaryism and laissez-faire. The search was for the form and degree of state intervention. "Education is absolutely necessary to the well-being of society; but it is well-known there are parents who are totally regardless of the education of their children; therefore the State should enforce that which is necessary for its own safety."\(^{191}\) Like Mill, some colonials favoured state compulsion within the context of a denominational system. "The duty of the state is simply to see that the child is not left without education. The means, and in some degree the measure, of that education must rest with the parent."\(^{192}\)

The bad effects of the "migratory habits of the working classes" also raised the question of compulsory attendance. Most witnesses at the 1844 enquiries regarded this as an infringement of liberty, though one teacher did suggest the impoundment in police stations of children found in the streets during school hours.\(^{193}\)

\(^{191}\) Edward McRoberts, Minutes of Evidence, Lowe Committee, 5/7/1844, Q.41.
\(^{192}\) Ibid., Q.44.
\(^{193}\) Peter Robertson, Minutes of Evidence, 22/7/1844, Q.23.
The vocational function of education attracted little attention. Polding, it is true, believed that many sent their children to school to help them rise socially. "Many wish them to be taught to read and write, in order to escape from that state in which God has placed them; and to get situations as clerks, rather than be compelled to apply themselves to any laborious occupation." But this probably assumes esteem for clerical work which was not widespread.

Broughton, however, considered that "the people here do not properly appreciate the advantages of education". Coupled with this lack of appreciation was the influence of the shortage of labour and the value of the earning power of children. This led to an abbreviated education ("Many are considered educated, in a colonial sense, at ten years old", said Broughton). Social mobility was constantly of relevance to educational discussions.

The settlement had been founded to punish vice and discourage crime, and the moral and religious influence of

194 Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844. Q.90.
195 Minutes of Evidence, 15/7/1844. Q.58.
196 "In the course of a few years, the man who at the outset had nothing to depend on for comfort but what might result from the work of his own hands, may find himself in the condition of a small capitalist; and thus he moves upwards in society to make room for others." (Carmichael, "Hints to Emigrants", The New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory, 1834, p.xxxii).
education was regarded as a means, though a minor one, towards this end. But by the 1830's doubt was growing whether transportation represented a punishment, and after its discontinuance it became fashionable to attribute vice to ignorance rather than innate moral perversion. In consequence, the State's responsibility to provide social amelioration through instruction was more widely accepted. An increasing number regarded sectarian religion in the schools as contributing to social disunity. The extension of self-government reinforced the belief that it was the duty of the State to foster education.

At the beginning of these two decades the moral improvement that flowed from education, particularly religious education, was emphasized; at the end, the service of knowledge in the cause of social harmony was becoming a main theme. The idea of progress was growing and social improvement through secular education was part of that idea, shown, for instance in the verse of Charles Harpur:

197 The older view is illustrated in Thoughts on Secondary Punishments by Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, 1832. Cf. p.141. "People sometimes think that an unlettered reprobate can be taught virtue as he can be taught to read: But they forget that in the one case they have to contend with ignorance, in the other with fixed habits."


199 The Sydney Morning Herald remarked the same aspirations were abroad as in the 16th century (Leader, 9/1/1849) and that the spirit of the age was, despite the apathetic many, "eminently enterprising" (Leader, 9/2/1849).
The march of Knowledge hasten;
Charge onward and be free!
Before are Mercy, Justice, Truth,
Out standard-bearers three!200-201

(g) Schools, Pupils, Teachers.

In 1831 32 elementary schools were receiving state aid. All were single-teacher ones, the master being aided by a female relative, usually his wife, who looked after needlework lessons and the infants. The monitorial system was used, and all schools were officially Anglican.202

By 1835 there were 37 Anglican schools receiving aid (two Orphan, two Primary, five Infants, 27 General) with 67 teachers (including wives), and 2,226 scholars. The schools ranged in size from 164 pupils to six, but they were mostly small. Eight schools had more than 100 pupils, 12 had 30

200-201
"A War Song for the Nineteenth Century", in Austral-asian Chronicle, 31/1/1843. Also his "Finality", an ode with a preface. (Atlas, 21/8/1847; The Empire, 30/6/1851).
202
Returns of the Colony of New South Wales, 1831.
or less. Ten Catholic schools were listed, with 12 teachers and 849 pupils.

From 1838 Presbyterian schools were given government support, 17 being listed in that year. The division in the Presbyterian Church by the secession of voluntaryists - Dr. Lang in 1842, the "Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia" in 1846 did little to impede the expansion of Presbyterian elementary schools, which numbered 43 by 1847, though it appears have had an adverse influence on Presbyterian higher education.

In 1839 Wesleyan Methodist schools appear in the returns - five schools with 166 pupils. By 1842 these had increased to 13 and by 1844 to 19.

The provision of elementary schools in 1847 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>3198</td>
<td>2702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1484</td>
<td>1249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Anglican and Catholic figures included orphan schools. The Catholic Orphan School for boys and girls opened in 1838 (cf. Foster, op. cit., p. 274).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent (Port Phillip)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (Port Phillip)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>1753</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures do not include private-venture elementary schools, nor schools not receiving aid. In 1844, for instance, there were three Independent (Congregational) schools in Sydney, which did not rely on state aid.

Throughout the period under discussion the number of Presbyterian schools increased steadily; Anglican schools started to increase in 1841-42 (when they jumped from 41 to 49); Catholic schools grew rapidly between 1838 and 1842, and thereafter steadied in number (35 in 1842; 40 in 1847). Wesleyan schools reached 19 in 1844 and were thereafter added to only slowly.  

A striking feature was the overcrowding in Catholic and Anglican schools. In 1840 the average enrolment in Catholic schools was 69, in Anglican 76, in Presbyterian 59, and in Wesleyan 38. By 1847 the average for Catholic schools had

All educational statistics of this period must be regarded cautiously. The "head-money" system encouraged teachers to exaggerate enrolments; actual attendance was less than official enrolments; children were enrolled in schools other than their own denomination; the continuous pressure by London for the returns to be submitted on time probably produced hasty statistics; and some children may have been enrolled in several schools.
risen to 85, Anglican schools were much the same (77 pupils), Wesleyan had risen to 74, and Presbyterian to 64.

In 1846 Church of England schools held 42% of the total elementary school population (Anglicans made up 51% of the colony's population). Presbyterians had 21% of the pupils (12% of the population); Wesleyans 11% (4% of the population); and Roman Catholics 26% (27% of the population). The disproportionate support for Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools, together with their low teacher-pupil ratio, is some evidence that the dissenters maintained better schools. These were mainly middle class groups. The Catholic Church, the bulk of whose adherents came from the lower classes, had the most crowded schools.

The Catholic and Wesleyan schools usually had a larger proportion of girls than the Anglican and Presbyterian. The proportion of girls was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Church of England</th>
<th>Presbyterian</th>
<th>Wesleyan</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of the Catholics the predominance of girls presumably arose because boys entered the work-force at an early age. It is harder to explain the prevalence of girls in Methodist schools (they formed a majority in 1839-40-41 and 1843). Perhaps the boys were attracted to business at an
early age - dissenters were proportionately over-represented in commercial Sydney. Perhaps the Methodists compensated by their generous provision of Sunday Schools, though here, too, girls predominated.

Irregular attendance, frequent transfers between schools (as parents shifted about the country) and early leaving, due to the attractions of employment, hampered effective learning.

Infant schools and classes continued to be prevalent. At first only the Church of England maintained separate infant schools, but later the Catholics and Presbyterians established a few. In most schools, however, infants and older children were taught together. In 1838 the Church of England had four infants' schools in Sydney, and one in Parramatta. In Sydney the attendance at its infants' schools was 632, compared with 318 at its two primary schools. The curriculum in Church infants' schools was much the same as in the primary ones. A few infants' schools for middle class children existed without government aid. In 1844 Peter Steel had one with 200 pupils in Pitt Street. The high fees (10/6 per quarter) excluded children of mechanics and labourers. He accepted children from the age of two and a 207

In 1841 25.6% of all Methodists were in Sydney, 23.7% of Presbyterians, 22.8% of Catholics, and 22.4% of Anglicans (cf. Mansfield, op.cit., pp.21, 46). Methodists may have been underestimated in this census.
half on. In 1844 he had 30-40 children aged three to five, but also had some juvenile classes, fees from infants alone being inadequate. 208

At the other end of the scale, Mechanics' Institutes provided education for older members of the lower classes. The increasing wealth, leisure, and social mobility of the working orders suggested to middle class thinkers the desirability of some form of adult education. The Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts was established in 1833 and similar establishments spread throughout the colony, dedicated to the "intellectual, social and moral improvement" of the lower orders. But after the easing of immigration about 1841 and the depression of 1841-43, the movement became increasingly middle class in tone and composition. The growth of elementary schooling also helped undermine the original purpose of Mechanics' Institutes. 209

One of the major problems of education was the poor quality of teachers. Shortage of suitable teachers led to the employment of some convicts. But if, as was widely held, moral training was the essence of elementary education, then the moral quality of the teachers was a prime consideration.

208 Cf. Minutes of Evidence, Lowe Committee. Peter Steel, 9/7/1844; Rev. James Fullerton, 2/7/1844.
When the pressure of numbers led to the introduction of the monitory system, a similar problem arose. How far could youthful, immature monitors convey the religious and moral overtones of education? The supervision of the teacher by the local clergyman was some check, but clergymen were involved in too many other activities, while their control when exercised was often onerous and made teaching unattractive as a career.

In rural areas teachers were few, and of poor quality. Good men were not attracted beyond Sydney. Country Anglican teachers, for instance, received a lower salary than those in the city. In 1840 Burton wrote that the only teaching available to children in the hinterland came from itinerant teachers, who received little or nothing for their services. In 1849 Rusden described such itinerant teachers in southern N.S.W. "There are no fewer than five strolling teachers between Juglong and Gobarralong employed by the parents at some small salary." They were ignorant, ragged, and needy, and "having obtained a decent suit of clothing make off to dupe some other family." In some

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210 Cf. Broughton to the Colonial Secretary, 11 June, 1845, in L.C.V. & P., 25 September, 1845, p.443 et seq.
212 Austin, Rusden and National Education in Australia, p.39.
cases parents themselves attempted to teach their children the rudiments.213

In 1834 the Rev. Henry Carmichael remarked that it would be cruel to encourage teachers to come to N.S.W. by promise of "laurels and lucre". He believed that teachers could be more effective than clergymen in improving the moral and intellectual welfare of N.S.W. and it was the duty of the government to improve the condition of teachers. In the meantime, "there is ample room and inducement for the labours of inferior men as schoolmasters". Better to have teachers of poor quality, than no elementary teachers at all.214

Nevertheless, Lang managed to import 18 trained teachers (with government aid) in 1837. These were selected by the Glasgow Educational Society and helped to establish the high standards of Presbyterian schools. The Rev. W. Ullathorne brought out with government aid two women and four men (one of them W.A. Duncan) for Catholic schools in 1837-38.215

In Governor Gipps' time Archbishop Polding conceded that not much was done in Catholic schools. "On account of the

213 Ibid., p.53.
low salary that is paid, we cannot secure a sufficient number of proper teachers for the schools". Bishop Broughton told the 1844 Select Committee that in general applicants for the post of teacher "are not such as I would wish to have". A Baptist Minister believed that there were only two or three good teachers in public (parochial) schools, and many inferior ones in private schools.

The Select Committee questioned its witnesses closely about means of improving the quality and status of teachers. An Anglican Minister believed teachers held "that station in society to which their education entitles them". A Congregationalist Minister, the Rev. Robert Ross, suggested "a permanent residence, a garden, and fixed salaries ... I do not know anything else we can do. You cannot pass laws that they shall be respected." When some Committee members suggested that advanced education and training would provide professional status for teachers, the Rev. Mr. Ross agreed that if only those who had passed a strict test were allowed to teach this would ensure good character and education.

217 Minutes of Evidence, 15/7/1844. Q.242.
218 Rev. J. Saunders, 17/7/1844, Q.4, 10.
219 Rev. J. Fullerton, 2/7/1844, Q.95.
But if you speak of a broken down tradesman who has turned schoolmaster, unless he distinguishes himself in his new calling by peculiar ability, I do not see how the privilege could be conferred upon him.²²⁰

With the multiplication of schools in the 1830's the need for permanent Normal and Model schools to train teachers became urgent. The first Normal college in the United Kingdom was the Glasgow Educational Society's Training School established in 1827, though the National and Lancastrian Societies had Model schools in London, and received government aid for these from 1839 on.²²¹ A private Normal Institution was established in N.S.W. in December 1834. Its proprietor, Henry Carmichael, who had been a teacher at Dr. Lang's Australian College, sympathized with Bourke's scheme for the Irish National system and accordingly made his Normal Institution secular and non-denominational, using the monitorial system and the textbooks, ________A________

But the National system having failed to eventuate, the Normal Institution closed in 1843.

In 1839 Governor Gipps suggested that the British and Foreign School Society's school to be established in Sydney

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²²⁰ Minutes of Evidence, 17/7/1844, Q.89-91.
would also serve as a Normal school for instruction in methods of teaching. The Lowe Committee urged the foundation of a Normal or Model school in Sydney for the training of schoolmasters, and Braim, Headmaster of the Sydney College, also advocated this for both primary and secondary teachers, as a means of raising their technical skill and moral stature.

Let our teachers of high or of low degree go through a regular apprenticeship; let their certificates prove their ability and skill in imparting instruction; and let those under whose inspection they have been testify to the purity of their lives ... Why not establish in this Hemisphere some training school, under the charge of a really clever, practical, and good man, to whose recommendation, we as parents may look up?

In 1847 Earl Grey circulated to all the colonies, including N.S.W., a statement on the establishment of Industrial and Normal schools in the colonies prepared by Kay-Shuttleworth, who supported the new system of instruction by pupil-teachers. However, the creation of Normal schools in N.S.W. depended on the establishment of a "general system". One of the first moves of the National Board of Education set up in January 1848 was to institute a model school.

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223 Sydney Herald, 26 July, 1839 (Burton, op.cit., Appendix XVIII).
The 1844 hearings present a useful picture of current educational methods. A practical, "English" curriculum (i.e. excluding Latin, Greek or other languages) was general - reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, and very occasionally history. The Rev. Robert Allwood, in charge of the Church of England School of St. James', gave instruction "such as fully to qualify the pupils for the proper discharge of their duties in the humbler grades of life". This he revealed to be:

First - sound religious instruction. Second - Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, Geography generally, but more particularly that of New South Wales and England, English Grammar, and I have lately introduced English History.

The books used in the Methodist schools were "the full version of the Scriptures, the Wesleyan catechism, Mavor's Spelling Book, Murray's or Lennie's Grammar, any books which the master can get from which to teach Arithmetic and Geography".

Cf. J.R. Wilshire, Minutes of Evidence, 1/7/1844 (Q.62); Rev. Ralph Mansfield, 1/7/1844, Q.63; Rev. James Fullerton, 2/7/1844, Q.30.

Minutes of Evidence, 5/7/1844, Q.1. At William Macarthur's Camden Estate the subjects were "Reading, writing, cyphering, mental arithmetic, and to a certain extent, grammar and geography. The girls are also taught plain needlework". (Ibid., 30/7/1844, Q.85).

Rev. J. McKenny, ibid., 22/7/1844, Q.33.
What is striking is that some voices were raised favouring the introduction of the "liberal" or grammar subjects into elementary schools. The Wesleyan George Allen believed that the classics should be taught to the humbler classes. "I do not see why they should not be made as learned as the higher classes of Society".229 Charles Kemp, an Anglican, did not go so far, but believed that effective teaching of reading and arithmetic would allow children to "rise from the ranks of working men to offices of trust".230 Dr. Lang, of course, was disposed to introduce such mercantile subjects as book-keeping.231

In large schools, such as the Anglican and Catholic ones in Sydney, the monitorial system of instruction was used. This permitted one teacher to supervise 100 or so children. Many schools paid their monitors, for otherwise it was difficult to persuade suitable children to remain at school in this capacity.232 The major defect of this system was that it tended to overstress memorization and mechanical learning and to neglect thinking. Accordingly some teachers

229 Minutes of Evidence, 1/7/1844, Q.79.
230 22/7/1844, Q.49.
231 Questioning J.R. Wilshire (Mayor), 1/7/1844, Q.63.
232 Cf. Rev. James Fullerton, Minutes of Evidence, 2/7/1844, Q.51; W.T. Cape, 9/7/1844, Q.49.
used the improved version of the Bell and Lancaster systems
developed by Mr. Sheriff Wood of Edinburgh and Mr. Stow of
Glasgow - "the Intellectual or Training System". Stow and
Wood improved the mass-instruction of the monitorial system
by preparing questions requiring thought before answering,
introducing some collective (class) teaching by the master
for religious and moral lessons, and teaching elementary
science.

The existence of many small schools made it possible to
employ some of Pestalozzi's techniques. Bishop Polding told
the Lowe Committee that Catholic elementary schools in
Sydney used a plan "somewhat similar to the Pestalozzian
system" of object lessons. The main difference was that
instead of oral lessons textbooks were used describing
"different objects with which the children are familiar".

Pestalozzi's doctrines reached New South Wales through
Scottish rather than English educationists. David Stow,
Secretary of the Glasgow Educational Society and a pioneer
of teacher training, made the same distinction as Pestalozzi
between storing of knowledge and reflection, training to

233 Cf. Peter Steel, Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844, Q.33;
B.P. Scannell, 9/7/1844, Q.30.
234 Cf. Dictionary of National Biography (1937-8), vol.XIX,
p.1.
235 Lowe Committee, Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844, Q.87;
think. Morality was treated as something to be consciously arrived at rather than a subject for indoctrination. He adapted object lessons to large classes of infants by placing the children on galleries around the room (the gallery system).

A few teachers recommended class teaching; but these were either in charge of private schools, or denominational schools of the non-conformist sects, in which small enrolments were likely. A witness who had taught in a Roman Catholic school in Sydney for ten years recommended "a system of forming the children into classes, and that a portion of the time during school hours should be devoted to each class by the Head Master or his Assistants". 236

N.S.W. Methodists, noting that the Methodist Education Committee in England approved Stow's system and used his Normal College for training teachers, employed a similar system in the colony, with some emphasis on class teaching where numbers were low. 237

236 James Cosgrove, Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844, Q.62; cf. also Peter Robertson, 22/7/1844, Q.35. Cosgrove remarked that parents objected to the monitorial system, not liking their children taught by boys.

A few witnesses, with some truth, argued against a rigid approach to teaching methods. "Intelligence and address will enable a teacher to conduct a school well on any system, and in the absence of these no system will be found efficient ... System is useful to ordinary teachers, but men of zeal and talent may improve on any system."\textsuperscript{238} Not that intelligence and effort alone would suffice; a Baptist Minister, who told the rather sceptical Committee that he could teach 500 children ("with a complete apparatus and a compliment of good monitors") perhaps understandably stressed the importance of discipline. "One of the best schoolmasters in this colony was formerly a sergeant in the Buffs; intelligent sergeants made good schoolteachers."\textsuperscript{239}

(i) The Character of Elementary Education about 1848

By 1848 elementary education in N.S.W. had assumed characteristics some of which were to persevere for many decades. Brevity of schooling, the predominance of infant enrolments, and irregular attendance had continued from earlier years as features of the educational tradition. The

\textsuperscript{238} William A. Duncan (a Catholic), Minutes of Evidence, 2/7/1844, Q.51. The Catholic Archbishop also recommended flexibility (9/7/1844, Q.112).

\textsuperscript{239} Rev. J. Saunders, 17/7/1844, Q.117. The same witness opposed any legislative regulation of the qualifications of teachers. "That is against the free trade principle" (Q.143).
quality and prestige of most teachers was very low, despite a slight increase in status and competence between 1833 and 1848, as a result of the migration of trained teachers from Britain and the activities of the local training school (the Normal Institution). The curriculum of the elementary school was a restricted one, but already a promise of democratisation, that is a broadening of the curriculum by the inclusion of grammar-school subjects, was to be seen. Equal treatment in elementary education for the four major denominations had become an established tradition. Above all, by 1848 direct participation by the state in the provision of elementary education had become accepted; in this respect there had been a move back to the pre-1815 pattern. However, for the moment the state schools were envisaged as catering for the rural population.

This brings us to another series of social phenomena: factors making for educational change. One of the major reasons for the revival of state participation in education was the educational demands of country areas. After 1815 rural expansion (beyond the mountains) had influenced educational development, though in this case by making governmental control more difficult. The post-1831 pastoral expansion ultimately forced state provision, this time through the agency of a Board of Education. Provision of rural facilities continued to work as a motive for educational
reform during the next two decades. Other influences for change were governmental desire to economize and the financial position of the Churches. Pressure of numbers had also emerged as a factor for educational change by 1848.

As for the social function of schools, the fear that a general system of education might help Catholics (or others) to rise socially had been ill-based, for it was becoming obvious that social mobility was to be obtained quite independently of schooling. The elementary school's vocational function was not limited as its role within social class, due to its practical, utilitarian curriculum. The role of the school in teaching political loyalty was stressed less frequently in the 1840's than earlier; colonial society was already undergoing a transition from autocracy to democracy, but the schools were not yet asked to expound a democratic ethic. Moral and religious inculcation, however, was still felt to be a very important function of the elementary school, not only because of the strength of religious feeling but also because of the moral and social problems confronting N.S.W.
CHAPTER II

THE SUPERIOR EDUCATION OF THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES, 1833-1848

(a) The Provision of Superior Education

"The question of education naturally divides itself into two branches - the education of the poor or primary education, and the education of the upper or middle classes." Thus Robert Lowe, in England, 1867. But in New South Wales, from the 1830's on, such rigid distinctions were already being challenged in both education and society. The middle and upper classes were small, and movement into them relatively easy. This encouraged a less rigid distinction in colonial secondary education between the different types of schools and their curricula. Migrants from Britain attempted to set up schools similar to those to which they were accustomed but rapidly found it necessary to modify their objectives.

1 Primary and Classical Education (Edinburgh, 1867) p.1.
2 In general I use the terms "higher", "liberal", "advanced", or "superior" education to refer to the schooling given middle and upper class children in N.S.W. "Secondary education" is avoided, but when used refers to this class of schooling, given in corporate, grammar, collegiate, high, superior or private-venture schools. These schools usually included very young children who nowadays would be considered of primary school age; but I am mainly concerned with the higher grades of superior education.
In the 15 years following 1833 four avenues of education were available for children of the more well-to-do. Highest in prestige but fewest in number were three or four corporate schools for boys, usually referred to as Colleges, but occasionally as Public Schools or Grammar Schools. The King's School, the Australian College, and the Sydney College were the outstanding ones. They took boarders and had a relatively ambitious curriculum. Then came a number of grammar schools with clergymen headmasters, usually Anglican or Presbyterian. Most numerous of all were the private-venture schools, owned by one or two teachers, small in size, frequently short-lived, with a curriculum often hardly extending beyond the basic elementary subjects. Finally, many parents gave instruction on tutors and governesses, or instruction themselves.

When Archdeacon Broughton reached the colony as Scott's successor in 1829 he determined to establish corporate secondary schools to be called, out of a sense of loyalty, King's Schools. Early in 1832 King's Schools opened at Sydney and Parramatta, but the former closed in the same year, following the death of the headmaster. In November 1831

J.D. Lang opened his Australian College in Sydney. This was followed in January 1835 by the Sydney College, with William Timothy Cape as headmaster. The first Catholic secondary school, St. Mary's Seminary, opened in 1838, following the arrival of the first Catholic Bishop, Dr. John Bede Polding. It was attached to St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, and was conducted by the Benedictine Order.

Bishop Broughton was not disposed to abandon his plan for an Anglican college in Sydney, particularly in view of the establishment of Presbyterian, Catholic, and non-denominational institutions, and in 1838 he established St. James' Grammar School. At first this was part of St. James' Parish School, but in 1840 moved to its own buildings.

In 1836 the King's School, Parramatta, consisted of one teacher (the headmaster, Forrest) and 110 scholars (82 boarders, 28 day pupils). The Australian College had 84 scholars and three masters (Lang was absent), Sydney College.

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had 190 boys, with three undermasters in addition to the headmaster. 9

When private-venture schools were first included in the "Returns of the Colony", in 1838, there were 67, 30 of them in Sydney, six in Parramatta. They had 1,806 pupils (832 boys, 974 girls), averaging out at 27 per school. 10 These schools were patronised by the middle ranks of society. In 1844 the Rev. Allwood referred to "the large number of merchants, professional persons, and shopkeepers" who educated their children in the numerous private schools of Sydney. 10a

Most of these schools gave little more than a primary or elementary education. One of the outstanding private-venture schools was Henry Carmichael's Normal Institution (1834-1843), which had four classes ranging from lower primary to advanced secondary level. It was non-denominational, used the monitorial system of instruction, and one of its aims was to produce teachers for the anticipated national system of education. 11

Burton estimated that in 1838 there were 448 colonial boys and young men aged approximately seven to 16 receiving Classical education or Classical combined with Commercial

9 Returns of the Colony of N.S.W., 1836 ("Blue Book"), M.L.
10 Ibid., 1838.
10a Select Committee on Education, Minutes of Evidence, 5/7/1844.
education. The number receiving Commercial education "of a higher order than is given in the ordinary schools" was about 153. The number of "young ladies" in schools he put at about 200. This gives a total of some 800 receiving a higher education, contrasted with 4,350 children in "schools for the education of the lower orders".  

In 1842 Governor Gipps assessed the major schools in the following terms:

Of the schools which may be called public ones, the Sydney College ... is the best. The King's School at Parramatta, founded on the principle of a Grammar School in England has ... lately fallen into disrepute ... The Australian College, founded by Dr. Lang on the model of the Scotch Schools of the higher class, has also of late fallen into great disrepute ... Of the private schools, many deserve to be mentioned with commendation, particularly, that of the Rev. Mr Forrest at Campbell Town, that of Mr Cape in Sydney, and of Mr Woolls in Parramatta.

Of the Ladies' Schools, there are also some which maintain a high character, particularly that of the Misses Deane of Sydney.

The depression of 1841-44 hit the colleges severely. From 1837 to 1844 they held about 250 pupils annually, thereafter only about 170. The Australian College closed in 1841, functioned during 1843 and 1844, in 1846, and again in 1849. It closed finally in 1854. The King's School, Parramatta,

12 The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, (1840), pp.312-313.
13 Enclosure in Gipps to Stanley, 17 December 1842 (H.R.A., I, Vol.XXII, p.426). Similar comments were made in 1845 (H.R.A., I, Vol.XXIV, p.338). The 1841 Committee on Loans to the Australian College remarked that it was "more of the character of an Elementary School than of a College, where the higher branches of education are taught" (Report, 17/8/1841, p.5, in V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1841).
closed briefly during 1843, and for the next few years struggled on with a dozen or so pupils. Sydney College did somewhat better, but had to close in 1848. The Normal Institution closed in 1843.

By 1848 the three major schools, Sydney College, King's School, Sydney Grammar School, had only 158 pupils between them. Secondary education was again carried on mainly in the private-venture schools, 281 in number, with 9,057 pupils.

(b) Tutors and Governesses

Instruction by tutors and governesses was greatly favoured by the more opulent families in the colony, and their houses frequently included a school-room or library where domestic education could be conducted. Male tutors were likely to be in charge of the education of older boys and girls, and might live in the household or visit the family regularly. The governess was more likely to be in charge of the younger children or females. If she lived in, her responsibilities might well include household duties apart from formal instruction.

15 Returns of the Colony for enrolments; Bean, op.cit., p.33 on the effects of the depression on schools. But an advertisement for the Sydney College appeared in the S.M.H., 6/4/1849.

16 cf. Turney, op.cit., p.120.

17 Returns of the Colony, 1848.
Effective domestic education was impaired by the division of authority between parent and tutor, the isolation of the boys, the low status of the tutor, and the frequent interruptions to his work. "The favorite domestic-tutorizing branch" of private education was criticized by an experienced teacher as a scheme "by which the young Australian yearly acquires more slang than grammar, more vulgarity than knowledge, and more vice than anything else".¹⁸

One of the arguments for education at home was that it presented less danger of moral contagion than the private schools. But the employment of convicts or ex-convicts as tutors made this very dubious. James Mudie considered it "monstrous" that a few teachers of French, ticket-of-leave convicts, acted as family tutors, in addition to being visiting teachers in schools.¹⁹ J.D. Lang asserted that the use of convicts as tutors in private families was "an extremely dangerous experiment, and the bad result of the system has been shown in many instances".²⁰

¹⁸ Edward Reeve, "Education in New South Wales; Its Present State and Future Prospects", in The People's Advocate, 30/8/1851, 6/9/1851. Reeve spent "more than eight years of uninterrupted employment and misery as a teacher in New South Wales". When he became a journalist with the S.M.H. in 1851 he took the opportunity to publish his views on education.

¹⁹ 1837 Report, Molesworth Committee on Transportation, Minutes of Evidence, 5/5/1837. Q.1515.

²⁰ Ibid., 2/6/1837, Q.3958. He cited the case of the son of a clergyman in N.S.W. later sentenced to transportation for life to V.D.L., a fact Lang attributed to the bad influence of his convict-tutor.
But tutors and governesses were not always villains, nor always pampered. They were largely at the mercy of their charges and in a state of dependence, especially the convicts. A witness told the 1844 Select Committee:

I have heard of boys and girls, whose parents happen to have assigned teachers, taking undue liberties with impunity, because, if the teacher beat them, their father and mother would take the tutor before a magistrate and get him punished, turned into Barracks; or if the tutor was an assigned governess, then Miss, by complaining to Mamma, could get the governess sent to the third class of the factory.21

There was a persistent demand for tutors and governesses in the interior. After his tour of the inland with Fitzroy, Lt. Col. Mundy commented on the great difficulty faced by many of the squatting magnates, well-educated gentlemen from England, in educating their children, especially in "the more elegant branches".22 The cessation of transportation accentuated the shortage of servants. Convicts had acted as tutors, but it was hard to get free men to take up such a vocation inland. Remuneration was often only £5 to £10 a year with board or lodging.23 Free migration opened up

Peter Robinson, 1844 Lowe Committee, Minutes of Evidence, 22/7/1844, Q.3.

Our Antipodes (1854), pp.93, 137-8.

Broughton, 1844 Committee on Education, Minutes of Evidence, 15/7/1844, Q.19.
a new source of private tutors. Caroline Chisholm was very busy from 1841 to 1846 organizing, through the Sydney Emigrants' Home, a supply of governesses for reputable families. But she found many would-be governesses, recently arrived from England, ill-equipped for their professed vocation. A girl claiming she could teach music, French, and drawing to older children was almost ignorant of music or arithmetic; another would-be governess for nursery children was unable to read, write, or spell correctly. Governessing was too frequently the recourse of untrained females.

(c) The Control of Secondary Schooling

During the 1820's a new form of private school, the proprietary school, developed in England, organized on lines resembling a joint stock company. Parents banded together

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Adult Education does not form part of this study. Nonetheless it is worth noting that adult education developed noticeably about 1833, with the growth in population, its changing social composition, and arrival of more qualified teachers. In April 1832 evening courses in natural philosophy and chemistry started at the Australian College for adults, particularly mechanics. The fee was one guinea for each course and the lectures were given by the Rev. John McGarvie. (Sydney Gazette, 3/4/1832; 15/5/1832). This was followed by the launching of the Mechanics' Institute a year later by another of Lang's teachers, Carmichael. Bourke stimulated this move. cf. Nadel, op.cit., pp.111–116.

and subscribed shares of say, £25, these shares often bearing interest. In these schools the headmaster was likely to be more highly paid, the curriculum more suited to the ideas of tradesmen and professional people.26

Similar schools were tried in N.S.W. in the 1830's. The Sydney College was organized on a proprietary basis, 200 shares of £50 each being issued.27 Each share entitled the holder to have one pupil at the College for £7 per annum, as against the full fee of £14 in the first division and £12 in the second.28 A Committee of Trustees controlled the institution. Lang planned the Australian College on a similar basis. Capital of at least £3,500 was to be raised in shares of £25 each. Each shareholder was to be a proprietor, entitled to vote at meetings of proprietors, and eligible for election to the College Council of 13 members. A dividend was envisaged.29 This method of organization gave parents a considerable voice in running the school. Lang's College also provided for a Senate composed of the principal and professors, to control teaching, discipline, allocation

27 With an additional 50 shares open to residents of the East Indies or elsewhere.
of duties, and superintendence of the library and museum, thus
reserving the rights of the masters in the management of the
school. Both the Sydney College and the Australian College
were officially non-denominational.

In fact, things did not work out as planned. For a start,
there were insufficient subscribers. By 1846 only 1,44 Sydney
College shares had been paid in full.30 Lang found difficulty
in raising money for the Australian College, particularly
following public controversy with the Sydney College and the
Church and School Corporation over the methods he used in
establishing his College.31 In the Legislative Council
Archdeacon Broughton sponsored a vote of censure.32 The
result was that some shareholders failed to pay their sub-
scriptions. At the time of the vote of censure only £1,800
had been contributed,33 and Lang was forced to sell personal
property to raise funds. He quarrelled with his Council,
and overrode them.34

Both the Sydney College and the Australian College
rapidly assumed denominational complexions. At the former

30 Braim, op. cit., II, p.204.
31 Sydney Gazette, 31/3/1832; History of N.S.W., (1834),
32 15 March, 1832: cf. History of N.S.W. (1834), vol.II,
p.370.
regular prayer periods were introduced in 1835, and its religious character was enhanced when an Anglican clergyman (Braim) replaced W.T. Cape as headmaster in 1841; the development of the Sydney College into a school providing a "general system" of religious instruction probably explains its popularity with Bourke and Gipps. At the Australian College Lang insisted on employing Presbyterian clergymen as teachers from the start.

The King's School, Parramatta, was under the complete control of the Anglican Church. Until 1838 its headmaster received a government grant towards his salary. The employment of clergymen as headmasters of corporate schools not only from to give a religious character to this education and because of their classical-grammar educational background, but also because the stipends they received from the government constituted a subsidy towards their salaries.

Government aid was thus a significant factor in the initial establishment of higher schools in the 1830's. Thanks to Broughton's speedy action, the King's School, Parramatta,

36 J.D. Lang, Historical Account on N.S.W. (1840), vol.II, p.334.
37 S.M. Johnstone, The History of the King's School, Parramatta (1932), pp.74, 81.
was established while the Corporation of Trustees of Clergy and School Lands existed, and hence was able to draw on their resources. The Sydney College's grounds had originally been donated by the government, and prior to its collapse in 1848 it vainly attempted to secure state support. Lang obtained a government loan of up to £3,500 for his Australian College. In 1841 Lang appealed to the Governor for assistance to pay his professors' salaries. The result was a Legislative Council enquiry into the condition of his school and his adherence to the conditions of the 1830 loan.

The feeling of the times was against state subvention once the schools were on their feet. William Woolls, who had been a teacher in corporate schools and a tutor, and who later became the proprietor of a school, believed in 1838 that the government had done enough. "Henceforth the matter should be left to the control of private individuals."


Its origins went back to the Sydney Public Free School, which had functioned briefly under Halloran, 1825-26. cf. Prospectus of the Sydney College, February, 1830.


V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1841. Report of the Committee on Loans to the Australian College.

Rowland, op.cit., p. 204.

"Education in New South Wales", in Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, Sydney, 1838, p. 94.
Thus in the corporate higher schools control was shared between state, Church, parents, and (to a minor degree) teachers. The state quietly provided economic aid; the Churches gave their sponsorship, officially or unofficially. Parental interference was enhanced because the corporate schools depended on a substantial body of day pupils, and lacked endowments. The social class which in England would have supported corporate boarding schools by granting endowments or sending their sons for residential tuition, in N.S.W. frequently preferred to employ tutors. The limited authority of the teacher, particularly the headmaster, was the subject of a vehement protest by Edward Reeve:

The chief master should be the natural head of the school. The constant petty interference of a number of men, however enlightened and intellectual, with teachers appointed by them, is a species of tyrannical control, which (as in the case of the Sydney College ...) always ensures the eventual destruction of that establishment over which its upas-like shadow is thrown. It is hard enough for that pariah of civilised society the schoolmaster ... to have all the parents of his pupils to contend with, without having a sort of popular assembly over his head.45

In the private-venture Church grammar schools the clergymen-headmaster was free from the supervision of a governing body. The Anglican grammar schools were under the implied patronage of the Bishop, which implied visitations. In the non-denominational private-venture school, however, the

45 People's Advocate, 6/9/1851.
power of the parents was overwhelming. Edward Reeve commented that the "want of deference, and even common courtesy" on the part of parents towards teachers often led to "most unreasonable interference" in school affairs, even to the extent of parents offering advice on the internal management of the school.

Control of schools must always be a shared responsibility, but divided authority is most fruitful when educational institutions are strongly represented on the controlling body. Reeve urged that the Senate of the proposed university should be responsible for the appointment of Headmasters.

(d) The Curriculum of the Higher Schools

In 1829 Broughton commented that "the very elements of a liberal education are with difficulty to be acquired here". The colonial concept of a liberal education differed from the English; both were to be redefined in the course of the century. Broughton accepted the current English equation of liberal with classical. He had no wish to foster the "modern" curriculum favoured by the middle classes, the so-called scientific or enlarged scheme of education, which he felt to be a threat to authority:

46 People's Advocate, 23/8/1851.
Their principal effect, as it is also the end at which they aim, is to communicate the knowledge of a number of facts connected with the different sciences. The learner, being thus enabled to make a display of information, is elevated in his opinion of his own powers ... persons, so educated, having their memories cultivated at the expense of judgment, are prone to contravene all established opinions, to despise the authority of all former times ...

Broughton favoured the English Public School tradition, which (he believed) developed reasoning powers and habits of patient investigation and discouraged hasty opinions about government and religion. He conceded, however, that there should not be exclusive attention to classical pursuits. He planned a seven year course for the King's Schools, starting at the age of nine, the curriculum to include the classics, mathematics, and religious instruction, with a little geography and history in the lower classes. By 1841, however, modern subjects had forced their way further into the King's School, Parramatta, which now provided English literature and commercial subjects in addition to the classics and mathematics.

J.D. Lang's Australian College favoured the modern-utilitarian tradition. He wished to provide "for the education of youth in the higher ... branches of useful learning"

48 Proposed Course of Study and Instruction, Ibid., pp. 361-362.
49 Advertisement, Sydney Gazette, 12/1/1841.
through an institution modelled on "the liberal and economical principles of the schools and colleges of Scotland". The lower, or elementary, part of the school was to have an English section, a writing section, and a (classical) grammar section. The upper school would instruct in the higher branches of classical education, in mathematics and natural philosophy, and in branches of natural history. Almost every boy was enrolled in the English and commercial classes, but only about a third of the school also took the mathematics and natural philosophy class and the classics class. The Australian College was the major source for modern and scientific subjects in the colony.

By 1838 the Committee of the Sydney College was reassuring parents that Latin, Greek, and mathematics were not too prominent in the College and that considerable attention was given to "those pursuits which may perhaps appear to be of more immediate importance in this young colony". Classical-liberal education was defended on the grounds that these subjects were really utilitarian, opening the way to legal, medical, and scientific education. The study of Latin and Greek was appropriate for those from whom

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51 Enrolments and Courses, in V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1841, op.cit., p.10.
52 8th Annual Report, pp.7-8.
"the judges, the magistrates of the land, the clergymen, the lawyers, the legislators, and civil servants" were to be chosen.\footnote{W.T. Cape, on the social function of the College, as recounted by T.A. Browne (Rolfe Boldrewood). cf. S.H. Smith, "William Timothy Cape and other Pioneers of Secondary Education in Australia" (\textit{Journal, R.A.H.S.}, vol.V, 1919, p.221).}

St. Mary's Seminary was stressing, by 1849, that it provided instruction best suited for a mercantile life. Latin was maintained in the upper school as a mental discipline, but Greek and the higher branches of a classical education "will in future be confined to those boys whose prospects of life render such a course desirable".\footnote{S.M.H., 17/4/1849.}

The private-venture schools were forced to pay even more attention to the practical bent of colonial parents. In the 1840's a few of the more ambitious private schools added science to their curriculum,\footnote{cf. D.A. Kerr, "The Beginnings of Science Teaching in Australia", \textit{A.J.E.}, November, 1961, p.164.} though usually the leading private-venture schools limited themselves to commercial subjects, with some classics. Some, especially those with a few boarders or female pupils, specialized in the polite accomplishments to the neglect of basic instruction.\footnote{Peter Robertson (Select Committee on Education, 1844, \textit{op.cit.}, Minutes of Evidence, 22/7/1844, Q.3). Robertson refers to "Boarding schools where dancing, drawing, and vocal and instrumental music, Latin, French, Italian, elocution, gymnastics, and other accomplishments were more cultivated than reading, writing, arithmetic, or the practical branches, such as mensuration, geography, perspective ..."}
the great majority were little better than elementary schools, due to "the moral and intellectual unfitness of many of the teachers to communicate even the rudiments".57

(e) The Examination System

Some form of examination in school work is necessary as an incentive to work, as a technique of revision, as a mode of setting standards, and as a means of articulation (i.e. of linking up with other educational institutions and with the vocations). In the 1830's and 1840's the more ambitious schools providing classical or "modern" instruction held their annual examinations in public, the Governor or leading citizens attending to assist the oral examination of pupils. At such gatherings prizes were distributed, and the best pupils were accorded the prestige of public mention. The public examination at Sydney College on 15 December, 1836, conveys some idea of these occasions:

There appeared upwards of 120 youths, from the age of nine to eighteen. They composed two divisions, which were subdivided into classes ... Amongst the numerous company that assembled, either to witness or take part in the examination, we noticed Mr. Mackaness who presided, ... Bishop Polding, the Rev. Messrs. Carmichael and Jarrett, and Messrs. Wentworth, Fisher and Therry ...

It appeared there was a judicious proportion of classical, mathematical, and English studies; the preponderance being in favor of the last, as being best adapted to the circumstances of this young Colony.

57 Ibid.
Latin and Greek verses and exercises ... were laid upon the table and conned over by the company ...

The seniors translated and answered readily such questions upon the French, Latin, and Greek authors as were put to them ...

Some recitations in the above languages were heard with considerable gratification; the expression was clear, and the gesture judicious and graceful.58

The public oral examination was appropriate enough to English society, where the ability of leaders to speak publicly was valued. But this tradition was coming under fire both in England and the colonies. The Australian College abandoned these "clap-trap exhibitions", the Rev. Mackenzie asserting that their preparation held up school work for six weeks, and that they were concerned merely to present a good show before the annual assemblage of parents and friends.59

He recommended instead the award of tickets of merit on the successful completion of several trials of intellectual strength and perseverance during the school year. Prizes should be awarded to those who amassed the most tickets.60

In 1842 Braim, the new Headmaster of the Sydney College,

58 Sydney Gazette, 24/12/1836, reprinting from the Sydney Monitor.

59 The Colonist, 12/12/1837. In 1844 Peter Robinson condemned the time "wasted in perfecting tasks for the annual examination" - sometimes starting four months before the examination. (1844 Select Committee, Minutes of Evidence, 22/7/1844, Q.3).

60 For a description of Reward Tickets at the Australian College cf. The Australian, 25/12/1835; for a similar system at James Rennie's College High School cf. S.M.H., 21/12/1843.
attempted to provide a stimulus for school pupils by intro-
ducing internal exhibitions (scholarships). 61 By 1844 Sydney
College and St. James' Grammar School were holding a "real
examination" prior to the public examination. 62 But the
public displays remained popular, despite occasional denunciations, such as that by Reeve in 1851:

Let not fond and doting parents be deceived by the
flourishing examination-papers and curricula, which
are paraded from time to time before the public. It
all looks excellently well in print. Apart, however,
from two or three tolerably quick lads, who have
picked up sufficient knowledge to enable them to shew
off, - industriously crammed for the occasion, like
turkeys, for some weeks beforehand - most of our
school-boys on their grand examination days, sit
looking on in silence, comfortably undisturbed in
their accustomed apathetic ignorance, and sloth. 63

The lack of a system of external written examinations
contributed to the unsatisfactory scholastic and disciplinary
condition of N.S.W. schools. A few colonial pupils were
prepared for the entrance examinations of English and Scottish
universities, but these were too remote to exert much
influence on N.S.W. schooling. 64

He established four exhibitions, totalling £50. Braim
comments several times on the need for incentives, ibid., pp. 189,
211, 212.
62 S.M.H., 13/12/1844.
63 The People's Advocate, 13 September, 1851.
64 cf. French, "The Humanities in Secondary Education", in
Teaching Techniques

The examinations and textbooks of the time throw some light on contemporary teaching techniques. In the classics memorization of the definitions of grammar and the rules of syntax, and the learning of the conventions of linguistic elegance formed the core of the study. James Hassall, who at the age of nine had attended the King's School in its initial year, wrote: "Morning, noon, and night, we had to learn the everlasting Eton Latin grammar - parrot-like, as we learnt the Church Catechism. Verse and prose were committed to memory, and the recital of these passages formed a standard feature of the annual examinations.

Classes were frequently graded on standards achieved and subjects studied, and hence contained children of widely differing ages.

The private-venture schools were usually small, one teacher, sometimes aided by a relative, instructing all the pupils. The "individual system" was frequently used. In the larger collegiate schools there were individual subject masters - specialist teachers - who delivered "lectures" to their classes. Monitors were not frequently used; the

65-75 J.S. Hassall, In Old Australia (1902), p.15.
76 J.K. Chisholm, op.cit., p.103.
cheaper private-venture schools were too small to need them, the collegiate schools could afford assistant masters.\textsuperscript{77}

In 1835 the Rev. David Mackenzie and the Rev. Robert Wylde arrived at the Australian College, to be followed shortly afterwards by the Rev. Thomas Aitken.\textsuperscript{78} These three teachers introduced some radical innovations, in sympathy with the utilitarian and practical approach of Scottish schools. The formal disciplinary approach, which "exercised" the "faculties", particularly memory, and were associated with the classical studies, seem to have been rather less dominant and the functional approach of practical, commercial, subjects, which involved more reasoning, were prominent. The abolition of the public exhibitions, which stressed memorization, in favour of certificates of merit, which recognized real understanding, were part of this reform. Throughout the year essays were written, sometimes suggested by the staff, sometimes by the pupils. Some of these reached 60 closely written pages in length. Topics set during 1837 included "A Voyage from Home to this Colony", "On Sheep", "Attractions of Magnetism or Electricity", "On the Statistics of the Town of Sydney", and "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Jews".

\textsuperscript{77} However, Carmichael's Normal Institution used monitors.

\textsuperscript{78} The Colonist, 15/1/1835. Carmichael had left at the end of 1834, taking most of the pupils with him.
The writing of essays was voluntary, but it was compulsory for each pupil to write a letter for every Monday.79

Mackenzie gave one lecture a week on "Natural Philosophy", lasting two hours. This covered such topics as the Essential Properties of Matter, the Mechanical Powers; Magnetism and Galvinism, Optics, etc. In addition, time was set aside for practical experiments.80 All pupils at the College did formal writing daily under Aitken.81

(h) **The Problems of Superior Education**

Most of the barriers to improving the quality of schooling for middle and upper class children were interrelated, though for the sake of convenience they are considered separately here. One major problem, the absence of an effective system of examination and inspection, has already been discussed. Brevity of schooling was another. In 1838 William Woolls attributed much of the "fearful gloom" which lay over colonial education to parents removing their children too soon from school.

Uninfluenced by the sad examples of their neighbour's children, and blind to the moral interest of their offspring, they cannot resist

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81 V.P., *N.S.W.L.C.*, 1841, Report of Committee on Loans to the Australian College (17 August, 1841); Minutes of Evidence, Mackenzie (13/7/1841), p.12, Q.26, 29; Aitken (14/7/1841), p.14, Q.12.
the temptation of removing their child from school as soon as a situation becomes vacant for him. The love of gain, which in fact is the ruling principle in this colony, impels the short-sighted parent to emancipate the tender stripling from the halls of learning, and long before he has received anything in the shape of a liberal education, to place him in the situation of a clerk in an office, or to send him far away into the interior, to hunt after sheep and cattle. 82

Six years later Peter Robinson, who had taught at Parramatta, Pennant Hills, and Sydney agreed that "the scarcity of labor, and the high wages given to active boys and girls, prevented many of them being kept at school". This was, presumably, an expression of "the ignorance, indifference, and wickedness" on many parents. 83 Another aspect of the brevity of schooling was excessive holidays, given by both teachers and parents. 84

Because of the short school life the schools covered a wide age-range. Boys aged from seven to 17 associated together, 85 creating difficulties in grading and teaching, and unsuitable relations among the

83 Peter Robinson, op.cit., 22/7/1844, Q.3.
84 Robinson, ibid. "In some boarding schools it is, or was the practice a few years ago, to give a whole or half holiday on the anniversary of the birthday of every pupil"; cf. Woolis, op.cit., p.84.
85 Woolis, "Educational Errors in Australia", op.cit., p.80.
pupils. The immense number of small schools, many having only 12 or 15 pupils, also led to great disparity in ages, while "the advantages arising from the discipline of a numerous school" were sacrificed and high fees had to be charged to sustain the teacher. 86

A widely remarked phenomenon was the circulation of colonials, both adult and juvenile - "a ridiculous partiality for change; a restless habit of migrating from one school to another, without any apparent motive", says Reeve. He adds that the child who is allowed to choose the school he attends has in his hands "the power of inflicting a pecuniary loss upon his instructor". 87

The narrowness of the curriculum attributed by Woolls to the same source as brevity of schooling: parental eagerness to have their children prepared for a vocation by practical, utilitarian studies 88 - though as we have observed, some parents were attracted by the pretensions of the "polite accomplishments".

The "moral and intellectual unfitness" of many teachers also came under fire. 89 Even in the corporate schools, the

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86 Robinson, ibid.
87 "Education in New South Wales; its Present State and Future Prospects", in The People's Advocate, 30/8/1851; Robinson, ibid.
89 Robinson, op.cit.
quality of the headmasters was too often not of the best. At the Sydney College the efficient and respected W.T. Cape left in 1841 after a quarrel with the governing Board and was succeeded by T.H. Braim, "a man of courteous, though rather pompous, manners, but a good disciplinarian", who kept aloof from the boys and his assistant masters. J.B. Laughton was scholarly, but "sadly wanting in those refinements of manner which are so essential to the character of a gentleman". He relied on the cane and impositions (memorization of Greek and Latin authors), and took little interest in the school life of the boys or their games. The final headmaster was Patterson, "a man of coarse and vulgar manner, and utterly unfitted for the position". 90

Nevertheless, in the corporate schools were to be found some of the best teachers in the colony, most of them migrants from Britain. In 1831 Lang had imported four Scottish teachers, all clergymen, for his Australian College, as well as 1,700 books for the library, and 52 Scottish mechanics to build the academy. 91 Largely through his efforts another three Scottish teachers came out in 1834 and

15 more in 1837. Lang was literally importing a segment of the Scottish educational system and during the height of the Australian College, from 1835 to 1841, such teachers as the Rev. David Mackenzie, the Rev. Robert Wylde, and the Rev. Thomas Aitken provide[d] education of high quality.\(^92\)

A most serious impediment to the efficiency of teaching was the low social repute of teachers. Can any one suppose (Reeve asks) that pupils will pay attention to an instructor who is spoken of at home with contempt and disrespect? Parental interference in school matters undermined the authority of the master. Moreover, parents were reluctant to pay teachers promptly, without argument.\(^93\) A not dissimilar situation existed in the corporate schools - the headmasters sometimes suffered from the obduracy of their school councils, masters were underpaid.\(^94\) Tutors and governesses, particularly those of them who were assigned convicts, were even more dependent.\(^95\) Thus the effectiveness

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\(^{94}\) At the Sydney College Cape quarrelled with the trustees' policy of spending on buildings while economizing in the salaries of assistant masters, thus preventing the recruitment of qualified teachers. He resigned in protest. Bean, op.cit., p.32.

\(^{95}\) Reeve, op.cit., 23/8/1851, 6/9/1851; Robinson, op.cit.
of teachers was limited, and the result was that the trade of a teacher - "it is a miserable mockery to call it a profession" - was the last resource of an educated man. 96

"As for discipline, it is positively heart sickening to write the word". 97 Reeve stated, fairly enough, that "the only sure basis of Education is discipline - without corporal punishment if possible". But many teachers could not achieve this because parents or children would protest, or transfer to another school. 98

The teachers' lack of training, the absence of a uniform examination system, the prevalence of discipline problems, and the free competition between small schools produced excessive diversity of technique - a mania "for novelties in discipline and modes of tuition". 99

One further adverse influence, mainly operating in the corporate schools, was denominational rivalry, which split up the potential enrolment among a number of competing schools. 100

96 Reeve, op.cit., 6/9/1851. "Competition" he added, "has made the stock in hand ruinously cheap, and, as is usual, intrinsically worthless".

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid., 23/8/1851. Appeal to the "reasoning faculties" of children is not enough, says Reeve.

99 Reeve, ibid. Robinson comments on "the great number of systems which have been introduced". Ibid.

100 cf. Robinson, ibid.
Woolls believed the solution might lie in founding institutions for advanced education at which young men could continue their education after leaving school, and in persuading parents of the value of a longer and a general or liberal education. He was inclined to feel that the government had done enough towards the erection of corporate schools, and that it was now the duty of wealthy individuals to give aid. "Whenever a spirit of liberal enterprise should possess our merchants and landowners", they would soon be able to obtain good schoolmasters from England.

Reeve urged government or private endowment of large grammar schools as a means of liberating teachers, rendering them "fearless in the discharge of their onerous duties, and removed from the necessity of at any time consulting personal convenience rather than the dictates of conscience". He called for three publicly-endowed grammar schools, on liberal religious principles, with control vested in a headmaster chosen by the Senate of the proposed university. The headmaster should be given an adequate salary and once chosen, should not be subject to interference. There should be no school Board or Council. The public exhibitions (examinations) and curricula of private schools were deceptive. "Whatever

101 "Educational Errors in Australia", op.cit., p.84.
102 "Education in New South Wales", op.cit., pp.94-95.
some may say, whose interest it is to keep up a very partial delusion - no scholars are made by the present system". 103 Accordingly, the future university should maintain high standards, for Colonial Education will be regulated by it, and compelled to accommodate itself thereto". 104

**The Social Function of Superior Education.**

The attempts of the few corporate and numerous private-venture schools of the 1830's and 1840's to educate the colonial "upper" and "middle" classes had limited success. The problem of "the uneducated gentleman"105 and the poorly educated commercial classes remained.

In 1830 Archdeacon Broughton expressed regret that "the inheritors even of large Properties, who are hereafter to take the lead in Society and to occupy a station of importance in

103 The People's Advocate, 13/9/1851.
104 Ibid., 20/9/1851.
105 Woolls, "Education in New South Wales", op.cit., p.92.
the Country, are too often destitute of the acquirements, which should qualify them for such a Situation". The King's School, Parramatta, was designed to remedy this. In 1834 Broughton stated that it gave "a good classical, scientific and religious education to the sons of parents in the middle and upper ranks of life". Bourke, too, regarded the King's School as being "for the Sons of the wealthy Colonists and Civil Servants of the Government", and contrasted it with schools for the children of the poor, "mere hovels under convict school masters". Its location at Parramatta was part of its appeal. "Many of the respectable colonists" objected to sending their children to the two colleges in Sydney. "Sydney is not only a sea-port town, but the inhabitants of the town are to a great extent emancipated convicts of low character".

106-113
114
Broughton's Charge to the Clergy, 13 February, 1834, in The History of The King's School, pp.77-78.
115
116
James Macarthur, Minutes of Evidence, 19/5/1837, Report 1837 Molesworth Select Committee on Transportation (Q.2690, 2691). Macarthur recommended the school for "children of the middling classes as well as those of the most respectable families" (ibid., Q.2681).
Broughton argued that, in fact, the King's School served the entire community.

It concerns all ranks that they who are to be the chief inheritors of property, from among whom in all probability the future legislators, magistrates, and other public functionaries will be taken should enjoy those advantages of liberal education which alone can expand and invigorate their understandings ... and give them those enlarged and liberal views of morals and the science of government, those sentiments of independence, and that fixed impression in favour of revealed religion, which afford in any country the surest guarantee that its affairs will be well and honestly administered.  

The colleges in Sydney appear to have been patronized somewhat more by the middle and professional classes than the landowners, possibly because of the commercial environment in Sydney and the better provision for boarders at Parramatta. Surveyor-General Major T.C. Mitchell told the 1838 Molesworth Committee that the education of boys of the "higher and middling classes" was very good in Sydney, though not for girls.  

The Secretary of the Sydney College, in urging the importance of advanced education, argued that otherwise "every situation of confidence, of opulence, or respectability, of

117 Charge to the Clergy, 13 February, 1834, op.cit.
118 "The middling classes of society" were equated with trades-people. Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, and Minutes of Evidence, 14 July, 1837 (Sir William Molesworth), Q.2681 (p.177).
honour must ... be occupied successively by strangers". 120
But colonials were slow to respond to this call, for in fact
material advancement did not depend closely on education and
political democracy was growing ahead of educational develop-
ment. However the studies at the Sydney College did provide
training for magistrates, clergymen, legislators, and civil
servants. 121 Governor Bourke stressed the quality of
education at the Sydney College, when making a case for the
admission of colonial lawyers to the N.S.W. Bar. 122 Certainly
many of the leading political and official figures of N.S.W.
in the second half of the century were former pupils of the
Sydney College. 123 A visitor in 1843 reported that many,
though by no means all, of the supporters of the Sydney
College were emancipists, "and it is rather looked upon as
their peculiar school". 124

120
First Annual Report of the Sydney College of New South
Wales, (1831), p.6. The Sydney Gazette also complained
(12/7/1835) that lack of education excluded the colonial-
born from civic offices.
121
W.T. Cape, op.cit.
122
Bourke to Glenelg, 3 February, 1836 (H.R.A., I, vol.XVIII,
p.289).
123
Sir John Robertson, William Forster, William Bede Dalley,
Sir James Martin, T.A. Browne (Rolfe Boldrewood), Daniel
Henry Deniehy, Judge H.M. Stephen, Attorney-General Sir
Robert Wisdom. W.C. Wentworth and T.L. Mitchell sent their
sons there. cf. Serle, Dictionary of Australian Biography,
124
The private-venture schools mostly restricted themselves to a commercial and basic education suitable to tradespeople and merchants. The returns of 1838 show that less than half-a-dozen of the 67 private schools in N.S.W. were of Catholic denomination, an understandable situation since the bulk of Roman Catholics belonged to the lower classes.

The small urban upper class (senior administrators, clergymen, officers, and the like) preferred the classical curriculum, and relied on private tutors or the colleges, particularly the King's School or the Sydney College. The Presbyterian Australian College, with its mercantile and scientific curriculum, appears to have made some appeal to the commercial classes. The rural upper class, landholders and pastoralists, were too scattered and too involved in practical concerns to maintain an interest in education, though some were well-instructed men.\textsuperscript{125} They employed tutors to sending their children to boarding schools. The learned and semi-learned professions (clergymen, lawyers, doctors, teachers) were as yet too small to influence superior education to a marked degree.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{125} cf. Hood, \textit{op.cit.}, p.310.

\textsuperscript{126} In 1841 the Rev. T. Aitken told the Committee on Loans to the Australian College (Report, \textit{V.P., N.S.W.L.C.}, 1841, Minutes of Evidence, p.15) that the Australian College could train local clergymen. Some of the L.C.'s Committee felt it desirable to import clergymen, "to keep up English feelings and principles".
The firmly-based scholastic institutions of quality in the period up to 1848, and the relatively modest academic levels of such schools as did struggle on, must be attributed not only to the limited number of middle and upper class citizens, but also to the lack of close association between their vocational or political ambitions and education. The Secretary of the Sydney College complained in 1831 that the colonials were unconscious that knowledge is power. But the truth was that in N.S.W. it was not. The Rev. David Mackenzie of the Australian College caustically but correctly remarked in 1845 "that parents, instead of educating their sons for the learned professions, or allowing them to remain at school until they have received a liberal education, send them to the bush with a few flocks of sheep, which is a surer and much shorter way of arriving at colonial eminence and independence".\footnote{D. Mackenzie, \textit{The Emigrant's Guide} (London, 1845), p.41 (quoted Harman, op.cit., p.70).}

\textit{The Philosophy of Secondary Education}

The colonial philosophy of superior education was built upon, and illustrated by, the nature of the curriculum, the accepted techniques of teaching, the theory of learning, and the social function of the schools. Considerable variety of

\footnote{Op.cit.}
opinion over the nature of secondary education characterised the 1830's and 1840's, when colonial society was changing from a convict settlement to a pastoral colony, when free institutions were beginning to make headway, when the local Protestant-landowning ascendancy was starting to weaken, and when immigrant teachers were finding it necessary to modify their English educational ideas.

The promoters of the Sydney College justified their efforts with the argument widespread enough in England that "education is the basis of sound religion, or morals, of private excellence, and of public pre-eminence and power". Education was the basis of civilization, and without it the institutions of liberty could not be understood or properly used. But the colonial reality contradicted this theory in too many ways. Deep religious feeling was not very prevalent, a local morality was developing, the "fair average" was preferred to "private excellence", and political freedom and democracy was not based on education.

James Macarthur regarded secondary education as a preparation for the liberal professions and as a means of strengthening ties with England. He supported proprietary colleges, hoping to see Lang's Australian College and the

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Sydney College augmented by an Anglican one. Such colleges, by providing education for those wishing to enter "the Church and other liberal professions; not omitting the training and preparation of school-masters", would enable native-born youths to qualify themselves for the "higher walks of life".\textsuperscript{130} The more able could proceed to the English universities, by which means "the feelings of attachment to the parent country and her institutions would be confirmed, and that unity of sentiments and interests which is so desirable, would be strengthened and perpetuated".

William Woolls shared Macarthur's desire to see colonial boys better prepared for high station. However, he placed more emphasis on the importance of a general education, and based his theories on educational principles. His views were coloured by religious considerations and by his opposition to the materialist implications of "faculty psychology". He castigated the view that mind could be explained merely in physical terms, an opinion which had "spread, like a moral pestilence, far and wide".\textsuperscript{131} However, he also rejected the older, pre-Locke, theory of innate ideas. "God has implanted certain principles in us which are evident to every well-ordered being. Although He has not given us any innate ideas

\textsuperscript{131} "Philosophy of the Human Mind", in Miscellaneies in Prose and Verse, 1838, p.55.
of Himself, He has furnished us with such faculties as enable us, step by step, to rise from 'nature up to nature's God'". 132

Woolls found his religious views and his belief in the importance of religion in education confirmed by social conditions. 133 He believed fervently in the salutary social influence of the dissemination of knowledge, which would aid rather than harm the cause of religion. 134 The brief schooling of middle and upper class boys led, in the prevailing immorality of the colony to the rapid acquisition of dissipated habits. Parents, he said, who could afford to give their children a liberal education and did not, were morally guilty. 135 His is a rather solitary voice proclaiming the case for a general, liberal education, pleading the value of knowledge as such.

Education, by some, is regarded as a state of preparation for commercial or agricultural business; by others, as training a youth to fill the situation of clerk in a public office; while, by a third class, education is considered as affording the means of acquiring a moderate stock of classical knowledge ... Each of these courses ... is manifestly deficient. 136

132 Ibid., p.58.
133 The juxtaposition of virtue and vice suggests the existence of a future life where "the righteous adjustment of those apparent anomalies" surrounding us will occur. (Ibid., p.54).
134 "Knowledge", op.cit., p.67.
135 "Educational Errors in Australia", op.cit., pp.82, 84.
136 Ibid., p.85.
Woolls believed that "a want of competent instruction" was a source of evil not only among the lower classes, but also among "the respectable youths who have been born and educated in the colony". The problem of Australia's uneducated upper classes worried him. A basic education in reading, writing, and elementary Latin was inadequate to give that "insight into the affairs of mankind generally" which was necessary for a governing class. Such an education was likely to distract attention from the proper concerns of gentlemen. "Instead of soaring aloft into the glorious paths of science, or engaging in those benevolent designs which tend to ameliorate the condition of his fellow-men, the uneducated gentleman becomes distinguished by his proficiency in those employments which are altogether unworthy of a rational and intellectual being."137

The immigration of Scotsmen contributed to social progress by building up a hard-working artisan and middle class, and to educational progress by encouraging a utilitarian curriculum based on a merger of commercial and classical studies.138 J.D. Lang's educational philosophy was that of nineteenth century Scotland - widespread elementary education

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137 "Education in New South Wales", op.cit., pp.91, 92-93. Woolls does not mention inculcation of loyalty as a feature of higher education, though he sees it as a component of the elementary education of the lower orders.
for the masses, a practical modern-classical curriculum for the middle classes, and few barriers between the two. Such an education was "liberal" in its broad curriculum and "economical" (i.e. widely available, because cheap) in its provision. The theory of this colonial secondary education was boldly enunciated by Lang:

The circumstances and condition of the colony in general render it desirable that young men should be fitted for the active business of life, at an earlier age than in the mother country; and the object of importance, therefore, in the education of youth in the colony, is to impart the largest quantity of useful knowledge in the shortest possible time, and to awaken in the process those mental energies that will afterwards enable the individual to traverse the wide field of the world with credit and with success. This object, I conceive, would be but ill accomplished by devoting the precious years of youth to the exclusive acquisition of Greek and Latin; for it is the business of education to teach youth what they are to practise when they are men.

Here is a full-blooded championship of utilitarian, or indeed vocational, education, as against general education.

Lang elaborated his philosophy of education in his newspaper, The Colonist. In January 1835 he wrote that "as it is the design of education to fit men for filling their places and discharging their respective duties in society, with credit to themselves and with advantage to the community,

139 Lang wished to establish an academy on "the liberal and economical principles of the schools and colleges of Scotland". (Historical and Statistical Account on N.S.W., vol. II, pp. 333-334).
education itself is merely the course of training through which this most important end is sought to be attained".\footnote{141}

From this social function of education he deduced a moral one - and thence a religious one. Of what consequence, he asked, would it be to society if a man had learned Latin and Greek but had not learned "to abhor the language of flattery and deceit, of slander and lies"? If moral education is not present the term "useful" must be withdrawn and education becomes dangerous both to the individual and society; it may "hang the former and ruin the latter", says Lang.

"Knowledge unaccompanied with virtuous principle, is like a sword in the hand of a madman".

But the development of moral principles was stimulated by religious belief. If we believe in a hereafter and that our career in it will be influenced by our behaviour on earth, education "will appear to be nothing less than the training up of an intelligent being for immortality, and its objects will appear commensurate with the duration of eternity".\footnote{142} In short, he argued for "the propriety, the expediency and the absolute necessity of combining religious instruction with the general education of youth".\footnote{143}

\footnote{141} The Colonist, 29/1/1835.
\footnote{142} Ibid.
\footnote{143} The Colonist, 30/4/1835.
These views were not expressed merely for their abstract validity, but were provoked in the course of a campaign against a secessionist from the Australian College (Henry Carmichael) and against proposals for the Irish National system then occupying the attention of the Governor and his Council. When Lang thundered that "the newfangled notions of those who pretend to teach morality without the scriptures are an insult to the common sense of a Christian community" he had both Carmichael and the Irish National system in mind.

Henry Carmichael was a private tutor in London when Lang invited him to proceed to Australia as a teacher of classics in his proposed College. Lang gave him the task of gathering suitable books and apparatus for the school in England, and while doing so Carmichael came into contact with the 83 years old utilitarian philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, and his disciples.

"The greatest happiness of the greatest number" was the main principle of Bentham's moral philosophy. His attitude to religion was hostile and irreverent. His utilitarian

144 The Colonist, 29/1/1835.
measure of worth rested on the view that the good or bad effects produced were the measure of validity.\textsuperscript{146} During his visit to Russia in 1786 Bentham had seen something of the operations of a state system of education, secular, utilitarian, stressing the "practical" or "modern" subjects. This system was intended to be open to the whole population, and was co-educational.

His views on education arose from his Russian experiences and his doctrine of utility. He was particularly concerned with secondary education.\textsuperscript{147} Bentham supported, to some effect, the spread of the monitorial system\textsuperscript{148} and the growth of state intervention in education. It was natural that in N.S.W., where the monitorial system, state intervention, co-education and theories of non-sectarian education were already making headway, his views should have some influence.

\textsuperscript{146} "Whether the doctrines be true or false, is a point on which I do not intend to touch. If false, they may be useful: if true they might be dangerous. The question, therefore, is, throughout, only as to comparative magnitude, number and proportion of bad and good effects produced." Quoted, N. Hans, "Bentham and the Utilitarians", in A.V. Judges (edit.), Pioneers of English Education (1952), p.86.

\textsuperscript{147} The title of his book on higher education, \textit{Chrestomathia} (1815-17) means "useful learning". In it he gives three characteristic arguments in favour of the monitorial system - (i) it saved money; (ii) it saved time; (iii) the monitor would have no opinions of his own and, for reasons of honour and power, would be an assiduous teacher.

\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Ibid.}, p.91. Bentham's brother had established, in 1789, a school in Russia based on the method of mutual instruction, i.e. the monitorial system, and Jeremy was acquainted with this too.
The practical-utilitarian bent of colonial education provided a suitable climate for Benthamism, which influenced such figures as Robert Lowe and Henry Carmichael. Lowe's condemnation of N.S.W. education in the 1844 Report because of its costliness and inefficiency and his introduction of the "payment by results" system in England in 1862 were of a piece with Benthamite utilitarianism.

Henry Carmichael had well-nigh abandoned his religious beliefs when he joined Lang on the "Stirling Castle" in 1831. Even on board ship he preferred to carry on education among the immigrants rather than clerical activities. He soon left Lang's Australian College and in December, 1834, opened the Normal Institution, the colony's first teachers' training school, in Hyde Park.\footnote{Nadel, op.cit., pp.113-114, 231-233; Turney, "Henry Carmichael", in Australian Journal of Education, July, 1960.}

Carmichael treated the Bible as a book of reference, one of a number of great religious works, not necessarily the central one. In his normal school he followed the Irish National system, using its textbooks, and providing courses emphasizing practical subjects such as arithmetic, geometry, and the physical sciences rather than the classics. Like the Benthamites, he did not object to religious knowledge provided it was come by intellectually. He was opposed to religious inculcation. The pupils were to be encouraged to form opinions of their own.
It is the communication of knowledge, not the inculcation of opinions at all, which constitutes the business of education ... When opinions of any sort, whether religious or not, are attempted to be taught, otherwise than as subjects of knowledge, the legitimate province of education is overstepped ... My constant aim ... is to facilitate, to the utmost of my power, the process enabling each individual mind to form, on all subjects (and on the subject of religion among the rest) opinions for itself.150

In 1844, having left the Normal Institution, Carmichael organized English language and composition classes "to evolve the logical powers of the mind and to promote the formation of correct moral character".151 In a Mechanics' School of Arts Lecture in the same year he elaborated his educational theories. He accepted Pestalozzi's views on the importance of acquisition of habits of mind, namely, training in habits of observation and thereby in recognition of moral, intellectual, and physical laws. This was the approach to be fostered, rather than burdening the mind with useless knowledge, unclassified facts, and inculcated opinions.

150 Letter to The Australian, 14/6/1836. My own view is that indoctrination is both unavoidable and desirable in the early years of education. All young children need, and most will seek, a simply system of beliefs, an elementary world-philosophy, no matter what. "If false, they may be useful." Once this has been given it is desirable at higher (i.e. secondary?) levels to cultivate critical thinking so that the natural philosophical re-evaluation of adolescence may be effectively conducted.

These ideas were still further developed in his 15,000 word "Maitland Lecture" of 1857.\textsuperscript{152} Carmichael argued that religion formed the basis of education, but it must be a non-ecclesiastical religion. Man's religious instinct could be expressed in many ways. An education and training which encouraged man's propensities was really no more than a development of his religious morality. The development of intellectual and moral faculties would aid the understanding of all religious problems.

By mid-century, higher education in N.S.W. was still unable to achieve a coherent philosophy of secondary education. Classical and scientific subjects were regarded as alternatives rather than components of a general or liberal education, while such general literary-humanistic studies as English literature or history had made little headway in the curriculum. Religious inculcation was still a prominent purpose, but was weakened by the lack of a commonly accepted religious ideology, quite apart from challenges such as that of Carmichael. Yet the dependence of most corporate and some grammar schools on ecclesiastical support meant that, in the absence of state provision of secondary schools, a secularist philosophy of higher education did not develop far. In the small private-venture schools, however, the denominational

element was weaker, and the practical commercial curriculum stronger. The absence of Catholic secondary schools, a result of the under-representation of Catholics in the upper strata of society, limited the development of a Catholic philosophy of secondary education.

Inculcation of loyalty to England was becoming a less important function of higher education in the 1830's and 1840's; a concern to cultivate a colonial elite was quite widespread among the small group of educational thinkers and in some leading political circles.
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, 1848-66: FIVE SYSTEMS

(a) The Initial Years of the Two Boards

In January, 1848, the Governor of N.S.W. established a Board of National Education "for the regulation and inspection of Schools to be established and conducted under Lord Stanley's National System of Education" and a Denominational Schools Board "for the temporal regulation and inspection of the respective Denominational Schools of the Colony, supported in whole, or in part, at the public expense". This arrangement lasted until 1867, and is frequently referred to as the Dual System. Since control by the Denominational Schools Board was minimal, there were in reality five parallel school systems - the National, Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist - subsidized by the State. In addition, a number of elementary schools existed independent of state aid.

The Board of National Education consisted of the Chairman J.H. Plunkett, Attorney-General of N.S.W. and a liberal Catholic; W.S. Macleay, a Presbyterian; and Sir Charles Nicholson, an Anglican. Members acted in an honorary

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New South Wales Government Gazette, 7 January, 1848.
capacity. Nicholson had been a member of the 1844 Committee, but two most important members of this Committee - Lowe and Lang - were passed over. Carmichael's efforts to obtain an administrative post under the Board were fruitless. Nevertheless, the Board enlisted a number of able people in its cause: Plunkett, its first chairman, G.W. Rusden, its initial agent in establishing schools, and William Wilkins, originally head of the Model School and later an Inspector. Henry Parkes, editor and politician, soon emerged as an important supporter.

The Board had the task of erecting a school system from nothing, in face of competition from the existing denominational and private schools. One of its first objects was to establish Model schools for the training of teachers. The Commissioners for National schools in Ireland were asked to recommend a married couple trained in the Normal public schools, the husband to be master of a Model school for boys and the wife mistress of one for girls. The Board also requested the right to purchase textbooks at the same price as provided for Irish National schools.

In May, 1849 the Board appointed George William Rusden and John Kinchela to tour N.S.W. and promote the establishment

of National schools. Kinchela died in the same year, and Rusden became sole agent. The procedure for establishing National schools was set out in the Board's regulations. The Board would provide up to two-thirds of the cost of erecting and equipping a school where an attendance of 30 children could be guaranteed and local patrons found. The local patrons were responsible for raising the balance of the money and for superintending the erection of the school, and had a share in its conduct. The appointment of teachers rested with the Commissioners, but they would pay special attention to the recommendations of patrons. Teachers received a minimum salary of £40 a year, but would be eligible for gratuities if their work was commendable, as well as a supplementary amount from fees, or local subscriptions. Instruction was to be based upon the books prepared by the Irish Commissioners. Religious instruction was to be given weekly, on a day set apart, by each minister of religion to his own adherents.

The Denominational Schools Board consisted of four members representing the main denominations. Under their regulations the appointments of teachers were to be made by the heads of the denominations, subject to approval (which

4 Austin, Rusden and National Education in Australia, pp. 25, 48.
5 Regulations for the Establishment and Conduct of National Schools in New South Wales (Sydney, 1853).
became nominal) by the Board. Four Model schools, one for each denomination, were planned. Local School Boards were appointed in the first instance by the head of the particular denomination; these "Local Boards" had more power than the "Local Patrons" of the National system. The D.S.B. did not appoint any inspectors, but left this function to the churches.

The main function of the Denominational Board was to distribute the annual grant among the denominations. Initially the government grant was allocated on the basis of the 1841 census. In 1849, after the Roman Catholics had petitioned for a fairer distribution, they were given a special grant of £800. In 1851 they were receiving only 22% of the Denominational grant, although their adherents comprised 30% of the population. In 1852 the vote was proportioned according to the census of 1851, the Catholics benefiting from this new arrangement and the Presbyterians losing.

The salaries of denominational teachers were left to each Church, and denominational rivalry encouraged the

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opening of new schools rather than the raising of salaries. The low salary of the teacher and his subservience to the local clergymen made his position unenviable. Success as a teacher carried dangers as well as rewards, for when children of other denominations were attracted to a teacher's school this might well lead to accusations of proselytizing.9

By 1850 there were 185 schools under the Denominational Board with a nominal enrolment of 11,581 pupils, and 39 under the National Board, with 2,725 pupils. In 1855 state aid went to the following elementary schools:10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Orphan School</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic Orphan School</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylums for Destitute Children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England Schools</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Schools</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan Schools</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic Schools</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Schools</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, the Congregationalists and Baptists had a few schools, and a Hebrew School was established in Sydney in May, 1859.11 No government aid was given to these. In the returns they were included among the 257 private schools,

many of which provided mainly elementary education, though for children of a higher social class.

Initially the National schools were mainly in the country (only two were established in Sydney), whereas the majority of denominational schools were in Sydney and Newcastle. In this way it was hoped to limit competition.

The first years of the new system were made more difficult by the gold rushes. The circulation of population increased, social and moral problems grew, the cost of building and maintaining schools rose, and there was difficulty in obtaining teachers. Above all, there was a great increase in numbers to be educated. Between 1851 and 1856 the number of children between four and 14 years rose from 50,013 to 68,820, an increase of 18,807 (38%). The number of pupils in National and denominational schools increased by 6,530 from 14,399 to 20,929 (45%) and the total number of scholars from 21,120 to 29,426 (39%). Thus, despite the new system of elementary schooling, the number of children without education (or being educated at home) rose from 28,893 in 1851 to 39,394 in 1856. The proportion of scholars to the total population fell from 1 in 8.76 in 1851 to 1 in 9.01 in 1853 and 1 in 9.91 in 1855.  

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13 Figures from Censuses of 1851 and 1856, the Statistical Register for 1851 and 1856, and T. Holt, Two Speeches on the Subject of Education in New South Wales (1857), Appendix
Up to 1855 the system of control through two Boards was in its formative stage, absorbed in the problems of drawing up regulations, determining curricula, obtaining textbooks and teachers, and establishing normal schools. But already rivalry had developed, both between the four denominational systems, and between the supporters of the National and Denominational systems. The initial argument was over the distribution of monies between state and Church schools, but the place of religion in National schools and the broad curriculum of these schools came under criticism. Bishop Tyrrell of Newcastle opened the attack in 1851. William Wilkins was prominent in defence of the National schools, which also had the support of Parkes and his newspaper, The Empire. The problem of elementary education was again forced on the attention of the legislature.

(b) The Investigations of 1854-55

On 1 August, 1854, Charles Cowper moved in the Legislative Council for a Select Committee "to inquire and report whether any measures can be adopted for improving the means of Education, and for diffusing its benefits more

14 cf. Remarks on the Third Report of the Board of National Education in N.S.W. by the Bishop of Newcastle (1851) (Griffiths, op.cit., p.88); National Education: a series of letters in defence of the National System (1857); National Education: An Exposition of the National System of N.S.W. by William Wilkins (1865).
extensively throughout the Colony". This Committee of ten members was appointed not only because of complaints and quarrels over elementary education, but also because of growing interest in the establishment of a grammar school to cater for the new university. The Committee obtained the appointment in November, 1854 of three Commissioners - William Wilkins, Samuel Turton, and Henry Levinge, all experienced teachers - who visited 202 of the 217 state-supported elementary schools and submitted their report in December, 1855.

The three Commissioners found that only one-third (approximately 17,000) out of a possible 50,000 children were attending school. The average daily attendance was 11,700, or less than three-fourths of those on the books. "We are under the impression that the average time spent at school by each child cannot far exceed two years." Some schools were so overcrowded that the atmosphere in them was offensive, and dangerous to the health of both teachers and pupils. A large proportion of the school-

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16 Final Report from School Commissioners, 6 December, 1855 (in Journal of the Legislative Council, 1856-6, I, pp.257-288). School fees were paid by 14,500 children; 1,500 were instructed gratuitously.
17 Ibid., p.12.
houses were badly situated, constructed of unsuitable materials, or in a state of wretched repair.

Some schools are held in churches, others in cellars, and many in hovels. Some are placed in unwholesome swamps, some on the summits of hills where water cannot be procured, some are too remote from the people, and others are hemmed in on all sides by buildings. 19

Toilet arrangements were inadequate. "At least one-half of the schools are calculated to train the children in habits of dirtiness and indelicacy." If on reaching adulthood children developed an interest in neat and comfortable homes and decent personal habits, said the Commissioners, "it will be in spite of, and not in consequence of, the school education they are at present receiving". 20

Two-thirds of the schools lacked a sufficient supply of furniture. "The condition of schools, as regards the supply of educational apparatus is still worse. Very few schools possess a clock, a large number do not possess a blackboard, and in some there is not even a map." 21 The provision of books was more adequate; those in National schools were considered the best for general purposes.

In general, few schools are worthy of the name ... The obstructions presented by the want of proper school buildings,

19 Ibid., p.4. 155 of the schools were considered badly placed.
20 Ibid., p.5.
21 Ibid., p.10.
furniture, apparatus, and books, have undoubtedly been the means of preventing many subjects from being taught, and of hindering the progress of scholars ... The Colonial youth are by no means dull or incapable of cultivation; on the contrary, we have found them acute, apt to learn, and when properly managed, not deficient in industry and application. The teachers also seem to be industrious, and in many cases zealous. The inference, therefore, is that the methods of teaching employed are unsuitable and ineffective ... the want of training on the part of the Teachers countenances this conclusion. 22

The main recommendations of the Commissioners were that there should be one educational system, controlled by one managing body; that in new townships the most eligible piece of land should be reserved in advance for the school; that school buildings should be neat and handsome; that each locality with sufficient children should have two schools, a Primary and an Infant one, and that one large school should be preferred to several small ones; that the "mixed system of instruction" 23 was the best; that the Central Board (rather than Local Boards) should supply school equipment; that the appointment of inspectors was essential; that the system of pupil-teachers should be adopted, and that their training

22 Ibid., p. 12.
23 Teaching methods are described in (f) below. The "mixed system" mingled individual lessons (i.e. the hearing by the master of lessons prepared at home) and collective lessons (where classes were arranged in a gallery and taught by the teacher, with the aid of pupil-teachers for separate classes). The Commissioners' support for large schools was influenced by the fact that these permitted the use of pupil-teachers.
should include one year at a Normal school. They recommended extension of the system of grading teachers, differential salaries, and an organized system of promotion.

It is interesting, in view of the great attention given to the religious question in public discussions on education, to note that the report condemned the state of religious knowledge in the schools as deplorable, particularly in the denominational schools. The clergy rarely found the time to visit the schools or give religious instruction in them.\(^2^4\)

(c) The Failure of Local Participation

A characteristic of English and American education in the nineteenth century was the strength of local control. In England the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 strengthened local government, giving the middle classes considerable influence. The first suggestion for a local rate in aid of schools was made in 1853,\(^2^5\) but it was not until the reforms of 1867 gave further importance to municipal organizations that they were ready to undertake control of education. The Education Act of 1870, which initiated a state system alongside the older state-aided voluntary system, handed over education to Local School Boards.

\(^2^4\) Ibid., p.21. For more detail on religious instruction see section (m) below.

\(^2^5\) Cf. Cubberley, op.cit., p.635.
In N.S.W. local government developed more slowly. In 1839 local control of markets was introduced in some N.S.W. towns, and in the next year local control of roads. As we have seen, the provisions of the Act of 1842 for a general system of local government throughout the colony, including control of education, were not implemented. In April 1855 Governor Denison suggested a decentralized control of education on the English model, but no action eventuated. In 1858 the franchise was extended and the Municipalities Act of that year provided for a permissive system of incorporation, revenue coming from local rates and government aid. The list of local functions did not include schools, but the Municipalities Act of 1867 permitted the establishment and maintenance of infants' schools as a local function. There is no evidence that any municipality established an infant school.

The weakness of local government in N.S.W. prevented the English pattern of educational control. Some concession to the 19th century tradition of self-help and local initiative was made by establishing local patrons for National schools and local school boards for denominational

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27 cf. section (p) below.
28 Larcombe, *op.cit.*, pp.11-12.
schools. The regulations of the National Board provided for at least three local patrons, representing, if possible, different denominations. The local School Board of denominational schools was usually dominated by the local clergyman.

The School Commissioners of 1854-55 found that the Local Board system was not working properly. Inspection by Local Boards was very rare, and their main activity was to sign salary claims. Frequently members of the Local Board were illiterate, and when they did interfere in school arrangements "their proceedings are generally attended with disastrous results".29

(d) William Wilkins and the National Schools

Reform came not through parliament which continued to be deadlocked over education, but from the example of the National schools and the efforts of professional educationists, the most prominent of whom was William Wilkins. Wilkins, an Anglican trained under the British and Foreign system, came out in 1850 following the request two years earlier by the Board of National Education for a trained teacher to take charge of a model school.30 He became master of the Fort

Street Model School early in 1851. Inevitably he became involved in the controversy over elementary education; in 1851 Plunkett defended him in the Legislative Council and paid tribute to his competence. William Wilkins played a leading role in the theory and practice of N.S.W. education for the next 30 years.

Wilkins directed his initial efforts to improving teaching techniques. At the Fort Street Model School he introduced such new European methods as arithmetic taught according to the principles of Pestalozzi and Mulhauser's method of teaching writing. His personal interest in music was soon reflected in the curriculum. When Wilkins became the first Inspector and Superintendent in 1854 his influence on the National schools increased considerably. His experiences as a School Commissioner in 1854-55 added to his knowledge of the many problems facing education.

of bunglings associated with Wilkins' appointment. His wife, who was to have become mistress of a girls' Model school, died on the voyage out.

31 Sydney Morning Herald, 29 November, 1851. The Bishop of Newcastle had criticized Wilkins in his pamphlet, alleging he was trained for Anglican schools.

32 Wilkins was one of a number of administrators who dominated N.S.W. government departments during the second half of the century. Others included Geoffrey Eager (Treasury) and Captain Martindale (Railways).

33 cf. Linz, op.cit., p.64.

34 Wilkins describes "The remedial measures adopted by the Board" in 1854 in National Education: An Exposition (1865), p.22.
PLAN OF A SCHOOL FOR 48 CHILDREN, WITH A TEACHER'S RESIDENCE - TAKEN FROM THE REGULATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1853.
A School for 48 Children of one sex, in 4 Classes; with a Classroom having a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes: Master's residence attached.
APPENDIX.

No 2.

A School for 72 Boys and Girls, in 4 Classes; with a Classroom having a Gallery capable of containing two of the Classes: Master's residence attached.
PLAN OF A SCHOOL FOR 72 CHILDREN, WITH A
TEACHER'S RESIDENCE - TAKEN FROM THE
REGULATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF
EDUCATION, 1853.
PLAN OF AN INFANT SCHOOL FOR 100 INFANTS, WITH MASTER'S RESIDENCE ATTACHED - TAKEN FROM THE REGULATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1853.
APPENDIX.

No. 3

Infant School for 100 Infants, with a Gallery capable of accommodating 72 Infants, and a group of benches and desks capable of accommodating 15 Infants: Master's residence attached.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>CLASS 1</th>
<th>CLASS 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:15</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15</td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>Geography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>Russian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>Mandarin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MEETING TRIMBLE: TIME TABLE No. 2 (FEMALE)**

**APPENDIX:**

- Needlework
- Domestic Science
- English
- Mathematics
- History
- Geography
- Science
- Latin
- French
- German
- Italian
- Spanish
- Russian
- Japanese
- Mandarin
TIMETABLE FOR A FEMALE SCHOOL - TAKEN FROM THE REGULATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1853.
In 1856 Inspector Wilkins reported that steps had been taken to remedy the shortage of school materials by importing apparatus, school-houses repaired, and regulations for the examination and classification of teachers introduced. In December, 1856, a Table of Minimum Requirements for each Class was issued. The aim of this was to set standards to regulate the promotion of children and the work covered in each class.\textsuperscript{35} Sixteen trained teachers were brought out from England,\textsuperscript{35} One of these was appointed Organizing Master, with the task of assisting teachers in school organization, discipline, and instruction. An attempt was made to introduce a Kindergarten, on Froebel's principles, at the Fort Street Nursery School. Requirements for a four-year course of training for pupil-teachers within the schools were drawn up.\textsuperscript{36}

In October, 1857, William Wilkins suggested a plan to incorporate private elementary schools in the National system as non-vested schools. This procedure had operated for many years in Ireland and had just been introduced in Victoria. The proprietors of private schools would be paid by the National Board and would be subject to the Regulations of the Board. However, the schools would remain their property, and they would not be subject to dismissal. "The introduction of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[36] Ibid., pp. 4, 6, 15.
\end{footnotes}
non-vested Schools", wrote Wilkins, "would tend to remove the disparity between the National and Denominational System, as regards facilities for establishing Schools."\(^{37}\) The Commissioners welcomed this inexpensive way of extending the National system, and issued a "Regulation for the Establishment and Conduct of Non-Vested Schools" on 14 December, 1857.\(^{38}\) The result was a great growth of the number of National schools, which now spread in urban areas as well as the countryside. They increased from 62 in 1857 to 100 in 1858 and 128 in the following year (Denominational schools increased from 200 to 217 in the same period). Of the 128 National schools in 1859, 55 were non-vested.\(^{39}\)

This expansion was accompanied by the extension of the system of inspection in 1858, when the colony was divided into four districts to which inspectors were soon appointed. The system was capped when Wilkins was made Acting Secretary to the Board in 1863, and permanent Secretary in the following year.\(^{40}\)

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\(^{38}\) Ibid., p.13.

\(^{39}\) Figures from N.S.W. Statistical Registers and Reports of the National Board.

\(^{40}\) Reports of Board of National Education, 1863 (J.L.C., 1864, Pt.II, p.57) and 1864 (J.L.C., 1865, p.210). His predecessor was given a year's leave on health grounds and returned as Assistant Secretary.
The system which Wilkins had built up was criticized for its centralization. Yet in the conditions of the time this was a merit. The Local Boards were either apathetic or tyrannous; the teachers were often untrained and in need of guidance; and the constant movement of children required a uniform curriculum and techniques. A centralized system provided equal facilities and a fair share of able teachers for rural schools.41

In his pamphlet, National Education: An Exposition of the National System of New South Wales, (1865), the substance of two public lectures, Wilkins summed up the difficulties which had faced the National system:

Established but seventeen years; forced to compete with an antagonistic system already occupying the more populous localities; its extension retarded by the reorganization produced by the gold discovery; banned from pulpit and altar, and denounced in private as godless and infidel; misrepresented by one portion of the press, and but feebly supported by another; suffering at the most critical period of its history from the cold shadow of vice-regal disfavour; and, above all, deranged and obstructed in its operations by a Parliament which for ten years prevented the adoption and carrying out of a systematic policy, by perpetually

41 cf. Wilkins, National Education: An Exposition (1865), p.34. In the same booklet (p.27) Wilkins justifies centralization: "In a country such as New South Wales, in which a large proportion of the population is continually shifting, it is a matter of some consequence that the transference of a pupil from one school to another should not occasion any interruption in the process of education".
promising definite legislation on the subject - it is a matter of surprise that the system did not long since succumb to the pressure of adverse circumstances.\textsuperscript{42}

(e) The Slow Development of Denominational Schools

For some years the denominational schools continued on the same pattern as the parochial schools before 1848.\textsuperscript{43} They lacked the able and dedicated leadership which Wilkins gave the National system. Their teachers were generally less efficient than those in National schools. No effective training school was opened for several years, an inspectorial system was slow to arise, the adoption of "standards of attainment" was delayed. The school buildings were frequently of poor quality.\textsuperscript{44}

The main stimulus for improvement came from the competition of the increasingly efficient National schools, which by 1861 were more numerous than any of the four denominational groups. In face of this challenge some improvements were made. By the late 1850's Anglican and Catholic Model schools were attempting to provide trained teachers, and by 1862 these denominations had each appointed an inspector. A system of

\textsuperscript{42} p.31.

\textsuperscript{43} For the daily programme in Catholic and Anglican schools in 1848, cf. Rowland, \textit{op.cit.}, p.180.

\textsuperscript{44} In 1862, 58 Anglican schools in the Sydney Diocese were in schoolrooms, 41 in School-Churches, and six in private buildings. Denominational School Board, \textit{Report for 1862}, p.5 (\textit{J.L.C.}, 1863-4, Pt.II, p.135).
training and inspection were necessary before classification of teachers could start. In October 1865 the Denominational School Board at last issued a revised and detailed set of rules, to operate from 1 January, 1866. But by now its days were numbered.

During the 1850's, when the denominational schools should have been improving their quality, they concentrated on increasing their numbers. Complaints that lack of funds handicapped the denominational system had some truth; but what funds they did have went towards opening new schools rather than engaging inspectors, establishing training schools, and raising salaries.

Church of England schools increased from 79 in 1851 (following the separation of Port Phillip) to 186 in 1866, and pupils rose from 4,998 to 13,525, an increase of 135% in the number of schools and 174% in pupils. The rate of growth of the Catholic system was somewhat higher - Catholic schools increased from 35 to 138 and pupils from 3,310 to 10,390 (214%). After an initial expansion Presbyterian schools dropped to 16 in 1853, but numbered 31 by 1866. There were ten Wesleyan schools in 1851 and 23 in 1866.

45 Ibid. For more detail see next section.
47 Figures from N.S.W. Statistical Register, various years.
The main problem of elementary education in the 20 years under review, apart from creating a network of schools, particularly in rural areas, was to raise standards. The effort to improve the quality of education involved formalizing teaching methods, improving the training of teachers, and establishing a system of inspection and examination of both pupils and teachers.

The 1855 Report of the School Commissioners, together with the Questionnaire circulated to all schools provide a valuable picture of conditions in the elementary schools.

Three major teaching systems were in use. The old individual system of instruction was employed in 43 of the 164 Denominational schools visited and five of the 38 National schools.

Under this system the furniture is arranged according to the taste or convenience of the teacher, though the desks are commonly placed around the walls of the schoolroom. As the Master never engages in actual teaching, none of the apparatus which is now considered necessary is in use, and the children are allowed to introduce any books they choose. All the children in the school, notwithstanding their inequality in point of attainments, are generally


49 Final Report from School Commissioners, p.9. Two of the 43 Denominational schools were actually classified as using the Scotch Parochial system - "an unfavourable specimen of the individual system".
formed into one large class. All the lessons are prepared at home, and the Master simply hears the children "say their lessons" one after the other.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic (cyphering) were the only operations carried on in such schools; any other acquisition of knowledge arose out of the books studied at home.

The majority of the Denominational schools (97 out of 164) used the monitorial system, though only five of the 38 National schools did. "According to this system, the teaching is confided to children chosen from among the pupils, the Master being merely a superintendent". The Bell, rather than the Lancastrian, system was generally favoured. The Commissioners commented that the system had failed in England because the irregular attendance of children and their early leaving age prevented the selection of suitable monitors, and that these were even strangers in the colony.

The Mixed system (pupil-teacher system) was used by 21 Denominational schools and 26 National ones. "Its peculiarities lie in the arrangement of the desks, the employment of pupil-teachers, and the mixture of individual with collective lessons." Normally all classes were in the one large room, pupil-teachers taking classes under the overall supervision of the Master, who took the pupil-teachers themselves for lessons after school.
The 1855 School Commissioners noted that the prerequisite of effective teaching was a proper classification of children, grouping them into classes according to their standards of attainment. To assist this the National Board issued a "Table of Minimum Attainments" in 1856. There were five classes in the school, and each class was divided into quarters. Promotion from one quarter to the next could come at quarterly or longer intervals, but in any case only when the pupil had mastered the requirements for his quarter. For example, at the end of the first quarter of Third class children were expected:

To read fluently and with proper emphasis, the third book, as far as page 72; to understand the subject matter thoroughly; and be able to spell all words occurring in the lesson, explain their meaning, give synonyms and equivalent phrases; and to know the Saxon and Latin prefixes and affixes.

To write on paper from copies, and on slates from dictation, passages selected from their reading lessons, marking capitals and full stops, where required.

To know all the most useful Arithmetical Tables, the easier rules of Mental Arithmetic, and to work questions in the simple and compound rules, including Reduction.

To parse fully all the words of an easy sentence selected from their reading books, and to know the principal rules of Syntax, and the analysis of simple sentences.

To be acquainted with the geography of the four quarters of the globe, and the Physical Geography of Australia in detail.

To reproduce from memory the substance of an object lesson.
The Inspectors found that classification was not effective in small country schools, due to the low enrolment; that many teachers were unable to carry through the classification properly; and that even good initial classification was undermined by the irregular attendance of some pupils. Some teachers claimed that the "Table of Minimum Attainments" was set too high.50

In 1861 the Inspector of Roman Catholic schools mentioned four obstacles to classification - the small number of pupils in many schools, the objections of parents to classes, parental objections to certain subjects (especially geography and grammar) and above all, want of skill on the part of the teacher.51 In the following year the Inspector of Church of England schools in the Sydney Diocese suggested that children be arranged into three classes in the school-room. The teacher should take one class, and Assistant Teachers or Monitors the other two. Two classes were to do silent work, the third oral work under the teacher. The teacher would take each class in rotation. Classes could be separated by curtains, which could be pushed back when one or two classes

50 In 1856 the majority of teachers in National schools had put their pupils in classes for which they were not yet ready (Report of Commissioners of National Education, 1856, p.3).

were combined for special lessons. Division into classes was to be on the basis of reading or arithmetic.\textsuperscript{52}

The necessity for silent work from books, large classes, and the lack of ability of teachers led to considerable rote learning. For instance, the Inspector of Catholic schools complained that in the teaching of geography the children were far too frequently forced to memorize the exact height of mountains, the exact length of rivers, and similar factual details.\textsuperscript{53}

In the early 1850's the great weakness of elementary schooling lay in the incompetence of teachers. The Board of National Education set high enough standards in its first regulations which stipulated that

\begin{quote}
A Teacher shall be a person of Christian sentiment, of calm temper and discretion, imbued with a spirit of peace, of obedience to the law and loyalty to the Sovereign; and should not only possess the art of communicating knowledge, but be capable of moulding the minds of youth, and of giving useful direction to the power which education confers.\textsuperscript{54}
\end{quote}

But for long the reality came nowhere near the ideal.

The efficiency of the teacher was likely to be influenced by such factors as his training in teaching techniques, the


\textsuperscript{53} W.P. Casey, D.S.B. Report, 1862, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{54} Regulations for the Establishment and Conduct of National Schools in New South Wales (Sydney, 1853), ch. III, cl. 2. Clause 6 prohibited teachers from taking "an active part in public meetings held for political purposes".
ability of the system to attract able recruits (through prestige, conditions, or salary), the system of examination of pupils, the system of inspection of pupils and teachers, and the material environment of teaching (supply of equipment, state of buildings, etc.). We proceed to examine some of these contributing factors to teaching efficiency as they existed between 1848 and 1867.

In 1855 the Commissioners found that the majority of N.S.W. elementary teachers - 105 out of 204 - had never been trained. In Denominational schools 42 teachers had been trained in N.S.W., 20 in Britain, and 101 were untrained, while in National schools 30 had been trained in N.S.W., seven in Britain, and four were untrained. The National Board came off better because they recruiting from scratch and gave all their pupil-teachers some brief training in Model schools. These schools were really practice schools rather than training institutions. Fort Street was the first, then William Street, and in May 1856 two additional schools, Cleveland Street and

55 "The Model schools in Sydney are not training institutions at all, but merely practising schools: there is no real Normal school in the Colony" (Final Report from School Commissioners, 1855, p.24).
Paddington School, were opened. In December 1856 regulations permitted the apprenticeship of pupil-teachers in country schools.

At the beginning of 1859 the training period at the Model schools was increased from one month to three. But the three inspectors had few illusions about the adequacy of these courses. It was "far better than no training at all"; but "the success, as teachers, of persons circumstanced as the majority of candidates, must be regarded as very problematical." In England the period of training for elementary teachers varied considerably, but some institutions provided three-year courses.

The Denominational system was much less advanced than the National. The Denominational School Board opposed the monitory system, and this delayed the growth of the pupil-teacher system. In 1858 a Church of England Model school (the St. James' Model School) opened, providing a course which varied in length but averaged out at two months. In 1861

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57 Ibid., p.15. The candidate for pupil-teacher had to be at least 13 years old and his apprenticeship lasted four years. The teacher was required to give one and a half hours' instruction to his pupil-teachers each school day.
60 Report from Denominational Board, 1857, p.2.
a branch department was established for the training of infant teachers. A Catholic Model school was set up in Sydney (Kent St.) in 1848, another for females in 1851, and two more in 1858-59. These were not satisfactory, and in 1861, therefore, the Catholic Training School at St. Mary's, Sydney, opened.

The official elevation of an ordinary school into a "model" school was an easy matter involving a change of name and modification of routine. But success in teacher-training depended on linking initial training with an effective system of promotion through examination, and inspection for purposes of maintaining or increasing teaching efficiency. The Training Master at the St. James' Model School commented: "unless some means of regular inspection and classification of the Schools and Teachers in your Diocese be soon devised, all the efforts that may be made at the beginning will fail, permanently and effectively to raise the standard of elementary education in our Schools".

The recruitment of suitable teachers was handicapped in the 1850's by the effect of the gold-rushes and in the 1860's

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61 Smith and Spaull, op.cit., p.211.
62 Fogarty, op.cit., pp.87-88.
by uncertain economic conditions. Most enlightened observers in the 1850's realized the inadequacy of salaries—indeed the attraction of the goldfields to impoverished teachers forced this to public attention. Poor salaries, said the Rev. Laughton in 1855, led to the employment of men of "very indifferent acquirements, and totally incapable of efficiently communicating even the little they knew". In the Legislative Assembly Holt drew attention to the low social and economic status of teachers. In many cases they were "below the menial state, and, if they happen to have tyrannical local boards of 'patrons' their lot is indeed pitiable".

Tremendous variation in conditions also promoted disunity among teachers as a professional group. Holt pointed out in 1857 that basic salaries of £87.10s. per annum were paid to teachers in Church of England schools whether at Chippendale, with 105 scholars, or Penrith with 16, in Catholic schools at Redfern (146) and Wollongong (29), and Wesleyan schools at Surry Hills (140) and Windsor (37). Other teachers

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64 In 1863 the National Board was forced to make drastic reductions in expenditure (J.L.C., 1863-4, Pt.2, pp.169, 180). Cowper was under fire from Eagar and others for disguising a deficiency and over-spending.

65 Lecture at the Opening of the Bathurst Mechanics' School of Arts (1855), p.13.

66 Two Speeches on the Subject of Education, p.22.
received lower basic salaries. In the 1850's National teachers received the highest basic salaries, followed by Wesleyan and Presbyterian teachers. But the two latter received more in school fees, making their total remuneration higher.

In 1862 the National Board attempted to equalize conditions between rural and city areas by granting an extra £18 per annum to teachers stationed west of the Dividing Range or on the New England tableland. The employment of trained teachers from England towards the end of the 1850's also raised the quality of the profession a little. But basic improvement rested on government action. "It is incumbent upon the state to create, as it were, a higher order of teachers", the School Commissioners of 1854-55 commented. These teachers would then raise "the business of education to its proper rank among the other liberal professions".

In too many cases the Teacher is paid at a lower rate than a mechanic, and is compelled to inhabit a dwelling which, so far from being convenient or comfortable does not even protect himself and family from the vicissitudes of the weather. Residing often in secluded localities, destitute of intellectual companionship, and almost

invariably unnoticed by the Local Boards, his condition is unenviable, and his prospects hopeless ... Of the two great motives which actuate men in their choice of a profession — both are entirely wanting in the Teacher's position. His material reward is, the state of poverty and misery before depicted; and his only distinction is, to be a member of a profession despised all around ... As a rule it is only persons who have failed in other occupations who seek to become Teachers.70

The 1859 Report of the Board of National Education reiterates that "much discontent prevails among teachers". The three inspectors list the following "real causes of dissatisfaction" — the wretched character and condition of their dwellings; the annoyances attendant upon the payment of school fees; the interference of parents, the irregularity in attendance of the pupils; and the neglect or opposition of the local patrons.71

An attempt to organize teachers was made in 1856 when the United Association of Teachers of New South Wales was formed. The management of the Association was in the hands of a mixed group from both Denominational and National schools, with the professors of the University holding prominent positions.72 At the opening meeting Dr. Woolley

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70 Final Report, 1855, p.29.
71 pp. 18-19.
72 See advertisement in S.M.H., 21/2/1856. The patron was Sir Charles Nicholson, President Dr. Woolley, and the Committee included Wilkins and J. O'Brien of the Roman Catholic Model School.
stated that the purposes of the Association were "to vindicate to the schoolmaster his legitimate position in society; and to promote the discovery and execution of a general and comprehensive scheme of national education". However, about the end of 1858 the Association collapsed. Denomina-
tional rivalry, coupled with the inability of parliament to take action over education, appears to have been the cause. A Catholic Teachers' Guild was formed in 1856, and a Catholic Teachers' Association in 1858; the latter survived till about 1861. The juxtaposition of competing Denominational and National schools in a small area often led to antagonisms between the teachers. Over-severe discipline at one school, or able teaching at another, might lead to migration of pupils and hence friction between teachers.

The National Board was the first to move towards a system of inspection when it allocated that responsibility

73 S.M.H., 10/3/1856. "The attainment of the second will effectively secure the first", said Woolley.
to William Wilkins in 1854. In February 1859 two additional inspectors were appointed. The Colony was divided into four inspectorial districts (one of which was without an incumbent till 1860). The inspectors were required to visit each National school at least twice a year. In 1856 an inspector for Church of England schools in the Sydney Diocese was appointed, but his appointment ended in 1861.

In 1862 the Anglican schools were finally given a permanent inspector and as a result a "Programme of Study" was produced in 1863 for the Anglican Infant and Primary schools in Sydney. In the following year a scheme for the classification and examination of teachers and pupil-teachers was adopted. An inspector of Roman Catholic Schools was appointed in April, 1861, but there were no inspectors for Presbyterian or Methodist schools.

The reason advanced by supporters of the Denominational system for its slowness to improve was lack of funds. In 1861 the Anglican Bishop of Newcastle stated:

If we are asked whether we have an efficient department for training Masters, like the National Board, we must answer, no. If we are asked whether we have any general system of inspection in operation, we must again answer, no.

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77 Denominational School Board Report, 1863, pp.31-33.
The Denominational Board, he said, lacked funds to maintain a training department or a system of effective inspection. In 1859 the ratio of children in denominational schools to those in National schools was 4:1 to 25, but the ratio in the grants was much more favourable to the National schools. Similarly, shortage of funds was the reason given by William Cowper for the failure to introduce pupil-teachers into Church of England schools.

In their examinations of schools, pupils, and teachers the National Board's inspectors reported on: (1) the material state of the school; (2) its moral character; (3) the subjects and methods of instruction; (4) the proficiency of the pupils; (5) the teachers' qualifications; (6) the general tone of the school; (7) the local supervision. For each of these seven aspects, assessment was in six grades:—"good", "fair", "tolerable", "moderate", "indifferent" or "bad".

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78 Bishop of Newcastle to Secretary, Denominational Board, 25 May, 1861, in Report of Denominational School Board for 1860, p.5. This argument overlooks the fact that many National schools were in rural areas, where enrolments were lower and expenses greater.

79 Ibid., p.3. Wilkins' reply to such arguments was that the money granted to denominational schools was "dissipated in current expenses" (salaries) whereas a large proportion of that given to the National schools remained a permanent asset (buildings). National Education: A Series of Letters ... By the Teachers of the National Schools (1857), p.10.

A detailed report on each school was made and was publicly available. For example, the inspector's remarks on Berrima, a vested school, inspected on 4 October, 1859, with 13 boys and 18 girls present were:

1. The school buildings need repair; more suitable furniture and additional apparatus are required. This aspect of the school is not satisfactory.
2. The pupils are regular, clean, and orderly; the moral tone of the school is good.
3. Owing to a misapprehension, some subjects have been omitted from the course of instruction. The methods in use, though peculiar, are not inappropriate to the circumstances of the school.
4. Fair proficiency has been attained in all subjects taught.81

When an inspectorial system was established in the denominational schools a similar system of classification (good or fair; tolerable or moderate; indifferent or bad) was adopted.82

The teachers themselves were aware of the need for a more developed form of examination in the elementary schools. At his inaugural address to the United Association of Teachers of New South Wales in March, 1856, Dr. Woolley urged a system of annual public examinations in every school in N.S.W., conducted by appointed examiners. This would raise

81 Ibid., p.34. Inspectors could be very frank and critical. For instance, at Black Creek, in July 1859, the building was "unpromising in appearance", the children "generally clean, but restless, noisy, and inattentive" and "the attainments are for the most part superficial, and the mental power very low" (ibid., p.41).
82 Denominational Board Report for 1864, p.51.
the general standard of scholarship and provide a stimulus to education generally. When the Association published a list of topics for its monthly meetings "the Best Methods of Examining for Proficiency and of Rewarding Pupil Merit" was included.

Shortage of equipment, especially textbooks, was a constant problem, particularly in Denominational schools. In the National schools the position improved after regulations were introduced in 1861 setting aside one-tenth of the school fees for the purchase of books and other school requisites, though in some localities the local patrons

In 1861, 130 schools were considered to have a good or fair supply of books, 28 "tolerable or moderate", and seven "indifferent or bad". In Anglican schools the supply of textbooks also appears to have been adequate, but not their treatment. In 1862 the inspector of Anglican schools reported that the annual grant to each school for books, maps, slates, pens, pencils, etc. and copy-books (the latter for "free children" only) was quite sufficient, but that many teachers

83 S.M.H., 10/3/1856. He suggested this because denominational and rural schools lacked the stimulus of public examinations (exhibitions) and prize-givings.

84 Sydney Morning Herald, 5/5/1856.

continued to use books which were no longer prescribed, while many hoarded new books rather than issuing them to children. He also commented on the need for greater care of books. As for books supplied for the teachers' own use, "truth compels me to say that in many cases the purchase-money might have well been thrown away - especially for the purchase of works on 'school management', 'music', and the like".  

The Inspector of Catholic Schools, W.P. Casey, complained that the need to share the one textbook enhanced the normal difficulty of getting young children to pay attention. He criticized the way in which some teachers allowed books and other school property to be neglected or destroyed.

A few local textbooks were compiled, especially geography ones. In 1850 Lt. Col. Sir T.L. Mitchell, the Surveyor-General, wrote an Australian Geography. It followed the old-fashioned catechetical form of question and answer, prefaced by a chapter of definitions to be learnt by heart. Wilkins' Geography of New South Wales, Physical, Industrial and Political, (1863) was better.

A major obstacle to effective teaching was irregularity of attendance. This arose from the parental habit of keeping

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86 Inspector Isaac Coburn, Appendix C in Denominational Schools Report, 1862, pp.6-7 (J.L.C., 1863-4, Pt.II).
87 Denominational Schools Board Report, 1862, p.15, op.cit.
children from school to help at home, in business, or on the farm; from the lenient control exercised by some parents over their children; and the migratory habits of many families. As a teacher in The Empire, it was not only the child who was absent who suffered. On his return to school he found that his classmates had moved on to other work. But the time of the teacher had to be devoted to assisting those who had missed work, in order that the level of the class should be kept even. Thus the class as a whole made less progress.

In this way the progress of instruction is materially retarded, so that children on leaving school at ten or twelve years, even those who attend regularly, are not more advanced than they assuredly would be at seven or eight under a better system. 88

The migratory habits of families, coupled with the lack of uniform teaching systems and standards, led to more confusion.

In this country the people must be very migratory until the working classes are bound by interests to those localities in which they reside. There is scarcely a teacher but has had to complain of the difficulty of classifying children on their admission into school. Some read very well, but can do nothing else, others are well advanced in arithmetic but can scarcely read at all. 89

88 James Rutledge, The Empire, 3/12/1855.
89 Ibid.
Regularity of attendance showed little improvement over the years. A rough indication of the proportion of absentees according to type of school follows.  

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1856</th>
<th>1862</th>
<th>1865</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>30%</td>
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</tbody>
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Since attendance was affected by economic conditions, three years have been taken. In general, absenteeism was less in Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools; this may reflect the economic status of their supporters. The improvement in National schools may arise from their growth in the Sydney area.

The Wesleyan system's advantages of greater regularity of attendance and a uniform curriculum were off-set by a very high pupil-teacher ratio. In 1864 the crude ratio per

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90 Figures, from Reports, National and Denominational Boards, for 1856, 1862, 1865. Denominational figures for 1865 omit 39 "supplementary schools". These figures are obtained by comparing enrolment at the end of the year to average attendance. Since the number who passed through the schools was higher than the final enrolment, these percentages are under-estimates.

91 In 1856 the colony was emerging from a depression; 1862 was a good year, 1865 a bad one. However, whatever year is chosen, the situations in the different types of schools in that year may be validly compared.
teacher was 49.7 in Church of England schools, 54.9 in Catholic, 37.9 in Presbyterian, 70.4 in Wesleyan, and 38.0 in National. In private schools it was 16.4. 92

Irregular attendance was coupled with brief schooling. In 1859 the average stay at school often appears to have been from two and a half to three years, but this was more correctly the average time between entry and leaving. 93

Teaching was made more difficult by a wide age-range in each class. At Carcoar in 1859 the age of 1st Class boys ranged from three to six and girls from three to ten; 2nd Class boys were from five to 15 and girls from five to 12; 3rd Class boys ranged from seven to 12 and girls from eight to 11. 94

From the foregoing description of teachers and teaching conditions it is not surprising to find that discipline problems were frequent. The 1855 School Commissioners reported that in the 202 elementary schools they visited the order was very good or good in 79; fair in 39 and bad or very bad in 75. 95 They considered that 37 of the 85 Anglican

92 Figures from N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1864. This is the first year in which numbers of teachers are listed, and there may be inaccuracies. In 1865 the Wesleyans had a pupil ratio of 58.6 and in 1866 53.9.


94 Ibid., p.399.

95 Final Report, 6 December, 1855, p.12. In nine cases they had not ascertained the quality of order.
schools were marked by bad or very bad discipline, 22 of the 57 Catholic, seven of the 15 Presbyterian, four of the seven Wesleyan and five of the 38 National.

There were two modes of maintaining order and ensuring obedience, observed the Commissioners - the infliction of corporal punishment and moral influence. "In a very large majority of instances, moral influence is never resorted to as a means of controlling children". This was particularly so in city schools. "In the country the children are almost invariably diffident and shy, and therefore require to be encouraged, which can only be accomplished by patient and gentle treatment". The children in large towns, principally Sydney, were keen, bold, and self-confident, and corporal punishment indiscreetly administered, aggravated the offence it was intended to subdue.

This survey of the work of elementary schools in N.S.W. between 1848 and 1867 suggests that in most schools the prerequisites for efficient teaching were lacking or poorly represented. Nevertheless the beginnings of reform could be seen. Although no uniform system of instruction existed, the pupil-teacher system was replacing the monitorial and individual systems, particularly in National schools. Some progress was made towards classification of children, the

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Final Report from School Commissioners, 1855, pp.20-21. It was suggested, rather optimistically, that "an appeal to their understanding or right feelings is seldom unsuccessful".
National schools again leading the way. The National schools also had the advantage of a high proportion of trained teachers. Poor pay and low prestige restricted the appeal of teaching as a vocation; in general teachers in National, Wesleyan, and Presbyterian schools received the least inadequate remuneration.

The growth of inspectorial systems led to some improvement in teaching methods and standards, as did the maintenance of Model schools. In the 1860's the supply of textbooks and equipment started to improve. Irregularity of attendance was a considerable handicap to effective teaching; absenteeism was generally less of a problem in Wesleyan and perhaps in Presbyterian schools. The lowest pupil-teacher ratios, when reliable figures became available, were found in Presbyterian and National schools. In general the National, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan schools seem to have led - these were the schools in which the dissenters were prominent both as pupils and teachers.

(g) Infants' Education

Throughout this period infants continued to form a high proportion of elementary school enrolments. Indeed, the 1855 Commissioners felt that the establishment of separate Infant schools was desirable, at least in the towns, because there would be fewer obstacles in the way of regular
attendance by young children. In 1862 the Anglican Church maintained eight Infant schools and 93 primary schools in the Sydney Diocese; but young children formed a very high proportion in the primary schools - the average age of these pupils was only 8.8 years. In the eight infant schools there were 100 children under three years, and 230 above six years. The infant schools could well have been doubled in number, did finance permit. Of 94 schools visited by the Catholic inspector in the same year, 1862, six were infant ones. Children under seven years made up 43% of the total enrolment in Catholic schools and 36% of the attendance. In the National system six out of 217 schools were separate infant schools; children aged seven or under in National schools were 46% of the total enrolment. At Fort Street School the 220 infants made up a third of the total attendance in 1859; the youngest pupil was two and a half years old.

The separate infant schools were usually staffed by female teachers. In 1855 the Commissioners found the collective system (gallery system) in use in four schools.

97 Final Report from School Commissioners, 1855, para.58 (p.25).
"Its distinctive features consist in arranging the children in large classes upon a gallery, and teaching them orally, the Master or Mistress being the only agent in importing instruction."

Oral lessons were essential for children who could not read or write. In 1856 Wilkins drew attention to Froebel's theories on infants' education, which he considered probably new to the colonial public. Froebel was introduced as a disciple of Pestalozzi, whose views he had extended. One of Her Majesty's Inspectors in England was quoted as saying: "This system though intellectual is truly infantile; it treats the child as a child ... The great improvement is that the child learns everything itself, that there is no forcing of the mind, that when tired it leaves off its labor, and, having rested awhile, returns to it with vigor, or proceeds to something else".100

But shortage of trained teachers, shortage of money for equipment, and the practical bent of colonial parents encouraged more formal methods of infants' education, as the various syllabuses reveal.

(h) Redefining the Elementary Curriculum

To the major achievements of N.S.W. elementary education between 1848 and 1867 which have been described — the expansion of schools into the thinly-populated areas, the beginnings of a system of training teachers, and the first efforts to establish basic standards — we must add a further contribution: the introduction of a broader curriculum of "liberal" subjects in National schools.

The curriculum in contemporary English elementary schools was mainly reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism, though there was a trend to introduce industrial occupations, such as spinning in the cities and gardening in rural areas.\footnote{In 1869 the \textit{Australian Journal of Education} described how fashions in subjects and methods had changed in England over the preceding 30 years. These comments had some application to N.S.W., particularly to the private elementary schools.} \footnote{cf. Curtis, \textit{op.cit.}, p.194; Adamson, \textit{op.cit.}, p.207.}

Indeed there is in them an underlying truth which is almost timeless.

\footnote{cf. Robertson at the 1844 Select Committee hearings and Reeve in \textit{The People's Advocate} in 1851 on the "mania" for experimentation. The state-aided elementary schools were less experimental, due to the more rigid views of the churches, the opposition of parents to any departure from basic subjects, and poorer quality teachers.}
To maintain their reputations, Teachers had to watch for the prevailing mode with as much anxiety as the modiste looked for the last new bonnet from Paris. First came a rage for Object Lessons which the Pestalozzian Schools made fashionable ... Nothing was heard in the schools but opaque, transparent, brittle, tenacious, malleable ... Suddenly the fashion changed and, probably under the influence of the methods adopted so successfully in the Edinburgh Sessional School, Etymology came into vogue. To please the Inspector it was necessary that the pupils exhibit dexterity in bandying about primitives and derivatives, roots, prefixes and affixes ... This mania lasted for a considerable time but was gradually superseded by Mulhauser's method of teaching writing. Then hook, rightline, link became the order of the day until Hullah's singing method took possession of the schools. Again the fashion changed and it was found that History had been unaccountably and criminally neglected ... But, a noble lord having discovered ... that the children of the poor were ignorant of a great many useful matters ... the teaching of "Common Things" was speedily elevated to the highest rank ... Some of the more judicious Inspectors ... endeavoured to substitute elementary science ... From Science to Art was but a natural step. The taste of the people required to be refined and elevated. Compared with the French our Art-manufactures were barbarous ... At subsequent periods and in milder forms, there arose manias for Latin, Physiology, Geometry, Botany, Church History and various other subjects ... At length Mr Lowe appeared upon the scene as Vice-President of the Committee of Council of Education, and ... swept away all the pet subjects into oblivion, leaving nothing for the astounded Teachers but the three R's.103

In striking contrast with English elementary schools and with the N.S.W. denominational schools, the curriculum of the National schools broadened in the 1850's and 1860's to include subjects previously limited to private-venture schools.

103 Leader, 1 September, 1869, pp.322-3.
The 1853 Regulations of the Board of National Education included timetables for Male and Female schools, which gave the prominent place to reading, writing, and arithmetic. However singing, a particular interest of Wilkins, was introduced. In the second class of a Female school 11 lessons were given each week in writing, 11 in reading, three each in geography, singing, grammar, and arithmetic, and five in needlework. In third class there were six weekly lessons in reading, six in writing, three in grammar, three in singing, ten in scripture, five in needlework, three in geography, and three in arithmetic.

In December 1856 the Board of National Education laid down a table of the "Minimum Amount of Attainment" for schools under their control. The subjects of the curriculum for first class were reading, writing, and arithmetic; for second class, third class, and fourth class they were reading, writing, arithmetic, parsing (i.e. grammar), geography, and object lessons. In fifth class, in addition to these, the children could take one of either Latin or geometry. 104

By 1859 this curriculum had broadened a little. The ordinary subjects were reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, needlework, and scripture history. In a large

number of schools object lessons were also given. The higher branches were vocal music (given in 17 of the 124 schools inspected - there were 136 National schools in all); outline drawing (nine schools), algebra (four), mensuration (two), geometry (five), Latin (five), and French (four). 105

Although object lessons were included in the Table of Minimum Attainments it was some while before they were widely taught. Needlework for girls spread more rapidly. The number of "higher" or "extra" subjects increased steadily, though not as fast as the educational administrators would have liked.

That they are not more extensively introduced is less the fault of the teachers than of the circumstances of their schools, inasmuch as from the tender age of the majority of the scholars, their irregular attendance, and the early date at which they leave school, they are seldom advanced sufficiently far in their study of the ordinary branches to proceed to more difficult subjects. 106

Three documents now determined the instruction given in National schools - the Table of Minimum Attainments, the Timetable, and the teachers' Programme of Lessons.

In 1865 a typical week's work in National schools in Metropolitan and Central Districts was: 107

Reading and Scripture
Writing, Recitation, and Composition
Arithmetic and Mensuration
Grammar and Analysis of Sentences
Geography
Moral Lessons and Object Lessons
Drawing and Music
Needlework (for girls) or Geometry,
Algebra, Latin (for older boys)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading and Scripture</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing, Recitation, and Composition</td>
<td>5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic and Mensuration</td>
<td>5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar and Analysis of Sentences</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Lessons and Object Lessons</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing and Music</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needlework (for girls) or Geometry, Algebra,</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin (for older boys)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 25 "

Turning from the National to the denominational schools we find that in 1855 almost every school taught the 4 R's - reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious instruction. Almost all of the 15 Presbyterian schools visited by the School Commissioners taught grammar and geography in addition. Sixty per cent taught needlework, 20% history, and 7% object lessons and music. All seven Wesleyan schools visited taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, religious instruction, and needlework. Of the 85 Church of England schools, 76% taught geography, 71% grammar, 69% needlework, 5% history and music and 4% object lessons. One school (1%) taught higher subjects. Seventy-seven per cent of the 57 Catholic schools taught grammar, 74% geography, 54% needlework, 5% history and music, and 4% (i.e. two) the higher subjects.

109 For comparison, it may be noted that of the 38 National schools visited 92% taught grammar in addition to the 4 R's,
We can say, then, that reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, religious instruction and needlework, were general in all schools, though needlework was less prominent in Anglican and Catholic schools. The Presbyterian and Methodists neglected the higher subjects (e.g. Latin, algebra, geometry). The Wesleyan Methodists had the most uniform though least adventurous curriculum. The Presbyterian schools came closest to the National in providing a broad syllabus.

The Churches introduced more uniform curricula in their schools during the 1860's. The same basic subjects were taught in all schools but there were special variations in different denominations. In Anglican schools vocal music and English history were usually taught, the latter badly, and some attempt was made to develop home lessons. The full curriculum was scripture history, Church catechism, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, vocal music, mapping, drawing, and needlework. There were no extras. In 1863 tables of attainments for Church of England primary and infant schools in the Sydney Diocese were laid

87% needlework, 81% geography, 25% object lessons, 24% music, 11% drawing, and 8% history. The "higher subjects" were taught in four (i.e. 11%) National schools.

down. The primary school subjects were those just listed, with the addition of home lessons and object lessons. In Catholic schools, as one might expect from the social background of the pupils, the "ordinary branches" were more limited—reading, arithmetic, writing, geography, and grammar. The extra branches were correspondingly more varied—history, singing (found frequently), mapping, Euclid, mensuration, algebra, Latin, and French (occasionally).

In general the denominational schools gave more attention to history and music than the National, and less to Latin and French. Object lessons, music, drawing and higher subjects were special features of the National system.

An important reason for the expansion of the elementary curriculum was the ease with which the lower classes could rise, and their political importance. Commercial and industrial subjects (geography, needlework, object lessons, arithmetic) were widely introduced for their vocational value. But an even broader curriculum was urged by those who saw a need to prepare children of the lower classes for participation in the political life of a democracy. The lack of lower class interest in extensive schooling and the enrolment of

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111 D.S.B. Report, 1863 (J.L.C., 1865, p.271). In 1864 a list of books, maps, and apparatus to be used in Church of England schools was drawn up.

children of higher social origin in National Schools also encouraged a more ambitious curriculum. These developments provoked public controversy for over a decade. Decisions on what should be taught involved decisions on who should be taught. In other words, the debate was over both the social function of the elementary school and the philosophy of elementary education. We examine each of these in turn.

(i) The Class Status of Elementary Schools

One of the earliest contributions to the argument over the social function of elementary schools came from James Rutledge, a Wesleyan teacher at Clarendocetown, who in 1855 argued for a widened curriculum, on the grounds that the increasing political, social and economic importance of the lower classes necessitated their being given a liberal education.\footnote{Letter in The Empire, 3/12/1855.} Rutledge, however, did not suggest that only the National schools had this function. Early in 1857 four letters, signed "A", appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald alleging that instead of children of the poorest class attending the National schools, these catered for middle class and even some upper class children. The poorer classes used denominational schools.\footnote{S.M.H., 26/2/1857. Other letters from "A" appeared 18/2/1857, 24/2/1857, 2/3/1857.} Inspector Wilkins and eight
teachers at Fort Street School replied that "A" had been deceived by the appearance of the children. "Because none was dirty, he concluded there were none poor. If 'A' will visit our schools, we promise to show him plenty of poor; some even the poorest of the poor". And in the spirit of the new colonial democracy asserted that the children of every citizen, irrespective of class, sect, or wealth, were entitled to the best education the state could afford.115

But others believed either that poorer children should not have the same education as those of higher class, or that in any case the different schools catered for different social classes. In 1859 R.L. Jenkins, a member of the Legislative Assembly, a pastoralist, and an Anglican, asserted in a public lecture that visitors to the National schools of Sydney "will find in these schools the sons of Members of Parliament, professional gentlemen, and well-to-do tradesmen, but they will look in vain for very many of the poorest class, for whose benefit they were chiefly established". In the Denominational schools the general appearance of the children suggested many came from "a more negligent or a poorer class of parents".116

115 National Education, A Series of Letters, etc. (Sydney, 1857), p.18.

116 Universal Education, a lecture in Sydney in 1859, p.12. Jenkins advocated the abolition of school fees, to encourage schooling and free the teacher from a degrading position. He urged that all money from tea and sugar duties be dedicated to education.
In 1865 Wilkins again rebutted this criticism. It referred, he suggested, mainly to one school (i.e. Fort Street). The suggestion that the children of the rich were catered for in National schools, and the children of the poor discouraged could not but be damaging "in a country where the mythical poor man is an object of idolatry". Some of the ignorant poor, he believed, avoided National schools because of the attitude of the clergy. As for other classes, taxpayers could not be deprived of the right to use National schools. He supplied a detailed occupational analysis of the parents of children in the Sydney National schools. Of these, 20.5% were labourers, 39.1% artisans, 19.1% agents, shopkeepers and tradesmen, and 1.2% belonged to the three learned professions (Church, Law, Medicine). Other categories included merchants (0.4%), teachers (0.4%), clerks (8.9%), soldiers, police, and postmen (1.4%) and mariners (1.6%). This mixture of all classes in Public schools was desirable, Wilkins said. 117

But the criticisms continued. In 1868 the old argument was renewed by Alexander Gordon, for some years an Anglican member of the Denominational Schools Board:

The Denominational School educates children for whose instruction the State really intends to provide; and its system of education is suited

117 National Education - An Exposition, etc. (1865), pp.55-57.
to the class of children which it educates; the Public School ... educates the children who ought not to be beholden to the public purse for assistance.118

That the different school systems tended to cater for different social strata seems likely in view of the link between social class and religion. But the lack of rigid class lines in the colony made this less true than in England. The statistics of the period support the view that the different elementary systems had distinctive social-economic associations. Thus in the 1850's voluntary contributions in National schools usually exceeded those in denominational, suggesting that parents of children in these schools were better off. But in the 1860's there was little difference in contributions.119 The economic status of families using the schools is also suggested by the distribution of free scholars. In 1867 only 2,968 (10%) of scholars in state schools paid no fees, compared with 5,635 (16% of total) in denominational schools.120

118 Letter, S.M.H., 10/10/1868. The new system of control by a Council of Education had been in operation for nearly two years when Gordon wrote this.
119 cf. Report prefacing the N.S.W. Statistical Register, various years. In 1858 14s. per head was contributed in the denominational schools and 16s. per head in the National; in 1859 18s.6d. and 22s.9d.; in 1862 16s.5d. and 16s.1d.; in 1864 15s.3d. and 15s.2d. But contributions to new National schools may explain their higher figures in the 1850's. Willingness to give is another factor qualifying the interpretation of these figures.
In the denominational schools the distribution was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>No. of free Scholars</th>
<th>Proportion of Enrolment in these Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>2,104</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>3,004</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures accord with the view that Catholics made up the poorer section of the community and Presbyterians the more well-to-do.

Another index of the social-economic status of the various elementary schools is the scale of fees. In 1855 the average weekly fee was in Wesleyan schools 7½d.; Presbyterian 6½d.; Church of England 6d.; National 5d.; and Roman Catholic 4½d. 121

Of course, Denominational schools did not cater for their own adherents exclusively. The distribution in 1858 of pupils according to religion was: 122

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>C.E.</th>
<th>R.C.</th>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Wes.</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>2,528</td>
<td>1,634</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>5,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of E.</td>
<td>5,231</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>7,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyn.</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>4,630</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>5,530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

122 cf. Returns, ordered to be printed 14 April, 1858 and 27 August, 1858, J.L.C., 1858, p.555. The return for the National schools is for the quarter ending 21 March, 1858, and that for Denominational schools as at 21 July, 1858.
In Anglican schools 71% of the pupils were Anglicans; in Presbyterian ones 45% were Presbyterian; in Wesleyan 54% professed the same faith as the school; and in Catholic schools 90% of the pupils were Catholic. If the two dissenting groups are combined we find that 60% of children in Presbyterian schools were either Presbyterian or Methodist, and 62% in Wesleyan schools, whereas in Anglican schools only 15% were dissenters, in Catholic schools 1%, and in National schools 24%. Methodists and Presbyterians supported each others' schools to a greater degree than Anglican, Catholic or National. Of the 8,700 Anglicans receiving elementary education 40% were in non-Anglican schools; of the 7,176 Catholics enrolled in elementary schools 35% were in non-Catholic schools.

In National schools adherents of the smaller religious bodies were disproportionately strong.\textsuperscript{123}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Pupils</th>
<th>N.S.W. as whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{123} Figures for N.S.W. as a whole from 1856 census. They exclude the future Queensland. cf. Report on 1861 Census, p.15.
As the National Board commented, Anglicans and Catholics had long been provided with schools and had less need to resort to National schools.\(^\text{124}\)

Dissenters were also strongly represented amongst the teachers in National schools. In 1862 Presbyterians made up 19.1% of national teachers, but only 9.9% of the total population, and Wesleyans made up 14.8% of teachers (6.7% of the total population).\(^\text{125}\)

It seems fair to conclude that between 1848 and 1867 Presbyterian and Methodist schools tended to cater for the more well-to-do. The low fees and better standards in National schools attracted enrolments from a wide range of society, and some of the city schools were noticeably supported by middle and upper class pupils. Dissenters were strong in the National schools. Catholic schools generally catered for children of poorer sections, as did many Anglican schools.

(j) **The Social Philosophy of Education: Amelioration.**

In the 1850's both the sociological and psychological theories contributing to the current philosophy of education were influenced by the environment of the new colonial democracy. We defer consideration of the educational \(^\text{124}\) Report for 1862, p.5. \(^\text{125}\) J.L.C., 1863-4, Pt.III, p.171. Return of teachers according to religion.
psychology of the mind and turn to the social content of educational theory.

The "police" view of education remained widespread in the mid-19th century, although some were beginning to challenge it. G.W. Rusden, agent of the Board of Education until 1851, assumed this view to be generally accepted. "Neither is it necessary that I should here pause to show by statistical references that ignorance is the usual parent of crime." In the columns of The Empire Parkes frequently referred to the relation of education to juvenile depravity, to intemperance, and to crime. "It is education, and education only", he wrote, "that is capable of making the masses acquainted with their rights and mindful of their duties; equally hostile to anarchy and despotism, it alone has the power to awaken the humbler classes to a true sense of the dignity of humanity and to inspire them with a love of

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135 cf. Bishop Broughton: "No doubt education to some extent represses crime; but I think not in the degree which some have laid down". (Lowe Committee, Minutes, 15/7/1844). Also H. Mathew, 1st Report, Select Committee on Transportation (London), Minutes of Evidence, 27/5/1856: "Education simply ... teaches your thief to steal the article which is marked at the highest figure ... In the counties where there is the greatest ignorance there is the least criminality" (Q.3532).

136 National Education (1853), p.191; R.L. Jenkins, M.L.A., stated (Universal Education, p.8) that "the close connection of crime with ignorance is indubitably proved by the statistics of all European states".
equality",\textsuperscript{137} and again, "to train up the youth in knowledge and virtue is to supersede the gaol, the police dock, the judge and jury".\textsuperscript{138}

From this position it was easy to argue that the state had a duty to provide for the education of the common people - a statement of Macaulay's which Rusden often quoted. Parkes also took this view. "As education is necessary even to the physical and secular well-being of the state, it is as much within the province of the state to promote it as to provide police for our protection."\textsuperscript{139} But to say that the state should provide for or promote education is not to say that it should direct it. Sir Charles Nicholson advocated compulsory education in 1854, but believed this need not imply state schooling.\textsuperscript{140}

The police view of education had affinities with the view that education should lead to personal refinement and moral improvement. The moral condition of the colony continued to arouse widespread concern until the mid-1860's;

\textsuperscript{137} The Empire, 2/8/1850.
\textsuperscript{138} cf. Smith and Spaull, op.cit., p.110.
\textsuperscript{139} Leader, The Empire, 3 June, 1854. It is illustrative of this approach that from 1862 Education was grouped with Religion and Crime in the N.S.W. Statistical Register.
\textsuperscript{140} Minutes of Evidence, Select Committee on Education, 10/10/1854, Q.3 (V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1954, vol.2).
during the 1850's the gold rushes replaced convictism as the
source of moral evil. A Select Committee on Destitute
Children (chairman James Martin) was told that many men had
left their families to go to the goldfields, and that there
were about 300 destitute children under 12 years in Sydney
alone. The "alarming increase of intemperance" prompted
the appointment of a Select Committee in July 1855, Parkes
served. The School Commissioners urged that schools should provide conditions to help children
"become more refined in their domestic arrangements when they
grow up".

In 1855 the Rev. J.B. Laughton, formerly headmaster of
the Sydney College and currently the minister of St. Stephen's
Presbyterian Church, Bathurst, asserted the importance of
"the elevation of the operative classes of our population
from their present state of ignorance, sensuality and vice,
to a condition of knowledge, virtue, and comparative
refinement". He stated that in a free community the
debate whether the lower orders should or should not be
educated was no longer an open question.

141
Appointed 27/7/1852. cf. Progress Report, 1854, Minutes
142
Report of Commissioners, 6 December, 1855.
143
Lecture at the Opening of the Bathurst Mechanics' School
of Arts, August 29, 1855 (Sydney 1855). Laughton urged this
function on the Mechanics' Schools of Arts.
Educated, in some way or other, the people will be, in spite of all that political theorists can say or do. If we do not educate them in what is good, they will be educated without our assistance in what is bad.

Prevention of crime (rather than punishment), the dictates of philanthropy and Christianity, and political stability all required positive effort. "Trashy works of fiction, ... revolutionary, inflammatory, or immoral publications ... the harangues of socialist or communist lecturers" had to be countered by "adequate means of diffusing sound knowledge among the masses". 144

During the 1860's concern with improvement, both individual and social, became more widely expressed. 145 Dr. John Woolley, Principal of Sydney University, saw the story of nineteenth century education as the transition from the formal provision of education to the utilisation of education:-

The cry of our fathers was "the general diffusion of knowledge"; ours is its "utilisation" ... The battle which they fought is won. Some of us are old enough to remember the misgivings which were excited by the first declaration that the "Schoolmaster was abroad" - that he had left the palaces of princes and halls of Universities, to preach the glad tidings of intellectual life to the poor. To many it seemed a revolution which must unfit all artisans

145 The Report to the 1862 Statistical Register refers to growing public concern over the degree of criminality (p.9) and that to the 1866 Register to "the growing interest that has been evinced during late years, by all classes of society, in all that relates to social improvement" (p.1).
and labouring men for the duties and the position allotted to them ... There are none now who in words grudge instruction and refinement to the people, though there are many who seek to neutralise the right by oppressive conditions.\textsuperscript{146}

The new problem, as Woolley saw it, was to "translate learning into the vulgar tongue". The learning satisfactory to the privileged classes of the 18th century was unsuited to the democracy of the 19th century. The initial stress on "useful knowledge" had led to a temporary over-emphasis on science.\textsuperscript{147} The vogue of "utility", while beneficial, had led to an unduly narrow view of education - to the belief that "a useful education is one which fits the pupil, not for all his future life ... but solely for his special business" and that "all is unprofitable and idle, which has no bearing upon our trade".\textsuperscript{148} This led to education being as short as possible and textbooks cramming the greatest amount of information in the smallest space. Instead of developing his reasoning powers, the pupil accumulated facts.

The argument for extension of education on grounds of political expediency took a rather different turn in N.S.W. to that taken in England. Few were prepared to argue that

\textsuperscript{146} Lectures Delivered in Australia, pp.320-321. He was speaking in 1860.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., p.328.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., p.331.
the colonial labouring classes should be totally deprived of education lest it make them discontented; and, as the Lowe Committee shows, few argued that the extension of the franchise made education a political necessity. Such views were more likely in a society with strong class divisions, in which the rulers attempted to prescribe the nature of lower class education. In mid-century N.S.W., the lower orders already shared power. Westgarth remarked in 1853 that education was less essential for the achievement of power than in England. As it was put many years later, "there have been no 'leaps in the dark' and the consequent fear of what might happen when the educated ceased to correspond with the governing classes has never been so acute as in the older country".

149 The 1844 Select Committee on the Extension of the Elective Franchise (Lang, Chairman) reported that "it would not be accordant with the principles of impartial justice to withhold the elective franchise from illiterate persons at present possessed of a property-qualification". It was relatively easy to obtain this property franchise. (Report, 27 September, 1844, p.2; V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1844, vol.2).

150 In 1867 Robert Lowe stated in the House of Commons that "working men as such ought to be excluded from the franchise on account of their moral and intellectual unfitness", but in view of the extension of the franchise he believed that "you should prevail on our future masters to learn their letters". cf. Ottaway, op.cit., pp.61-62; Curtis and Boultwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas, (1958), p.443.


152 Professor F. Anderson, "Educational Policy and Development" (in Federal Handbook on Australia, 1914, p.510).
In his series of lengthy letters in *The Empire* in 1855, James Rutledge, the Wesleyan teacher, argued the importance of providing adequate educational opportunities to intelligent lower class children. He attacked the "hateful indifference and culpable apathy" of the general population to education, but stressed that the education question was not one of sentiment but of political wisdom and prudence. "The humbler classes for whose education we are contending may contribute largely to the ranks of the wealthy, on whom will ever devolve the direction of public affairs." In a new country, exempt from the restrictive influences of class privilege, sectarian jealousy, conventional prejudices, and national antipathy, "the placing within the reach of all of what is usually termed a liberal education, is imperatively demanded, and cannot be withheld without risking the welfare of the State".

For what can be more dangerous than the influence which must be exerted by ignorance when combined with wealth ... Such education as is thought amply sufficient for the working classes in old countries, where men rarely change their social position, will not do for Australia; but education must be on such a scale as to keep pace with the facilities for acquiring wealth.153

When the discussion of the social philosophy of education assumes concrete forms it is seen mainly in terms of the

153
"Primary Schools - No.4". Letter from James Rutledge, 3/12/1855. Other letters appeared on 19/10/1855 and 11/9/1855.
curriculum. As we have already noted, conservatives such as Alexander Gordon, a member of the Denominational School Board in the 1860's, complained that "by parading a high class education", the State schools were seeking to create public favour and win the support of persons of higher social rank, instead of confining their education to "the useful and unpretending character suitable to the class of children who ought to be in them". ¹⁵⁴

For their part, the lower classes displayed little disposition to take the initiative in educational matters, nor to support specifically working class forms of education. In England the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes was followed by a struggle between middle and working class groups for their control, and by the rise of distinctive working class forms of adult education.¹⁵⁵ In N.S.W. nothing like this happened.

On the other hand, the political desirability of educating the middle and upper classes agitated some. A native intelligentsia and a native administrative class were considered vital if the new, radical democracy were to achieve stability. This, however, was mainly a function of higher education and will be treated later.

¹⁵⁴ Alexander Gordon, letter in S.M.H., 10/10/1868.
(K) Colonial Practicality: The Limited Vocational Function of Education

It is important to distinguish between the philosophy of education expressed by educational theorists and the popular attitude to education, though the existence of educational popularisers such as Parkes blurred the dividing line. Popular attitudes to education are heavily coloured by its vocational role and, linked with this, its importance for social mobility.

By 1850 the tradition of practicality in education was well-established among both pupils and parents. Westgarth's comment in Victoria in 1853 - "Colonial society is pre-eminently practical and utilitarian" - applied to all the colonies; so, too, his observation that "education of the more finished order is less essential in a colony to the acquirement of position than it might be at home". Education, "this great lever of human progress and refinement" was as valuable in Australia as elsewhere - but "these higher acquirements if they are not in less estimation, are at least less exhibited and less called for in general intercourse". Professor Woolley complained that the maxim of the day was "everything

156 cf. Braim, op.cit., ii, p.189, already quoted, especially "They will seldom pursue learning for learning's sake; they require an appeal to their interest ..."

157 Victoria: Late Australia Felix (1853), pp.358-359.
for use" and that education was only training for work. "Teach nothing that will not be turned to account." This was the common approach. (158)

The attitude of many colonials was depicted in Charles Thatcher's song, "The Leary Boy":

Now education some folks puff -
Arithmetic's a pack of stuff:
If you count at cribbage, that's enough:
Learning serves but to annoy.

Acquiring grammar is quite tame -
What if you cannot write your name,
You know the way to jump a claim,
And that yields much more joy. 159

In 1855 the School Commissioners complained that official society had done little to encourage respect for education among the people. 160

As far as we are aware, there does not exist a single legislative enactment from which the great body of the people could infer that Education is of any importance whatsoever. The University, the Affiliated Colleges, and the Grammar Schools are institutions but little valued by the people, because their nature and design are but imperfectly comprehended. They give no idea to the peasant or the artizan of the value or necessity for education to people in his own rank of life.

While not advocating compulsory education as the immediate solution the School Commissioners argued that the legislature

158 Lectures Delivered in Australia (1862), p.324. Address at the Mechanics' School of Arts, Sydney, 1860.
could make education more obviously useful to the average man by imposing education tests - "let him be able to read and write before he can exercise franchise, hold real property, enter the service of an employer, or be allowed to learn a trade". Thus the every-day Australian was to be answered in his own terms, and he who saw no use in education was to be persuaded of its advantages.

The Commissioners deplored the absence of an educated gentry sincerely concerned with education, though conceding "that country gentlemen have little time to attend to school business". The members of the Local Boards who supervised the schools were frequently illiterate, with little appreciation of teaching problems. Clergymen could not fill the gap, for they were too few in country and rarely had time to spare.

Parental indifference to education was rooted in practical considerations - the limited value of schooling for vocation and the importance of child labour in a society with a constant labour shortage. One harmful consequence of this situation

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161 Some entrance tests were required for the N.S.W. Civil Service in the Colonial Office period, but these fell into abeyance after self-government.

162 Final Report of School Commissioners, December 1855, p.21. in Journal of the Legislative Council of N.S.W., 1856-7, p.277. The National Board had to appoint its own pastors, due to the shortage of clergymen.
was irregular attendance at school. In 1858 Wilkins declared that irregularity was growing, and attributed it to two causes:

The first is the apathy of parents, many of whom appear to care very little whether their children receive any instruction or not, while some have actually stated as their opinion, that children are better without Education. Perhaps the most serious obstacle of all is the low, material estimate of the value of Education formed by some people. Their test is the query, "Will it help to make money?" and if a direct relationship cannot be established between Education and pecuniary gain, the former is abandoned as unnecessary.

Wilkins commented that probably the most valuable part of education was that which had no direct relationship to future professional pursuits, but which "trains and strengthens the whole mind", enabling it to be used more efficiently. The theory of education for livelihood, advanced by educationalists in England where it had some validity, was being applied in the colony where conditions were quite different (presumably because it was easy to gain a living with education in Australia and the need for general non-vocational education was greater). 163

The result has been that many parents consider their children properly educated when they are able to read, write, and answer simple questions in arithmetic. Frequently the teacher is called to

163 The application of overseas theories to inappropriate Australian circumstances is a recurrent feature of Australian educational history.
account because he does not confine his instructions to these points, and he is informed, in no very civil terms, that he is not to teach "grammar, and geography, and that nonsense".\textsuperscript{164}

In England it was the upper classes who frequently wished to limit the elementary school curriculum; in N.S.W. many of the working class preferred a limited curriculum, while informed members of the community demanded a more liberal education for the lower classes.

To the colonial mind the great achievement of schooling was the extension of the ability to read and write. In 1857, when the first records started, 28\% of those marrying were unable to sign the marriage register. By 1867 this had fallen to 19\%. It was 1880 before the figure fell to 7\%.

We must allow a time lag of five years or so, between the end of schooling and marriage; moreover, ability to sign one's name is not proof of literacy. Nevertheless it is clear that a major function of elementary school education up to 1867 was to overcome illiteracy.\textsuperscript{165}


\textsuperscript{165} Figures from Coghlan, The Wealth and Progress of N.S.W., 1887-8, p.580. Immigration may have been a factor in delaying the growth of literacy figures.
opinions were expressed in political speeches and in the columns of his paper, The Empire, which he started in December, 1850 and controlled until 1858. During the 1850's he became associated with a group of "liberal" politicians (e.g. Eagar, Martin) who favoured educational reform. His earliest intellectual mentors were Charles Harpur and W.A. Duncan. He was a friend of Lang, and was Robert Lowe's Secretary in the 1848 election campaign. He was also friendly for a while with Carmichael and later with Wilkins. He invited the Rev. Mr. Quaife, a Congregationalist turned Presbyterian, to write on educational and philosophical matters in The Empire (1852). From these sources Parkes derived his educational views; he was a populariser rather than independent thinker. The Empire supported the National system, though it seems likely that many of the "leaders" on education were written by hands other than those of Parkes.

Parkes believed that education was concerned with "mental training as the foundation of every social virtue".

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166 Parkes came to Australia with Chartist views. In the 1854 elections he conceded that his support came mainly from the labouring and shopkeeping classes. Speeches on Various Occasions by Henry Parkes (1876), p.42.


168 1 May, 1854 (Speeches by Henry Parkes, p.40)
Arguing in support of the eight-hour working day in 1856 he said that shorter hours would allow workmen to develop their faculties. If the workman's "moral and physical capabilities" were developed he would be happier in his condition. 169

The Empire asserted that education was "no other thing than a deep mental training in both the moral and rational departments of our spiritual nature". The study of school subjects was not an end in itself but an instrument in training moral and intellectual faculties.

The quantity of arithmetic or geometry acquired in a school, or the quantity of language or other branches of study, is far from being the primary consideration. These things should all be so used as to exercise and discipline both the moral and intellectual powers, and to brace up the whole mind for the duties of self-government, the pursuit of noble thoughts, and the maintenance of unflinching virtues. 170

The Empire supported the redefinition of elementary education which the National schools were just beginning. An editorial in 1855 echoed Robert Owen's great slogan that the

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17 November, 1856 (ibid., pp.73-74).

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Quoted Smith and Spaull, op.cit., p.108. In earlier and harder days he held different views. In 1841 he urged that his nephew be apprenticed to a printing office so that he could both foster his taste for reading and earn money ("Nothing like getting money ... I know the value of money now! Money! Money! Money!"). On no account was he to neglect arithmetic. Drawing, though a very beautiful acquisition was of no use in the merchant's counting house. (An Emigrant's Home Letters, pp.112-113). The desire to combine reading with an income may have influenced Parkes in founding The Empire.
character of man is formed for him. Excessive memorization of facts by the child ("an inordinate straining of his once elastic faculties") was criticized as likely to injure the brain. It was asserted that the National schools were averse to cramming and were more genial nurseries for the University of Sydney than half the seminaries claiming this function.

The theory of mental discipline as a training of the whole mind, that is, as an exercise of various mental faculties, was one normally applied to higher education. Elementary education was traditionally a matter of acquiring a few basic skills, of developing the "faculty of memory" only; even inculcation of religion was largely memorization of the catechism. But as elementary education started to impinge on the curriculum of higher education, the psychology of elementary education began to change. In 1855 James Rutledge, applying the psychology of higher education to elementary schooling, pointed to the value of mathematics in training reasoning power, and of the classics in illuminating the English language. In the 1860's Anglican schools

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171 Leader, "National Education", 22/12/1855.
172 Letter in The Empire, 19/10/1855. In 1859, the development of mental power was a leading objective in the better state primary schools. "Knowledge is imparted to the pupil not merely for its own sake, or on account of its so-called utility, but also because it administers directly to the growth and expansion of the intellect". The powers of sustained attention and independent thought were especially to be fostered. 12th Report, National Board, 1859 (J.L.C., 1861, p.297).
taught drawing "to aid in cultivating the faculties of observation and comparison". In 1865 a National school Inspector argued that memory, command of language, and general intelligence were developed in reading lessons, abstraction and reasoning in grammar, reasoning powers, promptitude, presence of mind, exactness, and mental activity were discovered in arithmetic, the conceptive faculties and memory were developed in geography, the perceptive and imitative faculties in writing and drawing, and comparison and classification in object lessons.  

According to William Wilkins, "the branches proper to an elementary school should be so taught as to produce, though in a lower degree, the same mental culture as more advanced subjects in the highest education". He believed, however, that the higher schools should foster the formation of opinion, whilst the lower was concerned with "instrumentary subjects" (reading, writing, arithmetic), which were merely preparatory to opinion-forming. "The fact is that children

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175 "This mental discipline is to be obtained in primary schools, by substituting for classics the attentive critical study of the pupil's mother tongue, whilst demonstrative arithmetic will be made to fulfil the educative office of the higher mathematics, and 'object lessons' of lectures on physical science" (National Education: An Exposition, pp.27-28).
have really no opinions - no deliberate judgements; they have instincts, dispositions, and impulses which can be controlled and directed, but not eradicated.\textsuperscript{176}

Wilkins believed that progress was the measure of the development of the faculties. The faculties were essentially the same in all normally-constituted minds (Wilkins denied that a child might have no ability for numbers or geography). These developed in a fixed order, like faculties unfolding at about the same age in all average children. Nevertheless, there were so many slight variations that each pupil required to be studied individually. Similar methods were suitable to all children in the same stage of ability.\textsuperscript{177}

Woolley shared the views of many other educationalists that the teaching of young children should be concrete rather than abstract, deal with familiar, natural objects, and employ the elements of play. Scientific study was spreading into the lower school, for instance through object lessons, and Woolley welcomed the introduction of "The Philosophy of Familiar Things" into N.S.W. public schools.

If this is done with judgement, the higher subjects rather gain from the general activity or the mental tone, than lose by the time withdrawn from their

\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., p.34.
\textsuperscript{177} Wilkins, The Principles that Underlie the Art of Teaching (Sydney, 1886), p.8. These lectures were based on material he used when training teachers under the Board of National Education.
cultivation ... We may interest a child in the boiling of a kettle, the composition of his food ... objects striking or familiar to his eyes, although the construction of a sentence, or a geometrical problem, would still be a hopeless or stupid mystery. Whilst animal life is bounding in every limb, abstract thinking can only produce disgust. 178

(m) Religious Instruction in the Schools

The religious issue was so vital to the disputes over education in the 19th century that before turning to the controversy in parliament and elsewhere some assessment of the teaching of religion in the schools, as well as of the role of Sunday schools, is desirable.

A persistent restraint on the effectiveness of religious instruction in elementary schools was the shortage of clergymen, their frequent lack of ability, and their extreme busyness. There was always difficulty in finding visiting clergymen to give religious instruction in National and even Denominational schools.

In the first half of the 19th century the most common type of religious instruction in N.S.W. elementary schools had been memorization of catechisms. This method fitted in with that generally practised under the monitorial system. The Bible was also read, both in scripture and reading lessons,

178 Inaugural address, Maitland School of Arts, 9 April, 1857, in Lectures Delivered in Australia (1862), pp.216-217.
while prayers and other acts of worship punctuated the school day. By mid-century the question-and-answer technique involved in memorizing the catechism was falling into disrepute.

The hearings of the Select Committee of 1844 provide a general picture of the forms of religious instruction in the elementary schools on the eve of the educational reorganization. The Wesleyan school at Newtown used the Bible and the Wesleyan catechism as school books.\textsuperscript{179} The school opened with a prayer, and the scriptures were read as a classbook every day, by every boy who could read. "The master never takes it upon himself to give religious instruction, although he is not prohibited." The catechism was taught once a week, on Saturdays, and at Sunday school, which was usually held in the ordinary school-house.\textsuperscript{180}

Catholic schools employed the monitorial system for teaching religion, as other subjects, this system combining efficiency with cheapness where enrolments were large.\textsuperscript{181} Bishop Polding told the 1844 Committee that in Catholic schools, "every hour when the clock strikes the children cease

\textsuperscript{179} Rev. John McKenny, Minutes of Evidence, 22/7/1844, Q.33.
\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Ibid.}, Q.48, 28, 29.
\textsuperscript{181} On religious instruction in Catholic schools cf. Fogarty, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.113-117.
their work, and raise up their minds to Almighty God". Twenty years later William Wilkins criticized this hourly requirement that children "fall upon their knees and repeat a short prayer" as psychologically wrong. "It assumes that children possess sufficient control over their minds to be able at a given signal to attune their hearts to devotion, to forget all that had previously been occupying their thoughts."

At the Church of England school of St. James the books used for religious instruction were the Bible, the Catechism of the Church of England, The Faith and Duty of a Christian, and Chief Truths of the Christian Religion. Other books published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were studied. No set period existed for religious instruction, but Bishop Broughton thought that "perhaps two hours each day" were given to religion. Prompted by Mr. Cowper, he agreed that religious instruction was interwoven with the rest of the curriculum.

The existence of a general religious atmosphere was often claimed as an advantage of Church schools. Even music might be useful as training for congregational singing.

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182 Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844, Q.45 (p.47).
183 National Education: An Exposition (1865), p.45.
184 Evidence of Rev. Robert Allwood, 5/7/1844, Q.10; Bishop Broughton, 15/7/1844, Q.88.
185 Evidence of Edward McRoberts, 5/7/1844, Q.38.
The 1854-55 School Commissioners had little complaint of the extent of religious instruction in N.S.W. elementary schools - it was "professedly imparted to all the children". But they found an "incredible" amount of ignorance on religious matters. The course of instruction was usually confined to reading the scriptures and learning the catechism; but the former was frequently omitted in Catholic schools, and the latter in National ones. In Protestant schools the scriptures were read frequently, sometimes twice a day; "but little pains appear to be taken to enable the children to understand the passages they read". The catechisms, too, were learnt by rote misunderstood. "Weariness of a subject too frequently introduced, and beyond their comprehensions, may also tend to disgust the children." The fact that children often attended schools not of their own denomination led to anomalies. "We have found Catholic children in a Protestant school, repeating the Church of England Catechism more correctly than the Protestant children themselves ... Some children we met who had learnt two Catechisms, as the Wesleyan and Presbyterian."187

In 1859 a questionnaire was circulated among N.S.W. schools investigating what religious instruction was given,

186 Final Report, para.38 (p.17).
187 Ibid., para.39 (p.18).
how often, and by whom. In National schools scripture lessons were given daily, but lessons by visiting clergymen were rather infrequent - at best, once a week. Of the 57 replies from Catholic schools, 50 indicated that religious instruction was given daily by the teacher. 188

The curriculum of National schools provided for the teaching of non-sectarian scripture by the teacher. Scripture was examined by the inspector, along with the other subjects. The books used were the Scripture books (and Reading books) published by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. By 1867, the first year of control by the Council of Education, the Armidale District Inspector's Report noted that Second Class pupils learnt such subjects as "How the World was Made", "Adam and Eve", "Cain and Abel", "The Flood", Third Class pupils learnt the history of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ and the teaching of His Apostles, from the New Testament extracts. From the Old Testament, they had scripture lessons on such subjects as "The History of Abraham and his Descendants", "Birth of Isaac, and Expulsion of Ishmael", "Trial of Abraham's Faith", and "Death of Sarah".

In National Education: An Exposition of the National System of New South Wales, published in 1865, Wilkins examined

the main charges levelled against National schools regarding religion. These were, that such schools were "godless", "infidel", and "irreligious"; or, less extremely, that there was insufficient religion, because catechisms were omitted; that there was no prayer at the beginning and end of the school day; that the Bible was omitted; and finally, that the type of religious instruction in these schools would promote a "Fifth Sect", additional to the four major ones.

Wilkins argued that the main responsibility for religious instruction rested with Churches, Chapels, Sunday schools, private gatherings, and above all, the family. The sole argument in favour of imposing upon the Master the business of religious teaching, is the danger that if such education be not given by him, it will not be given at all."

In truth, religious instruction in the home was often neglected; Sunday schools were too few and not very effective; clergymen were overworked. But equally, the average elementary school was not necessarily a good agent for religious instruction. The monitor or pupil-teacher were hardly suitable instruments for effective religious and moral instruction, because of their youth, their lack of education, and lack of worldly experience. The quality of teachers was only slowly rising. If religious instruction in school was not

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particularly effective, this was at least partly because all school instruction was handicapped by irregular attendance, untrained teachers, large classes, and similar disabilities.

In the private-venture elementary schools religion was not normally a subject of instruction. Thus the argument about the place of religion in elementary schooling was an argument about the religious and moral indoctrination of lower class children.

(19) **Sunday Schools**

In the first half of the 19th century the dissenting Protestants had been the most active group in promoting Sunday schools. This was their answer to the dominance of elementary education by the Church of England. The Church of England contented itself with its long-established practice of having its day schools meet on Sundays also. When state aid was granted to dissenters and Catholics in the 1830's Bishop Broughton, finding there were scarcely any Anglican Sunday schools, stated that every clergyman was expected to establish both a parochial and a Sunday school. But the smaller sects, with fewer day schools, maintained a higher degree of enthusiasm. By 1842 there were 13 Presbyterian

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191 *S.M.H.*, 7 June, 1839.
Sunday schools to supplement their 29 day schools.\textsuperscript{192} As the threat of a state "secular" system grew the dissenters intensified their activity; in 1844 the Wesleyans informed the British and Foreign Bible Society in London that the Irish National system was about to be introduced and requested aid to their Sabbath schools.\textsuperscript{193}

In the 1850's the disinterest of many colonial parents in both education and religion led to attempts to increase the role of Sunday schools. In 1854 The Empire commented that if society were as religious and right-minded as it ought to be Sunday schools would be unnecessary, for the family would perform this function. But parents were in no condition to do their duty, being more ignorant and more vicious than their children. "There is scarcely such a thing among the masses as a thoroughly well disciplined and religiously instructed family."\textsuperscript{194} In 1866 a pamphleteer supporting non-sectarian education pointed out that if the parent felt incapable of giving religious instruction this could be supplied in Sunday schools which, in contrast to the

\textsuperscript{192} J.C. Robinson, \textit{The Free Presbyterian Church of Australia}, pp.45-46.


\textsuperscript{194} Leader, "The Exigency of Religious Instruction", 17/6/1854.
day schools, charged no fees. The School Commissioners of 1854-55 found that children were best informed upon religious subjects in those places where there were Sunday schools.

Some observers believed an expanded system of state-aided Sunday schools would solve the religious difficulty. If the Government paid Sunday school teachers the National school could become the general system, with visits by clergymen to give denominational instruction.

Official returns of the number of Sunday schools only started in 1859, and the figures for that year are consequently unreliable.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
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<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presbyterians (various)</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wesleyan Methodist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primitive Methodist</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent (Congregationalist)</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Baptist</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Unitarian</td>
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195 "A Colonist", Public Instruction: A Letter to the Hon. Henry Parkes, M.P. (1866), pp.4-5. The writer distinguished schooling from education, which included post-school training in trades or professions. Since state schools provided instruction, not education, religion could validly be excluded.


A striking feature is the prominence given Sunday school education by the Methodist Church. By 1864 the leading role of the Methodists is even more noticeable. The three Methodist sects maintained 164 Sunday schools with an average attendance of 9,867, compared with 181 Anglican schools with an average attendance of 9,510, 89 Catholic schools (attendance 4,580), and 61 Presbyterian of several varieties (2,593 scholars). The total number attending Sunday school averaged 30,102. This compares with 38,556 in the elementary schools (21,841 in denominational elementary schools). However, the situation in N.S.W. never went as far as that in South Australia, where Sunday school enrolments consistently exceeded those in state-aided schools. In the six years from 1861 to 1867 the number of children in denominational elementary schools increased by 66%, but in Sunday schools by only 57%.

The Church of England still based its Sunday school system on its weekday schools. "Our Church Schools, of course, assemble as Sunday Schools on the Lord's Day", said Wesleyan Methodists, Primitive Methodists, United Methodists.

198 Figures from Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1859, 1864.
199 Figures in D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent (1947), p.492. In 1862 there were 11,417 in state aided schools and 20,705 in Sunday schools; 1872 15,123 and 34,224 respectively.
Bishop Tyrrell in 1853. \textsuperscript{201} He was anxious to see independent Sunday schools established where there were no Church schools, but had little immediate success. Until the early 1860's the number of Anglican Sunday schools matched fairly closely the number of Anglican weekday schools. \textsuperscript{202} The teachers in the Anglican Sunday schools were overwhelmingly female; \textsuperscript{203} 740 women to 472 men in 1864. In Methodist Sunday schools there were 528 male teachers and 588 female in that year.

A comparison of the numbers in Sunday schools with the total numbers of children of the same denomination in weekday schools suggests something of the enthusiasm of each group. For instance, in 1867 13,000 pupils attended Anglican Sunday schools while 20,000 Anglicans were enrolled in various weekday schools, Anglican and otherwise. This gives a proportion of 65\% for Sunday schools. Catholic performance was worse: 7,000 attended Sunday school, 15,100 were enrolled in weekday schools (i.e. 46\% for Sunday schools). The number attending Presbyterian Sunday schools (3,500) was 74\% of the total number of Presbyterians enrolled in day schools. But

\textsuperscript{201} Tyrrell to Newcastle Church Society, appended to N.C.S. Report for 1852 (Elkin, \textit{op.cit.}, p.359).
\textsuperscript{202} For instance, in 1861 there were 155 day schools and 135 Sunday schools. By 1864 there were 159 day schools and 181 Sunday schools and by 1867 the Sunday schools greatly outnumbered the day ones (226 to 161). cf. \textit{N.S.W. Statistical Register}, 1861, 1864, 1867.
\textsuperscript{203} Possibly because the male teachers in Anglican day schools were not available on Sunday.
the outstanding figures were for the Wesleyans, 10,700 of whom attended Sunday school, these figures being 195% of the total enrolment of Wesleyans in elementary schools. 204

Thus in the period from 1848 to 1867 the Sunday school movement made, in general, only slow progress. During the 1860's there was certainly a heightened interest, though even so Sunday schools grew more slowly than day ones. The dissenting sects continued to display greater vigour in Sunday school work than the two major denominations.

(9) A Decade of Parliamentary Procrastination over Education

The obstruction by parliament about which Wilkins complained in 1865 was largely an expression of denominational rivalry, though shortage of finance, the brief life of many ministries, and the existence of more pressing issues, such as land and the Legislative Council, also explain the anxiety of many parliamentarians to evade the educational problem.

While the report of the School Commissioners of 1854-55 was being prepared the Governor, Sir William Denison, forwarded to the Legislative Council (April, 1855) a draft bill prepared

204 Figures from N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1867, p.15 (Sunday Schools); Report of the Council of Education, 1867, p.22 (Day Schools). Figures for Sunday schools are of attendance and for Day schools of enrolment. Hence the Sunday schools did better than is suggested here.
by the Solicitor-General, W.M. Manning, providing for the
extension of schools, their financing by school rates of 5s.
per year, and District Committees to control education.
This Bill was referred to the Select Committee on Education,
which was quite out of sympathy with the proposal. The
Bill was withdrawn, and the conflict in education continued.

Soon after representative and responsible government
commenced in 1856 Cowper, who was both Premier and Chairman
of the Denominational Board, proposed a Bill to develop the
policy suggested by the Governor, but the Ministry fell
before the matter was considered (October, 1856). In December,
1856, Thomas Holt a Congregationalist, successful businessman,
and recently Colonial Treasurer, introduced resolutions
in the Legislative Assembly to give effect to some of the
Select Committee's recommendations. He favoured abolition
of the two Boards, establishment of a system of government
inspection, payment of teachers at a higher rate, and transfer
of control of schools and certification of teachers to the

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205 cf. Manning in L.A., 11/2/1857 (S.M.H., 12/2/1857);

206 Charles Cowper (1807-1875) had been Clerk of the Clergy
and School Lands Corporation from 1826 to 1833, a member of
the 1844 Select Committee, and sometime Chairman of the
D.S.B. He was a pastoralist and his brother was Archdeacon
and Dean of Sydney, 1858-1902.
denominations. Cowper gave notice that he would introduce his Bill. But when Holt's resolutions were defeated Cowper abandoned his proposals.

Early in 1857 Manning suggested a general system of government schools, with clergymen paid to give denominational religious instruction, and no interference with existing Church schools. Henry W. Parker introduced a bill to abolish the two Boards and replace them with a Board of General Education. The "religious question" was to be left to the Local Boards, and it was on this issue that the move was wrecked. As with Gipps' proposals for District Council control and Denison's for District Committees, the trouble was that local control was likely to mean Anglican control.

The growth of the National schools provoked continual bickering. When the accession of non-vested private schools to the National system started, the regulations governing these schools were forwarded to the Colonial Secretary for publication in the Government Gazette and submission to the

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207 Two Speeches on the Subject of Education in New South Wales (Sydney 1857).
208 cf. S.M.H., 12/2/1857.
209 cf. Nadel, op.cit., p.209. However, in 1858 the National Board Commissioners expressed the hope that each of the leading denominations would be represented on the Boards of the local patrons. ("The System of Education Administered by the National Board of N.S.W."). cf. Corrigan, Catholic Education in N.S.W., (1930), p.43.
Legislative Council. The Premier, Charles Cowper, advocate of Denominational schools delayed their publication, and Plunkett disclosed the National Board's intention in a letter to The Empire on 8 January, 1858. Cowper was affronted, a bitter quarrel followed, and Plunkett was dismissed. But the real basis of the dispute was sectarian feeling. Plunkett's action was entirely constitutional, for his Board had the right to issue regulations without reference to any other body.210

The elections which followed were the first under manhood suffrage and with the secret ballot. The land question was the leading issue, but abolition of state aid to religion and educational reform were also important.211 H.M. Oxley, a recent convert to abolition of state aid, also suggested educational reform in the new parliament. He wanted control of education by a single paid Board, presided over by a Minister of the Crown, thus combining one of the features of


English system (Ministerial responsibility) with the basic recommendation of the Select Committee of 1855 (centralization under a single Board). This Bill did not reach a second reading.\(^{212}\)

In 1859 Cowper attempted to introduce the English "Privy Council System". The Executive Council was to be made the controlling Board of Education in the Colony, and would dispense grants-in-aid to local promoters of a school, who would determine whether or not religion should be taught in it. The debate was largely along sectarian lines, and the fact that Bishop Tyrrell gave general approval may have assisted the defeat of the Bill, which was followed by the Ministry's resignation (October).\(^{213}\)

In the mid-nineteenth century three major trends of opinion were emerging over the role of state, church, and school.\(^{214}\) The more conservative elements supported state aid to the Churches and their schools. A liberal group, prominent among whom were Lang and the Foster-Eagar-Martin-Parkes alliance, while not anti-religious, advocated the

\(^{212}\) cf. Linz, op.cit., p.50. He also advocated "payment by results", i.e. the state's role to be limited to testing the pupils. cf. Letter by H.M. Oxley, S.M.H., 28/11/1862.

\(^{213}\) S.M.H., 23/9/1859; 6/10/1859; 20/10/1859.

separation of state and Church, and a general system of education including non-denominational religious instruction. The smaller sects (Congregationalists and Baptists) also took this position. A small radical group - as yet influential in N.S.W. - wanted a purely secular school system. However, attitudes did not rigidly follow political or religious adherences. Many sincere Anglicans, for instance, supported abolition of state aid, believing that this would make the Anglican clergy more dependent on the congregations and hence less autocratic.

In 1859 the first move towards the removal of state aid to religion was taken when a supplementary grant of £14,000 to the four Churches, first voted in consequence of the increased cost of living after the gold discoveries, was discontinued. The Grant for Public Worship Prohibition

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216 In the 1870's Buchanan was the main secularist politician. The returns of religion in the 1856 Census show 0.2% as "others and unspecified" and in the 1861 1%. In 1871 the unspecified were 1.2% and in 1881 1.8%.


218 Ibid., p. 170.

Act of 1862 repealed Bourke's Church Act of 1836, ending the payment of state funds to the Churches, though clergymen in receipt of government stipends retained these until their death. 220

In addition to being a clear warning of the growing strength of liberalism if not outright secularism, disestablishment materially increased the financial problems of the Churches, already becoming heavier because of the expansion of schooling. The proportion of scholars to the total community provides a rough-and-ready index to the growth of educational facilities. In 1858, just prior to the separation of Queensland, there was one scholar to every 10.3 of the population. By 1861 scholars made up one in every 9.5 of the population. This proportion rose to 8.1 in 1863 and 7.2 in 1866. The 1856 census showed that 43% of children between four and 14 were receiving some form of schooling. By 1861 this had risen to 54% of children between five and 15. Children not receiving instruction (except perhaps at home) decreased from 39,394 in 1856 to 35,170 in 1861. 221

But the problem of rural education continued to be an influence for reform. Despite the limited success of the two

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221 Figures from "Statistical View of the Progress of the Colony of New South Wales from the year 1821", in front of Statistical Registers; Censuses of 1856 and 1861; Report prefacing N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1862 (p.8).
Crown Lands Acts of 1861 population in rural areas was increasing,\textsuperscript{222} and in the 1860's the National Board pointed out the need to provide more schools in the countryside.\textsuperscript{223}

The demands of the two Boards for more money encouraged the belief that their amalgamation would promote greater financial efficiency. In any case, the principle of a single Board had long been accepted. The passage of an education Act in Victoria abolishing the two Boards there encouraged Cowper to bring forward a "Bill to Promote Elementary Education" in October 1862, but pressure of business led to the bill lapsing.\textsuperscript{224} In July 1863 Cowper introduced another Education Bill, providing for a single Board, but making no arrangements regarding religious instruction, which would either be decided by the local patrons or by the Board. The measure was defeated.\textsuperscript{225} So was Sadleir's

\textsuperscript{222} Between 1861 and 1871 the total population increased by 43.6%; Sydney and suburbs by 43.8%; towns and villages of over 100 persons by 50.8%; rural districts by 41.3% (Census 1881).\textsuperscript{223}

"In my general reports for past years, I have pointed out that, in consequence of \textit{free selection}, and the rapid settlement of the agricultural districts, a large number of schools would soon be required." (W. McIntyre, Inspector of Northern District, 1865 Report, J.L.C., 1866, Pt.I, p.258).\textsuperscript{224}


S.M.H., 2/7/1863; 23/7/1863; 24/7/1863. For the influence of Victoria on both bills cf. Cowper, 22/10/1862; 24/7/1863; S.M.H. leader, 14/7/1863; Parkes, \textit{Speeches on Various Occasions} (1876), p.235.
"Bill to Promote Elementary Education and the Establishment of Industrial Schools" in 1864. But the discussion these bills aroused, and the gradual helped educate public opinion.

A major reason for the delay in educational reform had been the instability of colonial politics. Organized political parties did not exist, and during the first decade of responsible government the average life of a Ministry was a bare twelve months. But in January 1866 James Martin and Henry Parkes, both advocates of education reform, formed a coalition ministry strong enough to hold office for nearly three years; this made it possible for Parkes to introduce a Public Schools Bill in the second half of 1866.

(p) The Sources of the 1866 Reforms

The educational reforms of 1866 owed their origin to a number of pressures. Financial problems provided an important spur. The 1860's were marked by severe fluctuations in economic activity; a mounting deficit, a large public works


228 Martin had worked for Lowe on The Atlas and had moved a motion on education in the Legislative Council in 1850.
programme, and difficulty in raising loans abroad led to heavier taxation in 1865. This was unpopular and there was strong pressure to reduce expenditure. Educational reform figured in the government's attempts at financial adjustment.

The inefficiency of many of the Church schools was another influence for reform. The poor performance of Denominational schools arose partly from lack of supervision by either the Denominational School Board or the Churches, partly from their inability to pay adequate salaries and provide for material costs, such as repairs, not met by government aid.

An enhanced desire to do something about such social questions as crime, juvenile delinquency, and the neglect of children also promoted educational reform.

The extension of settlement in rural areas, and the growing population generally meant that many children were still outside the system of education, while those within were catered for by a plurality of competing schools. It was on the inadequate provision of schooling that Parkes placed most stress when the second reading of the Public Schools Bill commenced on 12 September, 1866. In Switzerland and the United States the proportion of scholars in the elementary schools to the whole population was 1 in 5; in Prussia 1 in 6; in Norway and Denmark 1 in 7; Austria and Scotland 1 in 10;
Belgium and England 1 in 11; and in Ireland 1 in 18. It was 1 in 9 in N.S.W. Comparatively speaking, this was not too bad, and Parkes found that the near doubling of children attending school in ten years "certainly is a gratifying result". But he considered it "very probable that in this colony at present there are 100,000 children under fourteen years of age destitute of all instruction whatsoever."

Parkes condemned the existing educational system on four grounds - it was unnecessarily expensive, it was of an inferior quality, it encouraged sectarian jealousies, and its provision of schooling was inadequate.

Since the introduction of the parallel school systems in 1848 the state of society had been drastically modified by the introduction of responsible government, universal male suffrage, and the increase and dispersal of population as a result of gold and free selection. The new society was democratic, liberal, and, in a limited sense, secular. Political democracy and religious tolerance required an educated community. In December 1866 the Sydney Morning Herald, which supported the Public Schools Bill, wrote:

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Speeches on Various Occasions, 1848-1874, by Henry Parkes, (1876), p.234. Parkes returned insistently to the 100,000 children allegedly deprived of schooling. (Ibid., pp.237,250). But to get this figure of 100,000 Parkes counted infants below the age of four and all children being educated at home, by parents, tutors, or governesses.

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S.M.H., 11/10/1866; 12/10/1866; 24/10/1866; 26/10/1866; 27/10/1866; 21/12/1866.
All we desire to see is the education of the people, and with it the extinction of that rivalry which too often expresses nothing better than a difference of belief. If by extending education we can propagate a practical conviction that we have all equal rights and that the minority ought not to be trampled on by the majority, and the majority is nevertheless entitled to protect itself from the tyranny of a minority, we shall have accomplished much.  

The *Herald* attempted to assess public opinion, "so far as it has been expressed", and found it favourable to the Public Schools Bill. The grip of the clergymen over their denominations had weakened; the secular current was growing in strength:

Not only have those sections of the community represented by Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Congregational Churches, avowed themselves in its favour, but an appeal from those who are hostile to their co-religionists has failed to institute any demonstration comparable with their alleged numerical strength ... Clergymen of high esteem ... have failed to draw around them even a manifestation of opinion in support of their views. In fact, the laity of all denominations are weary of ecclesiastical contentions. The attempt to divide the colony ... has produced an inevitable reaction. People of all creeds are so connected together in the social and business engagements of life, and are so perfectly cognisant of the fair intentions of all that it is not possible to create in their minds a permanent distrust.  

Increased prosperity had brought some blurring of class and religious divisions; a slowly increasing middle class was cementing society together.

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231 Leader, 21/12/1866.

232 Leader, 24/10/1866.
The Herald, the leading newspaper in N.S.W., had also changed during the 1850's. It had come under the sole ownership of John Fairfax, a Congregationalist, in 1853, who appointed the Rev. West, also a Congregationalist, as first editor (1854-1873).233

The Congregationalists had supported the Irish National scheme in 1844 and the Public School Bill in 1866.234 The smaller Protestant groups mostly supported the Bill, the Anglican clergy opposed, and many Catholics adopted a moderate position, supporting the idea of a single Board but seeking safeguards. In 1864 the Catholic Church had circulated a statement supporting parliamentary candidates who declared for state aid to religion and Denominational schools.235 The poverty of the Catholic laity made the

233 The Catholic Freeman's Journal for 1/2/1872 commented on Congregationalist influence on the Herald (cf. Fogarty, op.cit., p.160). While Congregational meetings were reported in detail, there is little evidence of unfair treatment of other views. The Sydney Morning Herald defined (2 January, 1857) its policy as "a preference of the known good to the unknown ... the government of the world by the educated and permanent in contrast with the ignorant and vagrant". It claimed that, like the London Times, it was not a party paper but the organ of all.


Church anxious to obtain what state assistance it could for its activities. Polding forwarded a nine-point programme to parliament in July 1866 indicating the principles upon which Catholics could collaborate with a unified Board of Education. The Act ignored or contradicted five of these points, but there was little the Church could do.236

During November 1866 the Legislative Council received 49 petitions on the Public Schools Bill, about equally divided between support and opposition. A feature of the petitions was the number in support from the Hunter River Valley. In all 217 petitions, signed by 33,428 people, were presented to parliament.237 The Bill had a relatively calm passage.238

(q) The Three Education Acts of 1866

The strong Martin Ministry of January 1866 to October 1868 carried through three Acts reforming education - the Industrial Schools Act (an Act for the Relief of Destitute Children), the Reformatory Schools Act, both passed in August 1866, and the Public Schools Act (December, 1866).

237 Smith and Spaull, op.cit., p.142; Austin, Australian Education, p.120.
238 There were a few amendments during the debate. cf. Smith and Spaull, ibid.
The Public Schools Act replaced the two Boards with a Council of Education consisting of five persons nominated for four years. This Council was to establish and maintain public schools, give financial assistance to non-vested and denominational schools, and appoint and remove teachers and inspectors. Provisional and half-time schools were provided to extend educational facilities in the thinly-populated districts, thus meeting a major weakness of previous systems. Special religious instruction by visiting clergymen was permitted in the public schools for one hour in each day, and the secular curriculum included scripture lessons - "general religious instruction as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology". In denominational schools teachers were to belong to the same denomination as the school, and religious instruction in these schools was a matter for the head of the denomination. The Act also provided for a training school for male and female teachers.239

The two other Acts provided for state-controlled industrial schools and reformatories. Moving the second reading of the Industrial Schools Bill Martin justified increased state participation in this type of schooling on both material and idealistic grounds:

239 For the clauses of the Act vide Griffiths, op.cit., pp.120-124.
It would be found the truest economy in the end to incur this expense, were it only to save the State the possible future cost of the maintenance of these children as criminals, but on much higher grounds it was the bounden duty of the State ... to rescue neglected children from a future career of crime.240

As a result of this Act there opened in 1867 an Industrial School for Girls at Newcastle (with 45 girls) and a Nautical School Ship, the "Vernon", with 62 boys. The three Ragged schools in Sydney now received state aid. The Asylum for Destitute Children and the Deaf and Dumb Institution continued to receive aid, and the Sydney Female School of Industry continued without state aid.241 From June 1867 government inspection and control of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Orphan schools at Parramatta started.242

The 1866 Public Schools Act and the regulations issued under it in 1867 made no reference to infant schools, but the Municipalities Act of December 1867 passed by the Martin government permitted these local authorities to maintain free infant schools.243 There is no evidence that this was ever done.

240 S.M.H., 23/8/1866.
241 cf. N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1866, 1867, 1868.
242 Minute of Colonial Secretary (Parkes), J.L.C., 1867-8, Pt.I, pp.577-579.
In conclusion, it may be said that the Acts of 1866 marked an increase in the role of the state in education, the balance between ecclesiastical and state control of elementary education shifting in favour of the latter. Centralization of control, which had grown with the creation of a system of inspection in the 1850's, became more pronounced; the various proposals for development of local control had failed to win support. Considerations of economic efficiency were prime factors in bringing about the quiet revolution of 1866, but both economic and educational efficiency were served by a centralized system. This centralization, first in National schools and ultimately in all state-aided elementary schools, produced such advances as the extension of schooling into distant regions, the training of teachers, the creation of standards, and the entry of liberal subjects into the elementary school.
CHAPTER IV

HIGHER EDUCATION, 1848-1866

(a) Higher Education at Mid-Century.

When the second half of the 19th century opened the condition of higher or advanced education in N.S.W., particularly as regards quality, was by no means satisfactory. Children of middle or upper station could obtain education in various ways. The numerous private-venture schools - about 200 in 1850 - for the most part offered courses which did not go much beyond the basic curriculum provided in elementary schools. They were frequently co-educational, and excluded religious instruction. Among the private-venture schools existed a number of self-proclaimed grammar schools. These provided a great variety of courses, including commercial subjects and a smattering of the classics, but the great number of subjects made it hard to teach any of them at a very high standard. Parents who wished their children to receive religious instruction could support grammar schools conducted by clergymen, such schools being indirectly associated with particular denominations. At the peak of the educational system were some three or four corporate schools or colleges, mostly associated with one of the major denominations. These schools took boarders as well as day pupils, gave religious instruction, and placed
greater stress than other schools on the classics, though still providing the elementary and commercial subjects. They had a constant struggle to survive, and the identity of the schools recognised as leaders in colonial education varied somewhat from time to time. But many parents still preferred to have their children educated at home, relying on tutors, governesses, or the mother according to the quality of education desired, their financial means, or the availability of instructors.

The superior or secondary schools of the time were used mainly by the growing commercial classes, the learned professions, and the pastoralists. The expense of these schools discouraged wage-earners from using them, though few had any inclination to do so and these could find in the better elementary schools some higher education at a cheap rate.

Between 1848 and 1867 secondary education, like elementary education, underwent a limited reform. The main developments were a vast increase in the number of private secondary schools, the establishment of a university, the foundation of Sydney Grammar School, and the establishment of a link between the university and the corporate schools through the matriculation examination and the employment of professors as external examiners. Some of the state elementary schools were starting to provide advanced subjects.
The issue of religion versus secularism was less prominent in higher education, but did arise through the dependence of the corporate schools on Churches, the establishment of a state-supported non-denominational grammar school, and the emergence of a secular university with which were associated a few denominational colleges.

The most direct incentive for improvement in the higher schools in this period came from the opening of the University of Sydney in 1850 which ended the period of "academies" ineffectually trying to fulfil the functions of both a secondary school and a university. In the moves to establish a university lay the seeds of advance for secondary schooling.

(b) The Social Advantages of a Colonial University.

During the hearings of the 1844 Select Committee on education Lang persistently enquired of witnesses whether they thought there was need for an institution for advanced learning, in which semi-professional and professional men might be educated. In general, the response was unenthusiastic; Bishop Broughton, for instance, stated: "I do not know where I could look for half a dozen youths who could advantageously enter upon a university course, properly so
called. Yet within five years a Bill to establish a university was presented to the Legislature.

In the late 1840's a professional class was growing in N.S.W., as is shown by the establishment of a N.S.W. Bar and the appointment of a Legislative Council Committee on the medical profession. Clergymen increased in number from 122 in 1845 to 298 in 1858. The problem of higher education for Australian-born clergymen, particularly Anglican and Presbyterian, was growing. In 1852 Sir Charles Nicholson argued that higher education would permit colonists to become enlightened statesmen, useful magistrates, learned and able lawyers, judicious physicians. The reference to statesmen and magistrates was very pertinent at a time when agitation for representative and responsible government was strong.

In 1853 a Committee of the Legislative Council chaired by

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1 Minutes of Evidence, 15/7/1844, Q.256. Bishop Polding told Dr. Nicholson that a collegiate institution to provide professional education "would be premature at present" - Minutes of Evidence, 9/7/1844, Q.141.


3 Figures for 1845 include the future Victoria and Queensland; those for 1858 include Queensland. cf. Gipps to Stanley, H.R.A., I, vol.XXV, p.52; Statistical Register for 1858, p.65.

4 S.U. Calendar, 1852-53, p.40. The tactful omission of clergymen is noteworthy.
W.C. Wentworth urged the need for an aristocracy of fortune, birth, leisure and superior education. For popular consumption Wentworth might express this as the need to educate a group of colonial administrators, an aim which democrats could support. But in private Sir Charles Nicholson, physician, pastoralist, member of the Board of National Education, and Chancellor of the University, saw the latter institution as the nursery of future legislators and rulers of N.S.W. "High moral and intellectual cultivation are, I believe, alone calculated to serve society from the evils wherewith it is threatened by mad and restless experimenters who find, or affect to find, all wisdom and virtue in the multitude." The university was to be a bastion of social order.

In 1849 the proprietors of the Sydney College, forced to close in the previous year, petitioned the Legislative Council to convert the College into a university. W.C. Wentworth successfully moved for a Select Committee to enquire into this suggestion, and the Committee swiftly found itself in

6 cf. Reeve, The People's Advocate, 6 September, 1851.
favour. Wentworth introduced a "Bill to Incorporation and Endow the University of Sydney" in October, 1849, but the bill failed, due to differences of opinion concerning the proposed members of the first senate. Robert Lowe, who was a warm supporter of the measure and who was nominated as one of the original members of the senate, objected to the inclusion of William Bland, an emancipated convict and a friend of Wentworth, on this body and to the proposed exclusion of the clergy. "It would take much discussion", Lowe said, "to convince the House that it was a good principle to exclude the clergy as a body, and to admit convicts into the government of such an institution." Lowe also felt that the proposed constitution would rapidly place the university under the control of local graduates, who would display "the narrowest local and provincial sentiment", for instance by appointing Australian professors. His opposition led to the failure of Wentworth's first Bill.

When the Bill was reintroduced in the following year two significant changes had been made. The nomination of the

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8 Barff, A Short Historical Account of the University of Sydney (1902), pp.3-4.
11 Ibid., p.398.
first senate was entrusted to the Executive Council and the
number of Fellows of the senate was increased from 12 to 16,
to of clergymen of four religious
denominations. The Governor gave his assent on 1 October,
1850 and the senate met for the first time in February 1851.
The University was inaugurated on 11 October, 1852 and
teaching commenced at once.12

The main criticisms which Wentworth had to answer in
moving the second reading of the University Bill, 4 October,
1849, were that it was an irreligious measure, that it was a
bill for the rich and not for the poor, and that it was
unnecessary since a liberally endowed grammar school would
be adequate. The essence of his argument was that in recent
years "the education of the higher class of youths in this
Colony has degenerated" - the collapse of the major academies
lent support to this view - and that just as the lower
classes needed education if the franchise were to be
broadened, so did the upper classes if self-government
were to be conferred.

The self-government for which we have sought so
ardently will be but a worthless boon without the
educational advantages this measure holds out. How
many of the native youth of this Colony are there fitted to become ministers of its Government? If we obtain responsible government, in order to

12 Griffiths, Documents on Education in N.S.W., p.196;
carry it out we shall be obliged to employ people who come from abroad—people who cannot feel that intense interest in the country which the sons of the soil ought to feel.\(^\text{13}\)

(c) A Secular University with Denominational Colleges.

The delay between the initial move for a university and its consummation allowed time for public opinion to dwell on the issues and for some clarification of the concept of the university. The original plan envisaged a university similar to the University of London, that is to say, an examining university to which would be affiliated a number of colleges where the actual teaching took place.\(^\text{14}\) The University of Sydney would be an examining body only. The major responsibility for teaching would lie with affiliated denominational colleges, but the university would maintain an endowed non-denominational university college.

The early years of the University saw a debate over the role of religion reminiscent of that going on at other levels

\(^{13}\) Reported by Mr E.K. Silvester of the Sydney Morning Herald; printed in Sydney, 1850; reprinted 1896 by the Government Printer, pp.7-8.

\(^{14}\) This also resembled the system at Oxford and Cambridge, where the denominational colleges were supreme and the central university at most conducted examinations. However, until after the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge in 1850-52 the colleges did little teaching and the universities little examining, cf. Armoytage, Civic Universities, (1955), pp.199-204.
of education. In 1852 three professors were appointed—the Reverend John Woolley, a graduate of Oxford, to the Chair of Classics, with which was combined the Principalship; M.B. Pell of Cambridge to the Chair of Mathematics, and John Smith, a graduate of Aberdeen, to that of Chemistry and Experimental Philosophy. The three professors, and particularly Dr. Woolley, played an important part in this debate.15 The eventual outcome was that the projected University College developed into the University itself and the other colleges became residential and tutoring institutions, but not official university teaching bodies. The first step towards central university teaching was taken when the Senate agreed on 4 October, 1852 to abandon the "University College"; the lectures of the University were declared open to all matriculated students; and were compulsory except for students attached to affiliated institutions.16

In November, 1852, the Bishop of Newcastle, the Right Rev. William Tyrrell, in the absence in England of Bishop Broughton, called on the central University to include religion in its teaching by establishing chairs of Divinity in affiliated colleges, giving prizes and scholarships in


Divinity, and requiring a religious certificate from students of affiliated colleges as a qualification for a degree. Ultimately he suggested that the University should be merely an examiner, and its professors should become University examiners and inspectors of all schools receiving public grants.

In a letter to Parkes, Woolley urged that the affiliated colleges must be required to send all their students to university lectures. The Empire firmly supported the University against Bishop Tyrrell's criticisms. Finally, after a conference between the Senate and Bishops Tyrrell of Newcastle and Selwyn of New Zealand (the promoters of an Anglican College), the Senate accepted the principle of a "Certificate of Religious Attainments" and the Bishops agreed to the compulsory lecture rule for all students.

The Act of 1854 provided for religious certification for all students prior to graduation, permitted the establishment

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18 Letter, Sydney Morning Herald, 21/12/1852 (The Church of England and the Sydney University, pp.66-68).

of colleges within the University of Sydney, and provided for
government endowment. The professors protested against the
requirement of religious certification in 1857, and it was
subsequently revoked.

St. Paul's (Anglican) College

opened in 1857 and St. John's (Catholic) in 1861. In 1867 there
were 12 students in St. Paul's, eight in St. John's, and
47 non-residential students attending the University. With
the growth of secular feeling the existence of denominational
colleges came to be challenged, a Select Committee of the
Legislative Assembly arguing in 1860 that they should be
disassociated from the University.\footnote{cf. Barff, op.cit., pp.49-55; Statistical Register of
N.S.W. for 1867. \footnote{Report from the Select Committee on the Sydney University,

(d) The Sydney Grammar School

In 1851 Edward Reeve had urged that the university set
high standards, because it would regulate colonial education
and compel accommodation to its requirements. He considered
it "imperatively necessary to found schools to prepare
students for matriculation ... let us have grammar schools to
keep up the tone and status of our university, and not degrade
our university into a mere school". Three years later Dr. John Woolley, the first Principal of Sydney University, drew attention to the lack of good preparatory secondary schools.

Soon our bright anticipations fade into disappointment and despondency. The anxious father finds, indeed, a University; but in vain he looks for a High School; upon the ill-requited and lightly esteemed efforts of individuals we depend for the preliminary training which mainly forms the character of our children, and enables them to cultivate with credit and success the higher walks of science.

In September 1854 the University examiners reported:

Progress is more apparent in students who have received their education at home than those who have been trained in the Colony. The examiners attribute this marked contrast to the influence of those habits of thought, industry, perseverance and general activity, to the moral tone and manly ambition which an English Public School is eminently calculated to foster.

In addition to the needs of Sydney University, improvement in higher education was encouraged by the anxiety of the professional classes to provide advanced education for their sons. Also,

22 Reeve, in The People's Advocate, 20 September, 1851.
25 When endeavouring in 1864 to re-open the King's School Bishop Barker stressed the importance to the clergy of a suitable education for their sons. Cf. Johnstone, The History of the King's School, p.130.
The establishment of a Sydney Bar in 1848 provided a material incentive to advanced education calculated to appeal to colonial youth.26

The decision of the Legislative Council in August 1854 to establish a Select Committee on Education provided an occasion for agitation for a Grammar or High school. In October, 1854 Henry Parkes presented to the Legislative Council a petition of 365 citizens which urged the need to raise "the character of the earlier instruction bestowed on the youth of the colony, both as respects those who do not, and those who do, intend to follow up their studies at the University".27

The matter of a Grammar school was referred to the Select Committee. Sir Charles Nicholson, Speaker of the Legislative Council and Provost of Sydney University, gave evidence on the need for "schools intermediate between primary schools and the University". He believed that private schools could not

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26 Reporting the move by the Legislative Council to admit Barristers of the Supreme Court of N.S.W. (11 Vic. No.47) Governor Fitzroy wrote: "the Act provides for the examination of the Candidates in the Ancient Classics, both Greek and Latin, in Mathematics, in Law, and in such other branches of learning as may be deemed meet by a Board of Examiners appointed for the purpose". Fitzroy to Grey, 12 August, 1848, H.R.A., I, vol.XXVI, p.556.

27 Quoted Griffiths, op.cit., p.189.
provide the type of education required and that state intervention was necessary. Woolley stated that there was "no education given in the Colony, which is of itself fit for an English gentleman, which would enable a man to fulfil properly the duties of a citizen." He advocated a day school, since "schools intended to take boarders are almost invariably of a distinctly religious character." W.T. Cape, now headmaster of a private school of fifty pupils, argued that in contrast with earlier days, well-trained teachers were available from England, provided the colonial school had the funds. He believed that the private schools would always be inadequate, since they lacked a secure income. The Select Committee on Education reported favourable on November 1854. Two days later a Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council, and was passed on becoming law 2 December, 1854. A Board of Trustees was appointed consisting of four government officials, two members of the University, and six laymen not holding office under the Government. An endowment of £1,500 a year was granted, together with a

28 *V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1854, vol.II, Second Report of Select Committee on Education, Minutes of Evidence, 10/10/1854 (Q.74).*


30 Minutes, 10/10/1854, Q.25.

building fund of £20,000. The trustees had the power to make regulations, which had to be submitted to the Legislative Council for approval. Sydney Grammar School opened on 3 August, 1857 with 110 pupils, who came partly from the City Grammar School and St. James' Grammar School.  

The preamble to the School's Regulations stated:

The distinctive character of a Grammar or High School is that it furnishes a superior general, not a professional education. Its object is not to prepare its scholars for any determinate occupation, but to communicate such information and such intellectual training as may assist them in the subsequent acquisition of specialized knowledge and in the official discharge of their social and public duties. For such a purpose, the proper subjects of instruction are not merely those which convey information useful in daily life, but also those which are best adopted to discipline the mental and moral faculties of boys between the ages of ten and sixteen.

As this suggests, the curriculum was a compromise between the classical subjects ("best adapted to discipline the mental and moral faculties") and the moderns ("which convey information useful in daily life"). The subjects taught in the six year course were:

Form 1 - English, Latin, Writing, Geography, History, Arithmetic.
Form 2 - As for Form 1, but with French added.
Form 3 - As for Form 2, with Greek, Geometry, and Algebra added.

Form 4 - As for Form 3, but with Writing replaced by Drawing.
Form 5 - As for Form 4, together with German, Higher Mathematics, and Physical Science.
Form 6 - As for Form 5.

Features worthy of note were the limited attention to classical subjects, the strong representation of commercial ones, and the fact that science was accorded a place, albeit a small one.

The Headmaster, the Mathematics Master, and two Foundation Masters were appointed from England, at salaries of £500, £400, and £300 per annum, together with a percentage of the pupils' fees. The specialist teachers were appointed from within the colony. In its initial year the school's enrolment was 120 pupils, reaching 198 in 1858. Thereafter there was a slow decline, numbers falling to 114 in 1866.34-35

In 1859 a scholarship system was introduced - five scholarships for children under 12, five for those under 14, and five for those under 16. Each scholarship was tenable for two years and provided for school fees and a text-book allowance. The scholarship examinations were open to all children in the Colony. In this way it was possible for 34-35

Statistics of N.S.W. (after 1857 known as the Statistical Register of N.S.W.), various years. For the first few months Dr Woolley acted as Hon. Secretary to the Trustees. A paid secretary was employed from 1858. Select Committee on S.G.S. Minutes of Evidence, 7/10/1859, Q.3. (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1859-60, vol.4, p.99).
a child of high ability to pass through the school on scholarships. 36

In 1859 the first Headmaster, W.J. Stephens (1857-66) estimated that about one-third of the children were sons of merchants and professional men, another third were sons of publicans and small shopkeepers and the remainder from families of independent means or from the lower social grades. 37

In its early years, the Grammar School was not very successful. Complaints were made in the Sydney Morning Herald and elsewhere of the poor quality of teaching, particularly in the "modern subjects", of the low moral tone and lack of discipline, of overlong holidays (12 weeks a year), and of the high fees. The headmaster was unable to maintain discipline among the pupils and quarrelled with his staff. One teacher had to be dismissed for irregularities "arising from habits of intemperance". Finally there was still opposition to the concept of government monies being spent to maintain a high school. 38

38 Ibid., pp.174-177, p.187.
A Select Committee on the Sydney Grammar School was appointed by the Legislative Assembly on 13 September, 1859. In his evidence to the Committee Dr. Woolley argued that the complaints regarding the length of the vacation reflected the unwillingness of parents to share in the education of their children. "They want, in fact, to treat the school as a kind of nursery for bringing them up." In many cases, he said, it was a bad thing for children to be at home. Woolley argued for government inspection of all schools in the colony, the foundation of grammar schools in rural districts, and the provision of free places for the best primary school pupils in these grammar schools. The most able could then obtain university scholarships at the matriculation examination. In other words he favoured stronger links between primary schools, secondary schools, and the university.

In its report the Committee approved the general conduct of the school's affairs, but suggested the establishment of 50 scholarships to the school, urging the need to advance the education of able youths, as "the best safeguard of

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Report of Select Committee on Sydney Grammar School, with Minutes of Evidence, (presented 25 April, 1860) p.54, Q.1080.

Nicholson expressed similar views in 1854 and 1860 (Inaugural Addresses in 1852 and Report of Addresses at Commemoration by the Chancellor, Sir Charles Nicholson, pp.32, 58).
constitutional liberty in a country where ... democratic institutions have been largely introduced". The complaints about vacations had some effect; in March 1861 holidays were reduced from 12 to ten weeks per year.

Sydney Grammar School did not really flourish until after A.B. Weigall became Headmaster in 1866 and the University introduced its public examination system in the following year. Nonetheless, the important thing is that the principle of a government-supported non-denominational high school, linking the primary schools and the university, was established in the 1850's, at a time when some elementary schools were also creating tenuous links with the university.

(e) The Failure of the Corporate Schools

A striking feature of the period from 1848 to 1867 was the scarcity of major corporate schools, that is schools with a governing council, some boarders, sources of income other than pupils' fees, and offering courses at an advanced level, including the classics. The Church-sponsored corporate (collegiate) schools had fitful lives, enrolments were uncertain, and quality of work often poor. Dr. Lang's

Australian College finally closed in 1854. The failure of the Presbyterians to maintain a corporate school subsequently is largely explained by the great disruption of the Church in N.S.W., though competition from Sydney Grammar School was also a factor. The new grammar school also helps to explain the closure of the King's School, Parramatta, between 1864 and 1869, though the personal difficulties of the headmaster appear to have been another reason. But enrolments were falling in all the major schools.\(^43\)

Waugh's *Australian Almanac* for 1860 lists only four schools which can reasonably be considered collegiate or corporate secondary schools – St. Mary's College, Lyndhurst (a Roman Catholic school opened in 1852), which had a teaching staff of 11, Sydney Grammar School (1857), with a staff of ten, the King's School, Parramatta (1832), with a staff of six, and the Rev. W. McIntyre's High School, West Maitland (1855), a Presbyterian school staffed by five masters.\(^44\)

During the 1860's the only religious denominations to found corporate schools anywhere in Australia were the Presbyterians and Methodists. But in New South Wales the dissenting sects produced only Newington College, opened by

\(^43\) King's School fell from 119 in 1857 to 93 in 1858 and 75 in 1859. Sydney Grammar had 170 boys in 1857, 198 in 1858, 187 in 1859, 144 in 1860 (*Statistical Register*, various years).\(^44\) pp. 186-192.
the Wesleyans at Parramatta in 1863. This was a period of
great activity and expansion for Methodists, and much
church building was going on. But Newington College did
not flourish until after it moved closer to Sydney in 1880.

The depressed state of corporate schools arose from a
variety of influences. The creation of the university had
removed the need for academies or colleges combining
secondary and university education, such as had existed in
the 1830's and 1840's. The creation of Sydney Grammar School
presented serious competition to the few corporate schools
which existed. A crucial point was that the university
matriculation examination concerned only a few, and until
the establishment of the public examinations in 1867 there
was little incentive for advanced secondary school work.

In an age when the great public schools of England were
beginning to flourish, the colonial middle and upper classes
were quite unmoved by this educational revolution and were
content with a few self-proclaimed "grammar schools", among

45 Cf. J. Colwell (edit.), A Century in the Pacific (1914),
pp.249-250. In 1856 the 14,952 Methodists of all branches
in N.S.W. (excluding the future Queensland) formed 6.0% of the
population. In 1861 there were 23,682 (6.8%) and in 1871
39,566 (7.9%). Figures from Report on 1861 Census, p.15, and
Report on 1881 Census, p.XXI.


47 The Sydney Morning Herald was slightly when it wrote that
"the middle class schools of England correspond in character
to our Private and Public Grammar Schools" (Leader, 3/3/1865).
a large number of nondescript private-venture schools, or else favoured education in the home. It is to the private-venture schools that we now turn, looking first at the leading group of these, generally known as grammar schools.

(f) Private-Venture Schools: Grammar and Commercial

The private-venture schools were the product of individual enterprise - the school's existence depended on that of its proprietor and was subject to the vagaries of economic conditions. Private schools "constantly died out when their vigorous founders could no longer conduct them". The majority provided mainly elementary education. Some were infant schools. But there were a few private-venture schools, usually called grammar schools, which provided more ambitious courses. The great majority, however, might more properly have been called commercial schools. Archdeacon S.M. Johnstone lists 18 of these schools in the 1860's. They were nearly all boarding schools, taking day pupils also, and the majority were owned by clergymen.


50 The History of the King's School, p.121.
Anglican clergymen maintained grammar schools in several important towns,\(^{51}\) such as West Maitland (1853), Goulburn, Newcastle (1853), Windsor, Singleton, and Bathurst (1866). Presbyterian clergymen also ran some grammar schools. There were two Catholic grammar schools in Sydney (St. Mary's and Lyndhurst), each with 30 to 40 boys, but otherwise there were no Catholic grammar schools in N.S.W.\(^{52}\)

A clearer picture of colonial grammar schools will appear if we look at two of the better known in a little detail, a non-denominational one and an Anglican.

The City Grammar School (Headmaster, Henry Brown, of University College, London) opened in 1843 and survived until 1856. The curriculum was advertised as "the Greek, Roman, French, Italian and English Classics, with Mathematics, History, Writing, Geography, English Grammar and Composition, Arithmetic, Mythology, Elocution, etc. etc." and the terms were £1 15s. a quarter for daily pupils under ten years of age, £2 2s. for those under 14, and £2 10s. for those over 14. There was room for four boarders at £8 a quarter each. The vacations were two weeks at Christmas and four days at


\(^{52}\) Archdeacon McEnroe, Minutes of Evidence, Report of Select Committee on Education, November 1854, 20/10/1854, Q.4, 17. Greek, Latin, and mathematics were taught at Lyndhurst.
Easter. When the Sydney Grammar School opened it took over some of the pupils of the City Grammar School.53

The Reverend George F. Macarthur, nephew of John Macarthur, opened a "Collegiate School" at St. Mark's, Alexandria, in 1856. His aim was "to establish in my native land an humble imitation of an English Public School" and he sought the advice and guidance of Dr. Woolley, Principal of Sydney University, in this enterprise.54 Professors Woolley and Pell acted as examiners for the school. "In this institution Education attempts to originate and foster such habits of thinking and acting as will finally become developed in the conduct of a Christian gentleman. Instruction aims to qualify its subjects for a successful University career." Subjects taught included classics, mathematics, German, French, and music, with drawing and dancing "extras".55 In 1858 Macarthur moved his school to Macquarie Fields, extending Reddall's old school buildings, and here his school flourished until 1869, when he went to King's School, Parramatta, as Headmaster.56

55 Sydney Morning Herald, Advertisements, 31/12/1857, 24/7/1858.
56 S.M.H., 24/7/1858.
(g) Catholic Girls' Schools

Until the mid-century the daughters of the gentry obtained a refined education and superior home-training mainly from governesses in their own homes. But a new quality was given to girls' education with the arrival of Catholic teaching orders to open convent schools. The first school of this nature in N.S.W. was at Rydalmere near Parramatta, established in 1851 by the Benedictine Sisters. The Sisters of Charity opened St. Vincent's, East Sydney, in 1858; the Sisters of Mercy started schools at Goulburn in 1859, Bathurst in 1867, and Albury in 1868. Some of these were boarding schools. 57

The curriculum at "Subiaco", the Benedictine School at Rydalmere, consisted in 1854 of Christian doctrine, English, French, Italian, penmanship, arithmetic, epistolary correspondence, needlework, drawing, dancing, and music. 58 This remained unchanged for many years.

These higher class schools were not supported by Catholics alone. Indeed, there were as yet too few Catholics of middle or upper class station to sustain such institutions. Many Protestants sent their daughters to convent schools for a polite education.

57 Fogarty, op. cit., p.344.
58 Ibid., p.376.
(h) Other Private-Venture Schools

The number of private schools in N.S.W. increased from 226 with 6,624 scholars in 1851 to 498 with 11,292 scholars in 1866.\(^{59}\) During the gold-rushes the number of private-venture schools fell, though not the number of pupils (196 in 1853, with 6,648 pupils). By 1855 the number of schools had risen to 256, and reached 375 in 1858, on the eve of the separation of Queensland. This event led to no decrease; in 1859, excluding Queensland, there were 390 schools with 9,923 pupils.\(^{60}\) But after 1859 the yearly increase of these schools fell, possibly because of the acceptance by the National Board of non-vested schools from 1858 on.

The vast majority of the private-venture schools were co-educational. In 1855, for the first time since 1842, the number of girls in private schools exceeded boys. In 1855 girls made up 50.7% of the enrolment. By 1866 55.5%. In 1864 there were 61 boys' schools, 76 girls', and 315 mixed. In the following year the boys' schools fell in number by three and the girls' by ten, but the mixed schools increased by five. This pattern of development remained fairly constant.

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\(^{59}\) These and subsequent figures from *Statistical Register of N.S.W.* for various years. The King's School and Sydney Grammar School are excluded. The 1851 figures are for N.S.W. excluding Victoria.

\(^{60}\) The figures for 1858 may be too low. cf. Report to *N.S.W. Statistical Register*, 1859, p.3.
Most private-venture schools were non-denominational. They were small schools, in most cases with only one teacher. In 1864, for instance, there were 590 teachers for 452 pupils - an average of 21 scholars per school. Small scale private enterprise and the conditions of the free market prevailed.

Not only was the life of many of these schools short and their size small, but they tended to concentrate where the market was most attractive. In 1864, 27% of the 393,000 inhabitants of N.S.W. lived in Sydney and its suburbs, and 73% in the country. But 41% (184) of the 452 schools were in Sydney, with another 23 schools in nearby Parramatta and Liverpool.

The teachers also concentrated in Sydney. One-teacher private schools were somewhat more common in the countryside than in the city; in 1864 the average was 1.2 teachers per school in rural areas compared with 1.5 in the city. The Sydney private schools were more likely to

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Wilkins, National Education, (1865), pp.14, 52; W. H. Wilkinson, At the 1871 American Synod (The Australian Churchman, 25/9/1871)

The detailed lists of private schools confirm this picture. Thus the first towns in the 1864 returns show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albury</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armidale</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balranald</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bathurst</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Berrima</td>
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<td>87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Binalong</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Braidwood</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>302</td>
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</table>
introduce such aids to efficient education as specialist teaching and the grouping of children according to attainments or interests.

(i) Home Instruction, 1848-1866

In 1861 17.5% of all scholars under instruction were allegedly being educated at home. Domestic education for the most part was not "higher" education. Yet many of these children were of middle or upper class families, some had tutors of high quality, and some subsequently proceeded to the better class schools for advanced education.

The provision of competent governesses was assisted by events in England. In 1848 Queen's College opened in London, its principal aim being to raise the professional standard of governesses, and henceforth the class of well-educated governesses grew. The Society for Promoting the Emigration of Educated Females assisted the migration of governesses of all standards of education to the Australian colonies, though it was found advisable to send out domestic servants also.

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63 Rosalie Grylls, Queen's College, 1848-1948 (1948), pp.1-2. The 1848 curriculum was theology, English language, English literature, history and geography, arithmetic, Latin, French, German, Italian, natural philosophy and astronomy, principles and method of teaching, drawing, harmony and musical composition, and music (p.113).
A proportion of eight governesses to 92 domestic servants was considered appropriate by Therry.64

But the demand for highly educated governesses was not very great in N.S.W. Roger Therry, writing at the end of the 1850's, advised intending migrants that the demand for governesses possessing "an acquaintance with foreign languages, high musical accomplishments, and the general superior advantages of good education" was very limited.65

A plain education - in which I include some knowledge of music - a knowledge of figures, not extending beyond the elementary rules of arithmetic - reading and writing - some acquaintance with housekeeping - a disposition to assist and take a share in the general arrangements of a family - constitute a sufficient qualification for the far larger number of persons required for this post in the colonies.66

Governesses of high educational standard might expect a salary of £100, less qualified ones from £40 to £80 per year. Not all governesses were resident. A "visiting governess" to several families might earn £150 a year. This could be a convenient stand-by for middle class widows, particularly if there was a daughter to conduct an infant

65 Ibid., p.427.
66 Ibid., p.428.
school. But in general the post of governess was not highly regarded. "We poor governesses" (wrote one) "have not the privileges of menials".

Therry pointed out that governesses commanded a good prospect of marriage in the colonies and that there was a demand for their services among those newly enriched by gold or sheep.

Imperfectly educated in early life themselves, many of the lucky goldfinders and successful shepherds feel the disadvantage of not having a taste for expending their large incomes in the pursuit of objects of high social enjoyment, and they evince a meritorious anxiety to impart to their children an education that will be an adornment and comfort to them in future life.

Governesses, however, must be prepared to find less polished manners than in England.

The census of 1861 recorded 8,025 children receiving domestic education and 37,928 being educated at school. The number of tutors and governesses may be estimated as in excess of 600. Of the pupils educated at home 3,748 were boys and 4,277 (53%) girls. But in the County of Cumberland,

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68 Letter from "An Old Governess", S.M.H., 28/7/1863. The writer commented that a general servant earned £30, a cook £40-£50, and a governess £40.
69 Ibid., p.430.
70 Ibid., p.430.
71 Report on Census of 1861, p.11.
which included Sydney, girls made up 58%. In the remaining 19 counties the proportion was 52% of girls (1,853 boys, 2,036 girls), and in the 13 pastoral districts the numbers were equal (boys 842, girls 807; proportion of girls, 49%). It seems likely that in the metropolitan area there were fewer good schools for girls than for boys and that the middle and upper classes preferred to have their daughters educated at home.

(j) The University and Secondary School Standards

In 1852 at the inauguration of Sydney University Sir Charles Nicholson suggested that one reason for the failure of "Collegiate Institutions" in Australia was "an incapacity to grant academic honours or degrees". Other reasons were insufficient endowment and the denominational nature of the colleges. A little later he added another: the absence of a spirit of emulation and of a willingness for sustained effort among colonial youth. This he attributed to temporary and local circumstances - "to the absence of those incentives to exertion which are so abundantly provided for the English student - to whom, as the reward for his scholarship, all the avenues of high social and political distinctions are

72 1,053 boys, 1,434 girls. Ibid., p.462.
73 Sydney University Calendar, 1852-53, p.32.
opened". He believed that similar incentives would develop, indeed were developing, in N.S.W. 74

The university provided an incentive through examinations - the matriculation examination and private examining by the professors - thus assuming a function similar to the inspectors in elementary schools. In 1857 the Vice-Provost (Vice-Chancellor), the Hon. F.L.S. Merewether, commented:

The functions of the University practically invest it with the direction and control of the studies pursued in every school of literature of the higher class. It is the privilege and duty of the University not merely to determine what previously acquired knowledge shall be demanded from those who seek admission to its teaching; and thus it virtually determines what shall be the general system in preparatory schools, private as well as public ... It must, therefore, I think, be conceded that when the state admitted that it was its duty to give encouragement to liberal education by public endowment, its first business was to obtain the standard by which liberal education should be tested, and to which all teaching should be adjusted. To provide this standard the University was called into existence. 75

In October 1852 the first matriculation examination was conducted, the subjects being Greek, Latin, arithmetic, algebra, and Euclid. However, the number of students

74 1855, cf. Inaugural Addresses in 1852 and Report of Addresses at Commemoration, p.42. A letter in the S.M.H. ("Inquirer", 9/3/1857) remarked on the amount said and printed "about the shortcomings of the colonial schools and schoolmasters, the conceit of the native youth and their poverty of scholarship".

75 Commemoration Address, Minutes of the Senate of the University, Sydney, 1 April, 1857 (quoted French, op.cit., pp.176-7).
presenting themselves for the examination remained small. Woolley and Pell acted as examiners in private schools. They conducted the classical and mathematical examinations at Macarthur's St. Mark's Collegiate School, Alexandria, and at King's School, Parramatta. Woolley also examined at Mr. Savigny's School, and Mr. Moore's School, Lyndhurst. Nor was the influence of the university professors limited to secondary schools. In November 1860 Woolley, Pell, Stephens, and Smith were appointed to the Board of Examiners for the examination and classification of teachers.

The emergence of an examination system within the secondary schools was encouraged by competitive scholarships, such as those within Sydney Grammar School. The establishment of 18 scholarships tenable at Sydney University, open to pupils of any colonial school, also provided a stimulus. Thus the growth of educational democracy was linked with the development of examinations.

76 In 1852 - 24 candidates matriculated; in 1860 - five; in 1861 - 12; in 1864 - ten.
77 St. Mark's from 1856; Sydney Morning Herald, 31/12/1857; 24/7/1858; for King's School S.M.H., 16/1/1857.
However, the recruitment to the trades and professions by means of public competitive examinations was slow. The Indian Civil Service examinations were taken both by students at the Sydney Grammar School and the University; but the failure of the N.S.W. Government to recruit by examination was felt to be holding back higher education. 80

The system of written examinations which was replacing oral exhibitions brought certain defects. Woolley was aware of these. "Nothing can be so wooden as the good paper", he commented in 1865. "There is no brain in them, no originality of independent thought whatever". 81 Yet, whatever the defects of the "cramming system" as an agent of learning, it did provide some form of motivation, and in a society which was both democratic and competitive the written examination was destined to have increasing importance as an avenue to vocations. The alternative was nepotism or patronage.

The activities of university professors as secondary school examiners was a useful stimulus sought by the teachers themselves. But, like written examinations, it had its defects. The professors became associated closely with

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80 cf. Woolley, Minutes of Evidence, Select Committee on S.U. (27/1/1860, Q.1078); Comment by Cape, Ibid., 20/9/1859, Q.140.
certain schools – particularly Sydney Grammar School – and other school masters found it harder to maintain confidence in them as examiners. Moreover, certain pupils became accustomed to the "style" of examinations set by the professors and thus, perhaps, gained some special advantage in their future university work. By 1867 the need for a general system of public examinations was felt.

(k) The University Concept of Liberal Education

The establishment of the University provided further elucidation of the theory of liberal (i.e. secondary and tertiary) education by introducing into the colony a small group of men with educational views and the freedom, both as regards time and position, to expound them. The foremost of these was Dr. John Woolley. If Wilkins dominated the field in elementary education, Woolley was his counterpart in liberal education. Other public men, such as Nicholson, Merewether, Parkes and Wentworth, lacked the practical knowledge and grasp of theory of Woolley and were too deeply absorbed in the pressure of daily business. Dr. Smith of the University was more concerned with primary than secondary education.

Woolley expressed his educational views before the 1854 Select Committee on Education, the 1859 Select Committee on the Sydney Grammar School, the 1859-1860 Select Committee on
Sydney University, at meetings of the Professorial Board of the University, and in numerous public addresses at Schools of Arts and elsewhere. 82

Woolley brought to the colony the views of contemporary advanced English educationists. Prominent among these was the concept of secondary education as a training in linguistic excellence and a discipline of the intellect, best developed through the study of the classics and mathematics. These beliefs came into conflict with a practical and utilitarian colonial reality.

Woolley's main educational opinions were: (i) that the distinctive feature about man in the order of nature was that he was a rational being. ("Education is not knowledge, but the habit of thinking ... the truest man is he ... who seeks to understand the what, how, and wherefore, of all which is presented to his observation"); 83 (ii) that sustained intellectual effort was necessary for the attainment of truth. ("Mental like bodily activity, is the reward of regular and daily exercise"); 84 (iii) that languages and mathematics were

82 In 1862 he published his Lectures Delivered in Australia.
83 1857 Maitland lecture, in Lectures Delivered in Australia, p.214. "That fundamental curiosity of the human mind on which the possibility of learning is grafted, is a desire to know not facts, but their reasons", ibid., p.332.
84 Ibid., p.214. "That sustained attention which the mastery of the simplest truth demands".
the prime instruments of this disciplinary training. ("We form in a thousand ways the habit of minute accuracy ... we grow familiar with opposite modes of thought"). 85

Woolley fought against the narrowly utilitarian concept of education. He had a suspicion of purely vocational education and a general liberal education. "Our professional training, whatever that profession be, so far from being the exclusive object of our education, should be its least important part, limited to that minimum which is consistent with our efficiency as workmen". 86

To the study of the classics and mathematics - subjects designed to exercise the "faculties" of the mind, as a muscle is exercised - he added the study of science. But he was rather tentative about the latter. 87

Woolley had a strong concern with education for political liberty. In a public address in 1856 he asserted that education must be universal and embrace the whole of the people, whether remote or near. But it should also be broad and educate the whole man, not merely one faculty of the mind.

85 Maitland School of Arts Lectures Delivered in Australia, p.229.
86 Address to Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, May 1860, in his Lectures Delivered in Australia, p.338.
87 "We must be cautious not to claim for them an exclusive, or even a foremost place amongst the arts useful to society." Ibid., p.216.
Moreover, education had a nobler task than merely to produce doctors or lawyers. This was "to assist in developing to a certain extent that constitutional liberty the Colony was now for the first time exercising", training all the people so that they could participate actively in community affairs. 88

Woolley assisted this democratic aspiration by supporting a centralized, teaching, non-denominational university, by urging the expansion of grammar schools and the provision of opportunity for talented children of the lower classes to acquire liberal education, and by assisting Mechanics' Institutes. He sought to foster in the Sydney Grammar School an education which would permit a boy "to attain to any dignity or rank in the society to which he belongs". 89 He supported the sort of education given in the high schools of Scotland, France and Germany, so that there would be "no one particular subject which has pre-eminence, so that a sound, thorough education is given". 90 Woolley's concept of secondary education were less constructed to traditional, aristocratic approaches than his views on university education.

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88 S.M.H., 28/2/1856, at meeting to establish a Nautical School.
89 Second Progress Report, Select Committee on Education, (17 November, 1854), Minutes of Evidence, 10/10/1854; Rev. John Woolley, Q.3. (V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1854, vol.2). Note the contrast with the old view of education for that station in life which it had pleased God to bestow.
90 Ibid.
The Vice-Provost of the University, Sir Charles Nicholson, shared many of Woolley's opinions. In particular, he saw a liberal education as a classical education and was anxious to avoid too much attention to professional training as a university function. But in due course he, too, was to concede something to the demands of colonial practicality.

In his Inaugural Address on 11 October, 1852 Nicholson stated that the "great and paramount object" of academic training in the colony at the moment was to raise the standard of proficiency in the classics and mathematics.

No better discipline for the intellect of the young can be found than that which is afforded by a careful and thorough initiation into the structure and forms of the Greek and Latin languages. Such a process involves with the learner a practical acquaintance with those fundamental principles of logic of which the grammar of every language is more or less an exemplification ... If no other benefit were to accrue from the cultivation of classical literature, this alone would be more than sufficient to justify all that has been said in its behalf, - that it affords an avenue, and gives familiar access to the most glorious and most enduring monuments of human genius.91

The mere bringing together in the grammar school or university of a group with some pretensions to liberal interests was a form of education.

Systematic attendance on lectures, (Nicholson said in 1861) frequent periodical examinations, the emulation resulting from the gathering together of

many engaged in kindred pursuits, the rewards of honourable industry, the discredit resulting from idleness, are all calculated to beget a habit ... or orderly and systematic application. It is by the enforcement of such a disciplinal system for a long period that mental habits are formed.

And quoting an Oxford don, he asserted that it was not knowledge but a discipline that was required, not science but the scientific habit. 92

The early history of Sydney University is, in part, the story of the interaction between the theory of liberal education as based on the classics, involving mental discipline and a way of life, and the colonial interest in utilitarian courses, professional training and higher education only if it was relevant to making one's way in the world.

(1) The Slow Progress of Sydney University up to 1867

When the University first opened Dr. Woolley praised its leadership over London, Oxford, and Cambridge in clearly distinguishing between secular education and religion. 93 The Principal accepted the view that a university should provide both "a liberal and general knowledge" and training for the

93 He believed that the home would provide a religious background for city students and the affiliated colleges for country ones.
learned professions, but if one aspect of this joint function had to be neglected it should be the professional training. "The soundest lawyers come forth from schools in which law is never taught; the most accomplished physicians are nurtured where medicine is but a name."\footnote{94} This was for long the tradition of Sydney University. It was an anti-utilitarian and aristocratic one. W.C. Wentworth had failed to establish an aristocratic strain in Australian politics by the introduction of titles, or the constitution of 1850; but it seemed that he might have greater success in higher education.

There was no suggestion of the University as a centre of research. The advancement of knowledge was even less a special purpose of higher education than professional-vocational training. The main function of the University was to give a general education, training in a way of living and thinking, a liberal (or aristocratic) education.

By contrast, the University of Melbourne went farther to meet the utilitarian demands of its crowded, rapidly developing city of the gold rush period.\footnote{94} In 1854, the Governor of Victoria, Sir Charles

\footnote{94}{The Sydney University Calendar, 1852-53, p.51; Barff, \textit{op.cit.}, p.34; Woolley, \textit{Lectures Delivered in Australia}, p.13. Woolley based his definition of a university on Sir William Hamilton, \textit{Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform} (1852).}
Hotham, expressed the hope that the University would follow the German emphasis on science and the modern languages rather than the British emphasis on the dead languages.\textsuperscript{95} Melbourne was a more secular University than Sydney, the Victorian government being reluctant to give aid to denominational colleges, and it was not till 1872 that such a college opened.\textsuperscript{96} The Melbourne Professorial Board was less convinced of the unique value of classics and mathematics, and wanted the range of matriculation subjects and university courses widened.\textsuperscript{97} Directly utilitarian courses, such as medicine (1861) and engineering (1862), were soon introduced. Apart from professors of mathematics and the classics, Melbourne started with a third professor to cover the natural sciences (botany, geology, chemistry and zoology), and a fourth to cover the moral sciences (including modern history and literature, political economy and logic). Thus the modern and scientific studies were stronger than in Sydney. History, for instance — a sensitive subject because of its relations, in 19th century thought, with theology and because it was

\textsuperscript{95} Blainey, \textit{A Centenary History of the University of Melbourne}, (1957), p.8. But at the opening ceremony in April 1855 he gave more respect to the classical tradition (\textit{ibid.}, p.2).

\textsuperscript{96} Trinity College (Anglican), Blainey, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.6, 79.

considered a "democratic" study - emerged as a distinct subject from the earliest days at Melbourne. In Sydney it remained incidental to the study of Greek, Latin and law until 1890.

The official mottoes of the two universities underline the contrast. Sydney looked back to England and the past - "Sidere mens eadem mutato": the same mind beneath a different sky. Melbourne invoked progress and the future - "Postera crescam laude": I shall grow in the esteem of future generations.

It was not until 1861 that academics participated in the government of Sydney University. The first Senate was nominated by the Executive Council, care being taken to include representatives of the four major denominations.98 The Act provided for 16 Fellows, 12 of whom should be laymen. Until there should be 100 graduates with the degrees of M.A., D.L., or D.M., all vacancies were to be filled by co-option; thereafter these graduates should elect the members of the Senate. A Provost and Vice-Provost were to be elected by the Senate, the latter being an annual appointment.99 In 1861 professors, teachers, and members of the University were added to the electoral body. Moreover the size of the Senate

was increased by the addition of from three to six professors as ex-officio members. This latter provision resulted from some friction between the Senate and the academic Board of Studies, whose opinions had sometimes been overlooked. The title of Provost and Vice-Provost was changed to Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor.

Thus the Senate was something of an oligarchy, academics having only slight representation, and graduates at the Bachelor level being excluded from the franchise. It was not until 1884 that reform was made.

The University lacked economic independence. In 1866 85% of its revenue of £6,303 was made up by the annual government grant of £5,000. Investments brought in £450, which was dedicated to scholarships. Student fees (excluding the share which went to the professors) amounted to £212. At the end of the year a balance of £790 was carried forward.

Progress at Sydney was slow. In 1859 there were 42 students, six academic staff and four administrative (including a gardener and messenger). By 1867 students had increased to 67, teaching staff to 11. "That the University

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100 Incorporation Amendment Act, assented to 26 April, 1861.
101 cf. S.U. Calendar, 1862, p.31.
has not yet realised the expectations of the public seems clear", reported the Select Committee in 1860. The main complaints, it said, were that the University was too expensive (it had an ambitious building programme) and that the existence of the affiliated colleges introduced a non-secular element. However, the Select Committee believed that the University performed a useful function in raising school standards in the colony; and the small enrolment was no fault of the University itself.

In such a busy community parents find it more conducive to their own interests and the advancement of their sons in life to employ them in the counting-house, or in pastoral pursuits. And it may be remarked that the education of youth generally, throughout this colony, is materially affected by the same cause.\textsuperscript{103}

The Select Committee recommended that professors of the Faculty of Arts be members of the Senate and that the affiliated colleges sever their connection with the University. The first recommendation was effected by the 1861 reforms already mentioned; but the second was ignored.\textsuperscript{104} A widened curriculum was also recommended,\textit{ but tentative moves in this direction did not achieve success until 1865.}

\textsuperscript{103} Report from the Select Committee on the Sydney University, p.11, in \textit{V.P., N.S.W.L.A.}, 1859-60, vol.IV, p.165.

\textsuperscript{104} The Select Committee had noted that "our most prominent literary and scientific men are not on the Senate; and it might be inferred from appearances that mere social position has been too much regarded in the elections" (Report, p.11).
In 1852 Sir Charles Nicholson had stated that it was the
duty of the State to provide higher education to enable her
citizens to become statesmen, magistrates, lawyers, and
physicians.\textsuperscript{105} In 1855 he promised that medical and legal
teaching would be introduced.\textsuperscript{106} Up till 1867, however, the
University had fulfilled this purpose unevenly. Eighty-five
degrees had been conferred in Arts (32 of these at the
Master's level) but only five in Law, and one in Medicine.\textsuperscript{107}
At the 1859 Select Committee hearings Nicholson asserted that
"there is every desire on the part of the Senate to render
the Institution one of good practical benefit to the
community", and foreshadowed instruction in Civil Engineering
and Medicine. Other witnesses complained that earlier hopes
for an institution to provide professional training still
awaited fulfilment.\textsuperscript{108}

University standards were initially not very high. Due
to conditions in the schools, Nicholson said in 1853, the
professors had to be content "with a much lower standard of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[105] S.U. Calendar, 1852-53, p.40. Already quoted, Section (b)
above.
\item[106] Inaugural Addresses in 1852 and Report of Addresses at
Commemoration, p.41.
\item[107] Ibid., 1868, pp.67-70.
\item[108] Minutes of Evidence - Nicholson, 20/9/1859, Q.101:
W.T. Stephens, 22/9/1859, Q.185 (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1859-60,
vol.4).
\end{footnotes}
qualification, especially in classics, amongst candidates for matriculation than would otherwise be desirable." 109 Two years later he claimed some improvement in the qualifications of those presenting themselves to the university. 110 In 1859 Woolley stated: "Our standard is not so high as in English universities. These examination papers are very deceptive". 111 But English standards were high, and Scottish universities, Woolley remarked, also had lower standards than English. 112

In March 1861 Nicholson expressed "well-grounded satisfaction" at the improved quality of matriculation candidates and at the graduating examination in Arts.

The greater accuracy of knowledge which the pupil now brings to the University, his exemption from the necessity of unlearning that which has been imperfectly or faultily acquired, places him upon a higher level from which to commence his career.

The improved standard of education aimed at in the principal schools was a result, Nicholson said, of the general stimulus to education provided by the University. 113

110 Ibid., p.41.
111 The habit of setting "prestige" questions is an old one.
112 Minutes of Evidence, Report from the Select Committee on the Sydney University, op.cit., 23/9/1859, Q.465, Q.467. The Indian Civil Service examinations, which were held in N.S.W., were harder than the University matriculation (Stephens' Evidence, 22/9/1859).
113 Inaugural Addresses in 1852 and Report of Addresses at Commemoration, p.66. Between 1852 and 1862 130 matriculated students entered the University, of whom 51% graduated. Of the 63 who did not gain a degree, 26 did not proceed beyond the first year. "The low standard of secondary schooling in the colonies often obliged students intended for an education overseas to spend a few preliminary years at the local University" (The Galilee, University of Sydney, Nov. 1962)
But the separation between the university and the community persisted, accusations that the university was too aloof being countered by complaints of lack of sympathy for university students in Australia.\textsuperscript{114} Throughout the 1860's the main cry of those who criticised the high cost and low enrolment of the university was that the curriculum should be extended and that students not in full-time attendance be permitted to sit for university examinations.\textsuperscript{115}

The curriculum, which allowed little choice in subjects, was revised for the first time since the university was established in 1865. The scope of the third year was widened. Students were required to take two of (i) classics (i.e. Greek, Latin, and English); (ii) mathematics and natural philosophy; (iii) chemistry and experimental physics; and (iv) logic and mental philosophy (including the constitutional history of England). From 1866 lectures in Oriental languages and literature were provided as an optional extra subject.\textsuperscript{116}

In 1865 a group was formed by Mr. Sheridan Moore to "assist in opening the doors of the Sydney University to the intellect of the Colony", a public meeting was held, and a

\textsuperscript{114} cf. letter from Wesley Tom, Middle Temple, London on "University Degrees and Education in Australia", \textit{S.M.H.}, 25/7/1863.

\textsuperscript{115} cf. \textit{The Empire}, 10/4/1864.

\textsuperscript{116} Barff, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.91-93.
pamphlet published. The demand for affiliation of "Collegiate Institutions" throughout the colony was resisted by the Senate, though it was found expedient to pass a by-law in 1865 permitting non-attendance at lectures for one year at a time, on application to the Senate. But this practice was not encouraged, and did not grow. Instead, the Senate replied to the complaints of the unavailability of university facilities with a measure which was to have very far-reaching influences on secondary education in N.S.W. - the introduction of Senior and Junior Public Examinations.
