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

The Development of an Educational Tradition

by

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VOLUME TWO
CHAPTER V

THE GROWTH OF EFFICIENCY AND STATE CONTROL IN
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, 1867-1880

(a) The Implementation of the 1866 Act

The Council of Education created by the Public Schools Act consisted of five part-time members. The first Council, on whom rested the responsibility of initiating the new system, was a strong body, consisting of George Allen, M.L.C., a Methodist who had been associated with the Sydney College W.M. Arnold, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and a pastoralist, the Premier, James Martin, Henry Parkes (Colonial Secretary), and Dr. John Smith, Professor of Chemistry at Sydney University and a Presbyterian. Less care was taken than in 1848 to ensure that the four major denominations were presented in the control of elementary education. Parkes was elected President and held this office until October 1870.

1 Section 2. For a general description of the Act cf. Chapter IV, section (q) above; for the main provisions in detail vide Griffiths, op.cit., pp.120-124.

2 Progress Report of the Council of Education, to 31 August, 1867, p.3, in J.L.C., 1867-8, vol.15, Pt.I. But Parkes stated that the Council represented the major denominations, expressing the belief that Martin was a Catholic. (S.M.H., 30/7/1868). Martin is so described in The Life and Speeches of Daniel Henry Deniehy, (p.28), but associated himself with the Anglicans in an election speech in Newcastle and was buried as an Anglican.
when his second bankruptcy occurred. Wilkins was appointed secretary to the Council, which met once a week.

In surveying the operation of the 1866 reforms nine years later Bishop Tyrrell conceded that the new system had justified itself. The main gain was "a far more efficient and more general provision made for secular instruction throughout the Colony." This effectiveness arose from the initial administrative reorganization. Probably the most important step was the establishment in 1867 of nine inspectorial districts, with ten inspectors, two being appointed for the Sydney district. A Conference of Inspectors in March 1867 drew up reports on methods of inspection, the standards of proficiency, grading of pupils, homework, rewards and punishments, etc.

Regulations adopted by the Council of Education on 27 February, 1867, clarified the new system. In accordance with the Act, four classes of schools were established: Public schools, Provisional schools, Half-time schools, and Certified Denominational schools. All National schools became

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3 M.D. McLaurin, Sir Henry (Sydney, 1946), p.68.
6 Progress Report, p.8 (op.cit.).
7 Ibid.
Public schools, and in any locality where it was considered that 25 children would attend regularly. Between 1867 and 1869 the number of Public schools increased from 325 to 543. Certified Denominational schools were instituted subject to the same supervision in secular instruction as the Public schools. Certification could be withdrawn if the children in regular attendance fell below 30 pupils. The number of Certified Denominational schools fell from 317 in 1867 to 264 in 1869. Provisional and Half-time schools were established in remote and thinly-populated districts where no Public school existed. They were often private schools taken over by the Council. As the rural population grew, Provisional schools became Public schools, and Half-time ones were made Provisional. Provisional schools increased from 31 (with an enrolment of 681) in 1867 to 103 (with an enrolment of 2,742) in 1868. The enrolment in these schools could be less than 25. They were granted aid by the Council, and were subject to

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8 Statistical Register on N.S.W., 1867-1869.
9 Section 23 of the Act was interpreted as prohibiting the Council from aiding in the repair of Denominational schools. cf. Petition of Ruridecanal Chapter of Camden, January 1872, in J.L.C., 1872, vol.21, p.403.
inspection. Half-time schools under itinerant teachers could be established where 20 children of school age were residing within ten miles of a central point, and could be collected in groups of not less than ten children each. There were six of these schools (207 pupils) in 1867 and 38 (575 pupils) in 1868. The itinerant teachers spent half a day at each of two schools; it was suggested they spend the morning at one and the afternoon at the other. The rules for Half-time schools provided for a systematic course of home lessons. Teachers were expected to become acquainted with the educational wants of the district and to win the respect and confidence of the local inhabitants. But it proved difficult to recruit teachers for small country schools, so in 1867 a special allowance (£18 per annum) was made for teachers west of the Dividing Range.

Prior to 1867 School Boards were appointed locally. Section 22 of the Act permitted the Governor on the advice of the Executive Council to appoint Public Schools Boards of

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11 Public Schools Act of 1866, Section 13 (Griffiths, op.cit., p.122).
not fewer than three persons to "regularly visit, inspect and report upon the school placed under their supervision".\(^{15}\) By the end of 1867 the Council of Education had recommended 235 Public School Boards for approval, comprising 1,066 individuals. However, dissatisfaction was already being expressed.

It must not be supposed that there is any lack of interest felt, but it is rarely manifested in energetic and judicious action except in the case of new schools. The want of means other than those contributed by themselves, is perhaps the most serious obstacle to effective local administration.\(^{16}\)

Apart from raising funds to assist in establishing new schools (and this function was removed in 1875 when the state assumed the full burden) the Boards were frequently inactive. Their inertia may be explained partly by the lack of economic responsibilities (the Council urged the need for the raising of local school funds), partly by the absence of a leisured, educated class of citizens interested in school matters.

In the second year of its existence the Council again reverted to the problem, pointing out that while some Local Boards, particularly in the urban and semi-urban Inspectorial Districts (Sydney, Cumberland, Maitland), exercised a

\(^{15}\) Griffiths, op.cit., p.124.

beneficial supervision, many showed little interest. The reasons were the familiar ones.

In the first place, it is impossible, frequently, to obtain the services of persons properly qualified by education and experience to perform the duties expected from those having local oversight. Even in cases where suitable persons can be found, it often happens that they decline to act. The complete occupation of their time in their own business is generally pleaded in excuse for thus deciding; but it is known that the desire to avoid being involved in local disputes and unwillingness to bear the expense inseparable from the office, are not less powerful influences in leading to this result.17

The 1866 Act provided for the establishment of training schools for male and female teachers. The two denominational training schools were no longer used, all teachers being trained at the Fort Street Model School. Under the 1867 Regulations pupil-teachers were admitted for the first time to the training schools upon completion of their apprenticeship period, but for some years newcomers to teaching were in the majority amongst the students in the training school. Entrance exams were held quarterly, the period of training usually being up to three months.

(b) The Catholic Reaction to the New System

The Public Schools Act had ignored or contradicted five out of nine points which Archbishop Polding had indicated in

July 1866 as basic if Catholics were to collaborate with a unified board of education. The Catholic Bishops reviewed their position in 1867 and sent eight points (four of them indicated as essential) to Parkes, Chairman of the Council of Education. The Regulations of the Council ignored three of these completely.  

At a protest meeting at St. Mary's Cathedral in November 1867 Plunkett, who had supported the idea of a central board but had found the Public Schools Bill too much to stomach, moved "That the Public schools in which Catholic children were to be compelled to receive religious teaching from non-Catholic teachers, cannot in safe conscience be frequented by Catholics". Another motion supported the establishment of a Catholic association to maintain primary schools for Catholics until the Government

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18 cf. Fogarty, op.cit., pp.173-5. The four essential points were: "(1) Where the Roman Catholic children amount to the normal number to constitute a public school, the Roman Catholics may establish a separate school ...; (2) That in all schools the property of Roman Catholics, the right of appointment and dismissal of teachers shall belong to the managers of such schools; (3) That in mixed schools the Roman Catholic children shall not receive religious instruction, moral or doctrinal, in common with children of other denominations ... and that no class books objectionable to Catholics should be used in such schools; (4) That aid be granted for the training of Catholic teachers" (ibid., p.493).

19 Plunkett was one of three opponents when the bill passed the third reading in the Legislative Council. J.L.C., 1866, vol.14, Pt.I, pp.130, 152, 170.

20 S.M.H., 6/11/1867.
established schools Catholics could support. But in 1867 the Church was in no position to reject state aid or establish an independent school system.

There was an immediate conflict between the Catholic clergy and the Council of Education over the type of reading books to be used, and the inspection of Catholic schools staffed by teaching orders. In November, 1867, a Catholic Association for the Promotion of Education and Religion was founded "to raise funds for the purpose of promoting the interests of religion and education in the Archdiocese of Sydney". This Association took over the Catholic schools whose registration was cancelled by the Council of Education. It was partly responsible for inducing the Marist Brothers teaching order to come to Australia in 1872, an important innovation since up to this time there had been few teaching orders in Australia, and fewer still concerned with primary education.

21 Corrigan, op.cit., pp.70-71. Catholics objected to the Irish National school books and readers, although these had been accepted in Ireland by the bishops. But the recently-published memoirs of the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, who had helped the production of these textbooks, had revealed anti-Catholic motives on his part. cf. Corrigan, op.cit., p.72; Fogarty, op.cit., pp.105, 177; S.M.H., 5/11/1867 (Plunkett's speech), and 17/12/1867.

22 Corrigan, op.cit., pp.74-75. In 1873 the Council agreed to exempt existing teachers who were members of religious orders from examination, their classification being made on results of Inspectors' tests of pupils (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1873-4, pp.465-505).

school teaching. But the Association ran into financial
difficulties; in April, 1872 it ceased to exist and the
schools under it closed. Its failure stressed the inability
of Catholics to sustain a strong lay organization to advocate
their views on education.

In 1869 a gathering of Bishops in Melbourne defined the
Catholic view on public education, linking these principles
with propositions of Pope Pius IX. The role of the Church in
education was asserted, and the removal of Catholic children
from "mixed schools" and the establishment of Catholic schools
where possible was urged. A just proportion of the public
revenues was claimed for these schools. The principle of
Government inspection was conceded. Public financial aid
for Catholic teacher training schools was also claimed.

The Catholic Church put pressure on its adherents to
support Catholic schools. In 1867 Charles St. Julien, a law
reporter on the Herald and active in municipal politics,
predicted to Parkes that "the next step, in order to create
an apparent unanimity among the Roman Catholic laity, will be
to refuse the sacraments to such as send their children" to
non-denominational public schools. The Council of Catholic

24 Fogarty, op.cit., p.220.
26 Letter from St. Julien to Parkes, 9 July, 1867. Autograph
letters, p.62 (Mitchell, A 62), quoted Westerway, op.cit.,
bishops held in Melbourne in 1862 had already laid down that persistent failure of Catholic parents to provide Catholic education for their children meant exclusion from the sacraments; but the apathy of the Catholic poor and the differing educational conditions in various colonies inhibited effective implementation of this principle.\(^{27}\) This principle was reiterated in the diocese of Maitland in 1869,\(^{28}\) but lack of an adequate Catholic school system to take these children meant that no effective action resulted.

(c) **Education as a Political Issue, 1869-1875**

The elections of 1869 provided an opportunity to assess public opinion over the new system. Sectarian feeling had been enhanced by Catholic resentment of the educational reforms and by the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh in Sydney by an Irishman in March, 1868. During the campaign scarcely any candidate ventured to support denominational education,\(^{29}\) and the two main contestants vied

\(^{27}\) Fogarty, *op.cit.*, pp.172-173; 215.

\(^{28}\) Fogarty, p.215. On 4 September, 1869, at the opening of the Dundas Public School, Parkes stated that in "a Western District" (Bathurst?) the Bishop threatened "all parents of his denomination who sent their children to a public school with the denial of the sacraments of his church". (*Speeches on Various Occasions*, p.302).

\(^{29}\) The S.M.H. claimed that none had done so, and that no government with such inclinations could hold office. (Leader, 31/12/1869).
with one another in disclaiming such intentions. Robertson endorsed the 1866 Act and said he would like to see it made "thoroughly secular". Parkes replied that Robertson, as opposition leader, would inevitably be supported by the "priests and religious zealots" who wanted public money for "their own intolerant plans of education".30

Parkes gained a striking personal victory in the elections, being re-elected for East Sydney (where he headed the poll) and also winning Kiama.31 Public approval of the 1866 Act was undoubted.

For some time past (the Sydney Morning Herald said) no uncertain intimation has been given that at the general election, a determined effort would be made to reverse the public educational policy ... The rival parties have tried their strength ... The Public Schools Act is at the head of the poll.32

But the claim that "this question may now be treated as finally settled"33 was too presumptuous. The denominational feeling which had developed remained an element in N.S.W. politics for a considerable time. "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that from 1869 to 1889 the sectarian

30 S.M.H., 1/12/1869 (Robertson); 2/12/1869 (Parkes).
31 The system of multiple electorates and multiple representation permitted this. Elections occupied several weeks, and candidates could test their popularity in a number of constituencies.
32 Leader, 4 December, 1869.
33 S.M.H., Leader, 31 December, 1869.
was the strongest issue at the elections held in New South Wales".34

By the time of the February 1872 elections Parkes had resigned as President of the Council of Education, and his political ambitions made him anxious to win Catholic electoral support. He managed this through the aid of a friend, Edward Butler, a prominent Sydney barrister who had written for The Empire, was a member of the lower house, and had a powerful influence over the Catholic vote. If the Public Schools Act ostentatiously brought victory in 1869, Edward Butler and the Catholic vote performed the same service in 1872.35 Parkes now emerged as an opponent of further secularisation in education and, indeed, as the champion of the denominationalists.

During 1871 a Roman Catholic priest had been involved in a dispute with Wilkins, Secretary of the Council of Education, over the establishment of a school at Grenfell. In December 1871 William Forster, leader of the opposition, called for


35 Polling was from 13 February - 28 March. On the eve of the East Sydney election Parkes received a note of good wishes from Butler, together with a final assurance that "our people are being instructed not to raise their sweet voices at the Meetings in your favour for fear of giving a Catholic look to the proceedings" (cited A.W. Martin, "Henry Parkes and Electoral Manipulation, 1872-82", in Historical Studies, November 1958, p. 271).
the presentation of this correspondence to parliament. The same priest then became involved in another argument, this time from Young, and in June 1872 James Watson (an Anglican) called for records of this correspondence. The Legislative Assembly reproved the Council of Education. In retaliation for what was considered a great victory for denominationalism Forster moved a motion of principle in December 1872 to amend the Public Schools Act so as to "provide for the extension ... of the principle of secular and instruction, and for the discontinuance ... of assistance from public funds for Denominational Schools." This was the first challenge to the 1866 settlement. Both the secularists and denominationalists had the 1872 Education Act before them as an indication of

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36 The school was established in a church, and the Council refused to grant certification. V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1872, vol.2, pp.681-696.

37 The issue was again whether church buildings could be used as schools. Ibid., pp.675-678.

38 The Council of Education was reproved over its attitude to the application for certification from Grenfell (Watson's motion, 19/11/1872; V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1872-3, vol.I, p.32) and papers relating to a similar refusal for an Anglican school were called for.

39 "It would be idle to pretend not to see that the debate on Mr. Forster's motion is the natural sequel of the debate on Mr. Watson's motion". S.M.H., leader, 16/12/1872.

40 V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1872-3, vol.I, p.64; S.M.H., 11/12/1872. The 1870 Act in England and the 1872 one in Victoria were doubtless other factors moving Forster.
what "free, compulsory, and secular" could mean. The denominationalists, including the Catholics, rallied to support the status quo and Parkes' continued adherence to the Public Schools Act now lost its radical and secular significance and appeared as conservative and denominationalist.

In January 1873 Forster's motion was defeated in favour of one by Parkes stating that the experience of the last six years had fully justified the Public Schools Act. Parkes argued that popular opinion did not favour secularisation, and that many denominational schools were doing fine work. He would not support any system, he said, in which the lessons of scripture were not taught. He also expressed the belief that Catholics would not send their children to Public schools, so that if the Certified Denominational schools were closed they would provide their own schools, while supporting through taxation the Public schools. "There would be kindled in the minds of a large portion of our population, the idea of a sense of injustice, which would go far to attract the sympathy, and rally round them the liberal of all classes, and we should have growing up in our midst a

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41 Voting on Forster's motion was 16 to 26, Robertson supporting (21/1/1873; V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1872-3, vol.I, p.110); Parkes' amendment passed 26 to 9 (S.M.H., 22/1/1873).

42 Scripture was completely excluded from Victorian schools.
real cause of discontent and disaffection with the Government of the country.\textsuperscript{43}

About 1872 the Council of Education's attitude towards denominational schools appears to have undergone a change. In that year Parkes returned to the Council and was joined by his friend W.A. Duncan, the liberal Catholic.\textsuperscript{44} In 1873 and 1874 the number of denominational schools closed by the Council dropped sharply (two and five respectively).

When in November 1873 Parkes appointed his old political ally, Sir James Martin, as Chief Justice he lost the support of his Catholic friend Butler, who had ambitions in that direction himself. However, Parkes continued to court the Catholic vote and the denominational vote generally.\textsuperscript{45}

From 1874 pressure from outside parliament created the conditions which forced education to the centre of politics. James Greenwood, a Baptist minister who arrived in N.S.W. in 1870, became alarmed at the changed attitude of the Council of Education and in September 1874 took the lead in forming a "Public School League, for making Primary Education

\textsuperscript{43} Smith and Spaull, \textit{op.cit.}, p.154 (\textit{S.M.H.}, 23/1/1873?)

\textsuperscript{44} In 1868 Parkes had resigned from the Martin ministry over the dismissal of Duncan from the Customs Department. cf. \textit{S.M.H.}, 14/10/1868.

\textsuperscript{45} Greenwood drew attention to Butler's role in the conversion of Parkes to denominationalism in a letter to the \textit{S.M.H.}, 23/6/1875.
National, Secular, Compulsory and Free". Associated with Greenwood in founding the League were the Rev. George Woolnough (Presbyterian) and the Rev. Zachary Barry (Anglican).

Controversy was fanned. The attitude of the Catholic Church the Church of England founded a Defence Association. In the 1874-1875 elections a candidate commented that education was the most prominent issue facing parliament. "This question had been forced on them by gentlemen who had constituted themselves into a League."

(d) The Decline of Denominational Education

A striking feature of the elementary school system after 1867 was the steady decline in the number of denominational schools and the great increase in public ones. In 1867 there were 325 Public schools (including Provisional and Half-time schools) and 317 Certified Denominational schools. By 1871 the number of Public schools had doubled (655), while the

46 cf. Daily Telegraph (Melbourne), 4/1/1875; Manifesto of Public School League, S.M.H., 22/9/1874. This was sometimes referred to as the Public Schools League.

47 According to Parkes, the League originated among a group of parliamentarians disappointed by the rejection of Forster's 1872-73 motion (parliamentary debates, S.M.H., 19/6/1875). Greenwood replied to this in a letter, S.M.H., 23/6/1875.

Certified Denominational schools had fallen by 29% (to 223). By 1875 there were 839 Public schools and 191 Certified Denominational, and by 1879, 1,108 Public and only 160 Denominational. The trend was unmistakable. Only one or two new denominational schools were approved each year; one or two were converted to Public schools; a few lapsed; and a larger number had their certificates withdrawn. In the meantime new Public schools increased rapidly.

The Presbyterian and Wesleyan school systems suffered most, falling from a combined total of 48 schools in 1867 to nine in 1879. The Roman Catholic schools decreased least of all. The greatest loss came between 1867 and 1871; thereafter few Catholic schools closed, and in 1879 there were still 83 compared with 108 in 1867. Anglican schools decreased steadily, falling from 161 in 1867 to 67 in 1879.

Despite the closures the number of children receiving denominational schooling actually increased. Enrolments in Catholic schools increased steadily, from 10,346 in 1867 to 16,191 in 1879. The peak enrolment in Anglican schools was reached in 1874 (18,106 children), but thereafter the figures fell. In Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools there were declining enrolments from 1867. But in relative terms denominational schooling was losing ground. In 1867 there

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Figures from relevant Statistical Registers.
were 27,463 children in denominational elementary schools and 22,578 in the state ones. By 1879 denominational schools had 33,932 pupils, but state schools had grown to 100,692.

Enrolments in the Public schools proper increased by 130% between 1868 and 1878. Enrolments of Anglicans and Wesleyans increased at a higher rate than the average (153% and 136%), Roman Catholics and Presbyterians more slowly (107% and 90%). The religious distribution in Public schools in the two years just mentioned was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>10,713</td>
<td>27,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>4,397</td>
<td>9,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>3,584</td>
<td>6,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>3,742</td>
<td>8,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2,423</td>
<td>5,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24,859</strong></td>
<td><strong>57,168</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Since at the 1871 census 45% of the population of N.S.W. were Anglicans, 29% Roman Catholic, 10% Presbyterian, and 7% Wesleyans, Anglicans formed an appropriate proportion of the

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50 Figures from Statistical Registers.

51 Figures are for the last quarter of the year and exclude Provisional and Half-time schools (from Reports of the Council of Education, 1868, 1878). 1878 is chosen as the terminal year because the organized withdrawal of Catholics in 1879 colours the statistics for that year.
population of Public schools in 1868, while the Catholics were under-represented and the Wesleyans and Presbyterians over-represented. Explanations of the strong Wesleyan and Presbyterian representation would include the greater difficulty of the smaller dissenting sects in filling and maintaining their own schools, coupled with their greater interest in education.

One of the striking features of the Catholic position was the high proportion of their children in Public schools, despite the emphasis of the Church towards separate education. Of the 1,900 pupils at Fort Street Model School in 1868, 455 were Catholics, a number larger than that attending any Catholic school in Sydney. Fogarty's conclusion is that the Catholic poor "were ignorant and apathetic rather than obdurate". They would respond to pressure from their clergy to send their children to Catholic schools, but the initiative had to come from the clergy.

Even in the denominational schools there is clear evidence that denominational feeling amongst parents was not very strong. All denominational schools held many children not belonging to their own group.


## ENROLMENTS IN DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS BY RELIGION, 1868

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></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>C. of E. Schools</td>
<td>9,413</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>1,001</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>12,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C. Schools</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>9,134</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Schools</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>1,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan Schools</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>1,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew Schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,867</td>
<td>10,110</td>
<td>1,376</td>
<td>2,022</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>25,204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ten years later in 1878, 27% of pupils in the 71 Church of England schools were non-Anglicans, 11% of pupils in the 83 Catholic schools were of another faith, 87% in the five Presbyterian schools, 46% in the seven Wesleyan schools, while even in the Hebrew school 12% of the enrolment of 107 consisted of Anglicans, Presbyterians, or Wesleyans (there were no Catholics). In some cases parents may have sent their children to schools of a different faith through lack of alternative facilities, but this certainly did not apply in the larger towns, and, in general, apathy to the religious aspect of education seems to have been considerable.

With the exception of the Wesleyan, the Church schools were losing their denominational character. Between 1868 and 1878 (in V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1878-9, vol.3, p.693).
1878 the proportion of children in Anglican schools who were Anglicans fell from 76% to 73%; Catholics in Catholic schools dropped from 93% to 89%; in Presbyterian schools those adhering to this faith formed 29% of enrolments in 1868 and 13% in 1878; and in the Hebrew school the proportion dropped from 100% to 88%. There was a slight increase of Wesleyans enrolled in Wesleyan schools (from 52% to 54%).

(e) **Sunday Schools, 1867-1880**

But if the Churches were by and large on the retreat in week-day elementary schools, perhaps their strength was growing in the Sunday schools. There is some evidence to support this.

The number of Anglican and Catholic Sunday schools increased significantly following the Act of 1866. In 1864 these two groups accounted for 46.8% of children attending Sunday schools; in 1874 for 52.3%. Following the 1866 Act an Anglican meeting at Maitland stressed "the additional necessity of providing efficient Sunday Schools, wherever a few children can be gathered together on the Sunday". 55 Anglicans and Catholics now had the same incentive as the dissenters to provide Sunday schools.

Before 1867 enrolments in denominational week-day schools were increasing more rapidly than in Sunday schools, but in the six years from 1867 to 1873 the number of children in denominational elementary schools rose by 22%, and those attending Sunday school by 30%. Between 1867 and 1880 the total attendance at Sunday schools rose by 83%. The increase in specific denominations was: Church of England 106%, Roman Catholic 149%, Presbyterian 71%, Wesleyan 17%, and Congregationalist 75%.

The figures for number of Sunday schools and their average attendance (given in brackets) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C.E.</th>
<th>R.C.</th>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Wes.</th>
<th>Total Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>243(14,248)</td>
<td>149(8,876)</td>
<td>89(4,215)</td>
<td>181(11,223)</td>
<td>43,794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>347(18,539)</td>
<td>253(11,801)</td>
<td>97(4,628)</td>
<td>223(10,273)</td>
<td>52,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>339(20,549)</td>
<td>278(14,619)</td>
<td>121(5,480)</td>
<td>214(10,700)</td>
<td>58,837</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This expansion, of course, was made possible by a great increase in teachers - from 4,644 to 9,027. Women made up rather more than half the number; 55% in 1867, 59% in 1880.

(f) The Theory of Elementary Education.

By 1867 the weakened role of the Churches in the control of education was paralleled by a decreased emphasis on the religious purpose of elementary education. The currents of

In the six years before 1867 the proportion was 66% for week-day schools and 57% for Sunday schools. Cf. Chapter IV, Section (o).
liberalism and secularism had gathered strength, and an age dedicated to progress and enlightenment put less emphasis on religious aims in education. "We take it as an axiom" (a Newcastle paper wrote in 1869) "that education is designed to promote human happiness, morality, and virtue; and that the object that the state seeks to attain in promoting the education of the young is to promote the happiness and best interests of all its subject". This implied a system acceptable to all religious denominations, and education which was of practical use in afterlife.\footnote{Newcastle Chronicle, 14/10/1869. Leader, "Education".} The spirit of N.S.W. was democratic, but also utilitarian; happiness was frequently equated with worldly success. The democratic spirit suggested that the education given to each child "should be adapted to the capacity which he or she evinces for it".\footnote{Ibid.} The spirit of "so highly-favoured and enlightened an age as the present" also suggested that if parents remained indifferent to the need to educate children the state should intervene further, by making education compulsory.\footnote{Ibid., also leader, 11/12/1869 on "Compulsory Education". For further discussion of the impact of secularism, and liberalism on education about this time vide Chapter VIII, Section (d).}
Thus the growth of state control of elementary education was accompanied by a greater stress in educational theory on the role of the schools in bringing social improvement. Concern with amelioration was apparent in a circular letter which William Wilkins sent to all teachers in March 1867, outlining the three great objectives of the Public Schools Act. The first was to extend the means of instruction throughout the colony, so that "every locality, however remote, and every family, however humble, may have the ameliorating influences of education brought within their reach". The second objective was to improve the quality of education and to adapt it to the needs of the pupils, going beyond reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography to include the laws of health, family and social economy, notions regarding property, capital, and labour, and other questions "which have an important bearing upon the condition and prosperity of the industrial classes". The third objective was to promote moral training in regularity, cleanliness, order, the rights of property, obédiènece to the law, the development of character, honesty, truthfulness, and temperance.60

60 Progress Report of the Council of Education, p.37, in J.L.C., 1867-8, p.677. The important role given the social function of education is seen in the S.M.H.'s statement in 1870 that the Public school system was the handmaid of the franchise and a safeguard to the constitution, and favourable to domestic happiness and commercial prosperity (Leader, 7/9/1870).
In the process of elaborating the social responsibilities of elementary schooling the main points of debate were over the relative responsibilities of parents, teachers, and the state, and the relative importance of vocational and general education.

The moral and social improvement of the 1860's was producing a new concept of relations between school and home. Such doctrines as the need to isolate children from the moral influence of their parents or the necessity of the school raising cultural levels above those of the home were still voiced, but in more moderate tones. Parkes, opening a new school at Hunter's Hill in 1870, reminded parents that "the training of children, after all, lay to a very great extent outside the walls of a school" and that parents had to perform their part "by making the conditions of home, as far as possible, conducive to their instruction". He expressed the hope that the new school "would send forth boys into the world to become useful and active members of society, and girls to preside over happy,

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In 1866 Parkes expressed the opinion that more advances in "moral and social improvement" had occurred in the ten years since responsible government than in the whole preceding history of N.S.W. (Speeches on Various Occasions, 1848-1874 (1876), p.211). The proportion of sexes was still uneven (243,000 males to 202,000 females in 1867) but less so than previously. T.A. Coghlan, The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1886-87 (1887), pp.130, 133.
prosperous, and Christian homes". In 1872 a correspondent of the Journal of Primary Education accepted the doctrine that education was carried on both at home and school, but denied that it was the task of the school to provide the education which parents would not.

The debate over the relative place of vocational and general subjects in the elementary school curriculum involved not only central issues in the theory of education but also practical considerations of status and employment. This was a continuation of a discussion which had been important in the 1850's. In 1869 the Australian Journal of Education took up the question: "What shall be taught and in what proportions?" The Journal pointed out that the cast of mind of pupils, their moral qualities, and even their future occupation, were influenced by teachers' decisions. The parents expected the school to fit their children for "the battle of life", either by providing suitable vocational training or by developing "aptness of mind" to take up whatever pursuit falls their way. But in addition to the teachers and the parents, the state had an interest. "The

62 Sydney Morning Herald, 26 September, 1870 (reprinted in A.J.E., October 1870.
63 J.P.E., March, 1872, p.260.
64 1 September, 1869 (p.321).
future prosperity of the country, the stability and usefulness of its political and social institutions, and the national character itself may be affected by the nature of the instruction given in the Primary Schools."

The magazine pointed out the lack of unanimity over "the legitimate objects and proper sphere of Primary School instruction". Different educationists recommend different subjects; various parents have varying ideas.

With most, the object of greatest importance is to have their children taught the subjects which will assist them in making their way in the world, and they are rarely capable of discriminating between the respective values of different subjects. In some instances, the object of sending a boy to school is simply to help him out of mischief, and ... parents have actually appeared jealous of their children, fearing they might learn too much.65

The article gave primacy to the state interest. "While Education continues to be paid for from public funds, the State will claim the right to determine what shall be taught." But the comforting conclusion was reached that, "rightly understood", the views of educationists, parents, and the state coincided.

The object of state interference in education is to provide means of instruction by which children may be so trained that in their mature years they may become good citizens, knowing their duties and disposed to perform them conscientiously, while they are also capable of forming a just estimate of the valuable privileges they enjoy as members of the Commonwealth ... Rightly understood,

65 Ibid., p.324.
this view is identical with that which makes education to consist in the process of developing and strengthening the mental faculties. That education which is best for the child who is to become a man, is also best for the child who is to be a citizen. That intellectual training which most fully prepares the child for the duties of manhood also fits him to discharge the duties of citizenship. 66

A striking feature is the omission of reference to the fourth partner in the control of education, with claims anterior to those of the state - the Church.

The emphasis on the duty of the schools to meet the state's need for good citizens was the outcome of an increasingly secular society based on political democracy and the adult franchise, but relying increasingly on the state rather than voluntary effort not only in education but in a wide range of social activities. But while the state supported the case for a general education at a time when many parents looked for vocational training, the right of the individual in a democracy to aspire to any vocation for which he was qualified raised the question of a wide curriculum in elementary schools, embracing both commercial and academic subjects.

The question of a broad curriculum was argued not only in terms of vocational function and general education for citizenship, but also in the context of current theories of

66 Ibid., p.361.
educational psychology. Cultivation of the mental faculties remained unchallenged as dominant element in the psychology of elementary education. However, there was a new tendency to increase the number of faculties to be cultivated in sympathy with moves to broaden the curriculum. More stress, in particular, was to be laid on the faculty of reasoning.

The mere ability to read, write, and cipher, it was argued, "affords but a slight degree of mental discipline", while the demands of the state for an intelligent citizenry could not be satisfied with this elementary education. The case for teaching "the subjects which cluster around Reading - Language (Grammar, Analysis, Composition, Drawing and Music)" was advanced. Objections that these peripheral studies had little to do with reading and that the children of the poor had no time to spare for such studies, or no business with "Taste" or "Feeling" were rejected as unsuitable "in a country where political equality is one of the articles of the constitution". 67

Commenting on the new course of instruction the Council of Education stated in 1868 that it was intended to prevent uneven emphasis between the various subjects, for "the one-sidedness of such mental training cannot fail to be injurious to those subjected to it, inasmuch as they are likely to grow

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67 p.363.
up familiar with one department of knowledge only, and both unable and unwilling to apply themselves to the acquisition of learning in any other".68

Thus the elementary school justified its share in a sphere once restricted to advanced education. The theory of mental training was even extended to the question of vocational versus general education, to the favour of the latter.

Two educational theories are now current among public men. One ... assumes that the main object of education is to fit a boy for the work he is called upon to do in the world ... and that all the teaching arrangements of the school, both as regards subjects and methods, should be directed to this point. Those who favour the other theory maintain that the great object to be accomplished is the training and development of the intellect without reference to any particular pursuit to be followed in after years by the pupil. They aver that their plan effects both objects, inasmuch as by a proper discipline of the mind a boy is enabled to acquire more rapidly and with greater certainty those arts for the most part mechanical, by the practice of which he is to gain his future subsistence.69

The practical corollary of this was the presentation of pupils from Public schools when the two university examinations were established in 1867.

68 Report of the Council of Education on Public Schools for 1868, p.27.
69 A.J.E., 2 August, 1869, pp.282-3.
But the view that elementary education could embrace the same subjects as in higher schools, that the same faculties should be developed in elementary pupils, and that they could sit for the same public examinations as grammar school pupils led to the position that elementary schools were similar in nature to higher schools, that they were properly primary schools, leading on to secondary education. The idea of an educational ladder to the university - infant, primary, secondary schools - was growing. In 1869 the *Australian Journal of Education* reported a scheme to improve the education of future artisans and working men in England but doubted whether the governing powers of England would favour a system of instruction "the natural tendency of which will be to place the artizan on an education level with his employer". But in N.S.W. there was some sympathy for the view that elementary education could be an early stage in a homogeneous type of education, rather than

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*Australian Journal of Education*, 1 December, 1869 (p.466). It was pointed out that England voted £750,000 annually for the education of some 20,000,000 children, while if the N.S.W. rate of expenditure were adopted she would need to spend £4,000,000. The comparison was, of course, rather unfair, since voluntary and Church contributions were much higher in England and the Church of England was an Established Church.
a distinct variety. In 1872 Professor Badham criticized the Public schools for omitting history, French and Latin and for a mechanical approach to arithmetic and English. He felt there was too much rote work and not enough exercise of the intellect. The Herald argued that if this was the case, public education was defective. In a moment of radicalism it said:

The Public Schools are at the basis of our educational system - the University is at the summit. It is important that the two extremes should harmonise with each other - that the schools should lead up to the University and that the University should communicate its spirit to the Schools.

The paper hastened to add that the aim of the Public school was not primarily to aid clever children to rise socially or to prepare them for later scholastic studies, but to cater for the many - "to ensure that every citizen should be able to read, to write, and to cipher". If more could be done this was fine, but the limited time spent at school and the need to cater for the stupid as well as the clever made it "almost impossible in the present state of affairs to hope for anything like classical training.71

It was by no means impossible to reconcile the faculty theory with the right of social and economic advancement,

71 S.M.H., 24/9/1872. Badham was giving evidence to the Select Committee on the Civil Service.
divine governance, and a liberalized curriculum. "It is the peculiar privilege of man to be able to think and reason", (wrote a correspondent in the Australian Journal of Education) "and by thus thinking and reasoning to improve his condition in accordance with the divine appointment ... The mental faculties are of such a kind as to point out and induce the same duty, and the same gratification in the performance of that duty." The existence of a faculty of curiosity was taken as an indication of the duty to acquire knowledge; the cultivation of the mind by the acquisition of knowledge was the plain duty of man; and the study of English grammar was recommended as a prime method of cultivating mental powers and acquiring knowledge.

(g) The Curriculum

The theory of elementary education is illuminated by the curriculum. The Course of Instruction issued in 1867 was the product of curriculum evolution during the preceding decade. The propriety of defining the course of primary instruction in some detail had now come to be accepted. This had been done in England under the 1862 Revised Code, though colonial opinion was that this Code laid undue stress on reading,

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72 2 March, 1868, p.91 - "The 'Cui Bono' of Knowledge", by Literaphilus.
writing, and arithmetic. The N.S.W. authorities the broader model provided by the Victorian Board of Education.

In February, 1867, the Council of Education issued Regulation 62 which laid down a course of secular instruction for all schools under its jurisdiction. This course was intended "(1) to define the subjects that ought, of necessity, to be included in a scheme of primary education for the Colony; and (2) to regulate the teaching, with a view to secure corresponding proficiency in all the branches taught". The curriculum which had developed in the National schools was now applied to the denominational schools. The result was that history disappeared from these schools, the scope of basic instruction in the Catholic schools was widened and the higher branches in the upper primary school were more thoroughly organized.

In 1st Class the subjects were reading, writing, arithmetic, object lessons, and singing. In 2nd Class they were reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, object lessons, singing, and drawing. In 3rd Class they were the same, with the addition of scripture lessons. The 4th Class course was as for 3rd Class, with the addition of geometry,

73 Report of the Council of Education on Public Schools for 1868, p.27.
and the 5th Class course added to these algebra and Latin.\textsuperscript{75} The 1868 Report of the Council drew attention to the enhanced provision for higher education in the public primary schools. It was recognized that children usually left school at an early age; but in some localities, "where the population is able to supply a class of persons whose necessities do not compel them to remove their children till they have attained an age beyond the average", school classes could be formed to provide "the elements of classical and mathematical learning". The ultimate establishment of "superior schools" was envisaged.\textsuperscript{76}

Only textbooks supplied or sanctioned by the Council could be used.\textsuperscript{77} These were the textbooks of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland or Constable's series, published by T. Laurie of Edinburgh. Some elementary reading books known as \textbf{Australian Class Books} were also approved.\textsuperscript{78}

There was no major alteration in the primary school curriculum between 1867 and 1880. In March 1867 standards of proficiency were established for each subject, and for each

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item J.L.C., 1867-8, Pt. I, p.617.
\item p.27.
\item Regulation 15.
\item Progress Report of the Council of Education to 31 August, 1867, p.6.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
quarter of each class. In March 1869 the February 1867 regulations of the Council of Education were revised, but the only change in the course of instruction was the statement that denominational schools need not use the scripture lessons published by the Board of National Education in Ireland.

Several of the elementary school subjects deserve individual comment. The inspectors frequently found that object lessons were badly taught. For instance, in 1875 the Grafton Inspector stated:

In the hands of inexperienced and careless teachers such lessons are productive of little good. Some popular text book is procured, a lesson is culled from it, perhaps on some strange animal, and children who are probably unable to point out differences between cattle and horses receive a lecture on the "qualities" and "peculiarities" of this unknown creature. I have invariably advised teachers to begin at home when selecting object lessons.

Main faults were failure to treat local, familiar objects and the lack of illustrative models, diagrams, or objects.

79 J.L.C., 1867-8, p.643.
80-81 J.L.C., 1868-9, vol.16, p.383. The revision of the regulations in November 1875 touched on the curriculum only incidentally; the component parts of a few subjects (e.g. object lessons) were given greater definition, and there were some slight changes in the prescribed textbooks. (V.P., N.S.W.I.A., 1875-6, vol.5, pp.156-7.)
A tendency to factual cramming arose partly from the dependence of less able teachers on textbooks, and partly from the system of annual examination of pupils by inspectors. The textbook most favoured was *The Book of Object Lessons* by W.J. Lake (London, 1857). This supplied 45 lessons, divided into four groups - Mineral Kingdom, Vegetable Kingdom, Animal Kingdom, and Manufactures.

Teachers frequently neglected to teach singing and drawing, particularly the former. Both these subjects had till recently been considered more suitable for ladies of higher social class than for boys and girls in elementary schools.

Marching Drill or Military Drill was officially in use in all schools after 1867. It was regarded more as an aid to discipline rather than as physical education; and was justified in terms of faculty psychology as a means of encouraging "order, discipline, accuracy, and prompt attention". Inspectorial complaints that it was inadequately carried out were frequent. Drill, like singing and drawing, was a new subject in denominational schools and initially was

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82 This is apparent from the District Inspectors' Reports included in the annual Reports of the Council of Education.
In 1872 the Council required all teachers not trained in military drill to enrol for courses, in order to improve their instruction.  

Before 1867 "grammar" in elementary schools had been interpreted largely as parsing of words and syntax. Analysis of sentences was simple and rather neglected, particularly in denominational schools. After 1867 a more sophisticated system of analysis was fostered, based on a textbook, *The Analysis of Sentences*, by Dr. J.D. Morell, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. The psychological argument for the new grammar was that it provided a form of "mental training" previously not available to "English" (i.e. non-classical) schools. In social terms it was an attempt to raise English language studies to the status of the classical.  

Dr. Badham of Sydney University challenged the teaching of analysis in primary schools during a tour of inland cities.

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86 The formalization of analysis had made great progress in Germany, and Morell based his system on Becker, author of a German Grammar.
in 1869. He warned against "the fatal error of teaching a grammar founded upon logic", as proposed in England and imported into New South Wales.

I advise you not to adopt the plan of analysing sentences as propounded by Dr Morell. It has now, I am sorry to say, become so mixed up with what many call commercial education that teachers will have a difficulty in keeping it out of their schools ... Pupils are told to analyse, they are asked what is the subject and predicate ... Their heads get confused with such terms as co-ordinate ellipsis of subject and ellipsis of predicate.

Badham continued his campaign at Sydney University Commmemorations, through the annual reports of the public examiners (of which he was one), and in parliament, by means of an open letter to Mr. Dalley in 1876.

The educational administrators at first imagined that what Badham wanted was the grammatical study of the classical languages in the primary schools as an intellectual training. They argued that the teachers were not equipped to teach Latin and that his attacks on analysis would encourage parents and others wishing to restrict schooling to the basic

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90 1871 Commemoration address, in Speeches and Lectures by Professor Badham (1890), p.36.
91 Speeches and Lectures, p.90.
elements - "a little reading, less writing, and very little arithmetic". 92 It was urged that if Latin could be approached by a logical method of analysis, so could English.

But what Badham in fact advocated was greater stress on reading. The 1871 Examiners' Report commented on a "too exclusive attention to the technicalities of grammar, and the comparative neglect of sound English reading, accompanied by suitable explanations and exercised thereon". 93

No revision of the teaching of analysis occurred, despite Badham's efforts. In the 1875 Examiners' Report he expressed the belief that "this barren counterfeit of scientific grammar" existed mainly because the public schoolmasters, who would rather teach in a more rational method, were afraid to displease their inspectors. The examiners urged the Senate to draw the problem to the attention of the Council of Education; 94 and the desire to shake the administrators prompted Badham to support legislation for a Minister of Education, who would be able to consult whom he pleased and who would not be

92 Editorial, A.J.E., 2 August, 1869, p. 284; also ibid., 1 July, 1869, p. 244.
94 In Report of University of Sydney, V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1875-6, vol. 5, p. 258.
able to "remain deaf to all remonstrances and indifferent to all proposals of reform". 95

In the 1870's unsuccessful attempts were made to introduce history into the schools. History was one of the prescribed subjects in the University's Junior and Senior Public Examinations. In 1871 it was placed in a special section in the Senior Examination, so that Public school candidates would not be penalised, "when that branch of study could not be pursued in school, from the want of a textbook which would be accepted by all portions of the community". The examiners expressed the hope that the Council would soon introduce "so necessary a branch of English education", into the curriculum. "We believe that there is no real impediment to this measure arising from the difference of religious belief." 96

In 1872 Mr. Buchanan, a leading advocate of secular education, moved in the Legislative Assembly that history, particularly the history of England, should be introduced into the schools. His motion was shelved. 97 In the following year

95 Letter, Badham to the Premier, John Robertson, 1 March, 1876, in Speeches and Lectures, p.85.
96 University of Sydney Report for 1871, p.3. This reads a little strangely in view of the fact that the University itself did not teach history as a distinct subject until 1890.
97 The previous question motion was passed, 7/11/1872. V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1872-3, p.11.
he moved a similar motion which was amended on the initiative of Parkes into a request for a report from the Council of Education. This return, presented in March 1874, pointed out that the reading books used in the schools included some historical lessons and went on to remark that if history were to be of any benefit it must go beyond a mere list of reigns or of events. "An instructor is required. The connection of cause and consequence has to be pointed out. How can this be effectively done with mere children, with boys or girls, of the average degree of intellect, aged ten or twelve?" In view of the early age at which children left school and the pressure of other subjects "of greater primary importance", the Council believed it inexpedient to expand the amount of history teaching.

Buchanan returned to the question in February 1876, but his motion was defeated by 22 votes to 7. It was not till

100 Attached to this statement was an abstract of reports by the Council's Secretary, Senior Examiner, and Inspectors. This put greater emphasis on the political and religious controversy involved in English history. One suggestion was that history could be taught if the course ended at the close of the 15th century. The lack of textbooks which would be self-explanatory was mentioned.
101 1 February, 1876, in *V.P., N.S.W.L.A.*, 1875-6, vol.I, p.119.
1883 that the teaching of history commenced in N.S.W. primary schools.

Thus the elementary curriculum under the Council of Education consisted predominantly of "useful" subjects calculated to meet the interests of children growing up in a commercial society - reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, object lessons, and drawing. Singing and perhaps drawing made up the slender representation of cultural subjects. Humanistic studies, such as English literature and history, were neglected. Nevertheless, by comparison with the much more restricted course of studies in English elementary schools this was a liberal curriculum. Moreover in the upper grades a few of the classical academic subjects - geometry, algebra, Latin - were provided. But the vast majority of pupils never reached these grades.

(h) Teaching Methods

The quality and technique of education in elementary schools under the Council of Education, were influenced by such factors as: the system of inspection and examination; the training and ability of the teachers; the subjects of the curriculum and the textbooks used; the quality of the children, their discipline, and regularity in attendance; the methods of grading children into classes (i.e. the organization of the school). In this section these factors will be discussed in
turn (except the curriculum and textbooks which have already been considered) and this will be followed by an analysis of teaching methods.

The Council of Education laid great importance on the role of the inspectors in improving the technique of education. It attributed the poor quality of education in many denominational schools to the absence of a proper system of inspection.\textsuperscript{102}

Many men who, under a regular system of inspection, would have gained creditable positions as teachers and benefited the community by their labours, seemed to have lost the power to manage their schools or to bring their abilities to bear upon their work.

The Church of England schools in the Sydney district, where a system of inspection and regulation existed, found favourable mention,\textsuperscript{103} but the denominational schools in the Hunter River District were considered the worst schools in the colony.

The character of inspection may be judged from the report of the Inspector for the Goulburn District, Mr. W. McIntyre:

\begin{quote}
In every school inspected, careful inquiry is made as to the observance of the Council's regulations, the kind of books in use, the character of the
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{103} A writer in \textit{The Journal of Primary Education} attributed the improvement to the appointment of the Dean of Sydney as General Supervisor (May 1872, p.308).
documents on the walls of the schoolroom, the suitability of the timetables and occupations of the scholars, and if the school records are correctly and neatly kept. The suitability of the site, the size, repair and cleanliness of the schoolroom, the condition and suitableness of the teacher's residence, the extent of the playgrounds, condition of fencing, out-offices, sheds for protection from sun and rain, flower-borders and master's garden, are noted, together with the condition, quantity, and suitability of furniture, apparatus, and books, and classification of the pupils. As regards discipline, the punctuality of both teachers and pupils is noted, the regularity of the scholars as exhibited on the roll book, the cleanliness of the school premises, furniture, and apparatus, of the pupils in dress and person; with the order, moral tone, and government of the school, including the demeanour, manners, general conduct, and attention of the pupils under examination, and teacher's example as regards language, moral influence, and inculcation of truth, honesty, temperance, kindness, and politeness. In the next place come under consideration the individual attainments of the scholars, their time in class, the number promoted to higher classes during the year, the skill and usefulness of the teachers, and the efficiency of the local supervision. At the conclusion of the inspection of every school, if required, such suggestions are made to the teacher or School Board as are considered necessary to improve the schools and benefit the public; but before forming a final judgment on the state of the school, the teacher is allowed an opportunity of explaining the causes of defects in the management, and of stating any matters which may be considered of importance.

The aim was to inspect each school twice annually.\textsuperscript{104}

The general inspection of an ordinary Public or Denominational

\textsuperscript{104} Inspections were of four kinds: general (all embracing); regular (to test progress of pupils); ordinary (a visit to the school, but no testing); and incidental (casual visit when in the neighbourhood) - Report of Conference of Inspectors, in "Progress Report of the Council of Education to 31st August, 1867".
school occupied from five to eight hours, but schools with a large enrolment might take two or three, or even more, days.\textsuperscript{105} Some of the testing carried out by inspectors was oral - reading, grammar, arithmetic (in part), geography, vocal music, scripture lessons, and geometry. Other testing was written - arithmetic (in part), penmanship, object lessons, drawing, algebra and Latin.\textsuperscript{106} A brief report on every school in each inspectorial district was printed in the annual report of the Council of Education and, thus becoming public information, might in rural areas be commented on in the local newspaper.

By 1879 the number of inspectorial districts had increased to 13, under the supervision of 14 inspectors.\textsuperscript{107}

In certain respects the system of inspectorial examination of pupils had a deleterious influence on teaching. The status (and in part the remuneration) of teachers depended on the inspector's verdict; so did the possibility of transfer. Admittedly the impact of inspection-cum-examination was not as severe as under the "payments by results" system which prevailed in most of the other colonies and in England.\textsuperscript{108}

Nevertheless, teaching was often distorted; reading and arithmetic suffered.

A number of teachers, especially those who have no assistants, say it is impossible for them to keep every class well up to the standard in all the subjects ... They who feel this, and know that their income and professional reputation depend upon the nature of the report they get, are likely to give their greatest attention to the subjects which, with an equal amount of labour, count most at an examination.109

The inspectors were required to give an equal value (a maximum of ten marks) to each subject. Reading, however, was divided into four parts (reading proper, spelling, meanings or vocabulary, and knowledge of subject, or comprehension) and arithmetic into three (notation, slatework, mental operations); these heavy subjects were sometimes neglected. The remedy, according to Inspector Maynard, was simple. A higher value should be given to those subjects which it was considered should be well taught.110

The teaching body was composed of three main groups - teachers, assistant teachers, and pupil-teachers. Monitors were no longer an official part of the teaching force. At the close of 1867 the Council employed 659 principal teachers

110 Ibid.
or heads of departments (68% of the total), 155 assistant teachers (16%), and 157 pupil teachers (16%). The ratio of males to females was 2 to 1. As schools spread throughout the colony reliance on pupil-teachers became greater. In 1879 the Council employed 1,204 principal teachers (59%); 329 assistant teachers (16%); 481 pupil teachers (24%); and 24 work mistresses (1%). The percentage of female teachers had risen from 35% in 1867 to 44%.

As in earlier years, the number of Presbyterians and Methodists entering the teaching service appears to have been unduly high compared to the proportion of these denominations in the community at large. In 1867 38% of the 112 applicants admitted to the training school belonged to the Church of England, 27% were Roman Catholic, 10% Presbyterians, and 15% Wesleyan. Similarly, in 1868 Wesleyans and Presbyterians each made up 13% of applicants for admission. Teachers in Certified Denominational schools belonged to the

111 Report of the Council, 1867, p.7; N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1867, p.17 (629 males; 342 females).
113 N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1879 - 1,115 males, 889 females (total 2,014).
same religion as the school. Since there were few Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools, and since these groups were well-educated, it is natural to find large numbers in the public schools.\textsuperscript{116}

In 1872 the period of training was extended to six months, because of the lack of fully qualified teachers for the more important schools.\textsuperscript{117} The trainees were now divided into two classes, those in the upper group taking additional work in English literature, Euclid, algebra, and elementary Latin to fit them to teach the more advanced pupils. In 1875 a higher standard for admission to the training school was fixed, and the training period lengthened to 12 months. The course was widened, and as an experiment history was introduced in 1876.\textsuperscript{118}

The Council of Education continued to find difficulty in providing teachers for rural schools. Female teachers, in particular, were reluctant to leave Sydney and pleaded delicate health or employed political influence to prevent this. In 1871 the Council made a minimum of three years

\textsuperscript{116} In 1876 Dibbs called for a return of public school teachers according to religion to find out "what influence had been brought to bear by a certain sect", but this move was lost (\textit{S.M.H.}, 19/1/1876).


\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Ibid.}, 1875, p.7.
country service a condition for eligibility for appointment to the charge of a Sydney school. If the inhabitants would try to make a teacher's life happier", wrote a country inspector, "would provide suitable accommodation for him, and would pay the fees to which he is lawfully entitled, would send their children regularly to school ... many competent men, who will not now accept employment in Half-time Schools, might then be willing to do so."120

At the beginning of 1873 40 small rural schools lacked teachers. Accordingly, it was decided to seek candidates from rural areas, such persons being directed to suitable rural schools for instruction and training by the school master. These trainees were paid £4 a month while in training.121 This became the recognized system of training rural teachers for many years.

Regulation 42 of the 1867 Regulations dealt not only with the duties of teachers, but with those of their spouses.

It is the duty of the Teachers' wives to be present at the assembly and dismissal of the pupils, in order that they may take charge of the discipline

119 cf. The Journal of Primary Education, leaders on "Going to the Country", September 1871, p.33; October 1871, p.65. Compulsory country service was an old tradition, but had not been rigidly enforced by the National Board.


of the female children; and they are required to teach needlework to the girls during at least one hour every school day. In forming an estimate of the efficiency of schools, the competency and usefulness of Teachers' wives and the amount of time they devote to school duties will be taken into account.

The Council aimed to provide a residence for the teacher adjoining the school. But where this could not be done an allowance for rent was made. In Certified Denominational schools the provision of a residence or rent-equivalent was the responsibility of "the local promotor", i.e. the Local Board.\textsuperscript{122}

In 1867 the proportion of teachers to school-pupils was improved. A school with an average attendance (not enrolment, be it noted) of 50 was entitled to one teacher and one pupil-teacher (previously the figure had been 70); a school with 80 pupils had a teacher and two pupil-teachers; and one of 100 pupils was entitled to one teacher, one assistant and one pupil-teacher.\textsuperscript{123}

Pupil-teachers were subject to considerable strain and received little remuneration. As teachers they instructed a class under the surveillance of the principal teacher, often spending the whole day in a standing position. At the end of the school day they became pupils, receiving instruction from

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{122} Regulation 44.
\item \textsuperscript{123} Report of Council, 1867, p.7; cf. Regulations 49-51.
\end{itemize}
the principal teacher, which was considered as part payment for their services. They received a small annual salary, but did not share in the distribution of school fees. In effect, they were apprentice teachers. The pupil-teacher system, in the opinion of the Council, would "doubtless prove eminently successful in securing, in a comparatively inexpensive manner, teachers who will be the life of the educational organization of the colony".124

Pupil-teachers had to be not less than 13 and not more than 16 at the time of their appointment. Their minimum period of apprenticeship was four years, and at the end of each year they could rise a grade by means of an examination. Annual remuneration in 1868 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>£30</td>
<td>£18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>£36</td>
<td>£24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>£42</td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>£48</td>
<td>£36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They were eligible for admission to the training school after their apprenticeship had expired, to complete their professional training.

One of the criticisms made by headmasters of pupil-teachers was their lack of authority over the pupils, and their inability to gain respect. Yet such a situation was highly likely when young teachers instructed pupils who were almost their own age and who might well have been their playmates a

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few weeks before. Pupil-teachers, for their part, complained that headmasters helped undermine their authority by failing to accord them respect before the school-children, by failing to support their attempts to impose discipline, and even by publicly reprimanding them for errors of knowledge or technique inevitable among young teachers.¹²⁵

The pressure under which pupil-teachers worked prompted the Council to warn parents about to commit their children to a teaching career to consider "whether the health of these young persons may not be injured by introducing them to a pursuit for which they do not possess the requisite physical qualifications".¹²⁶

The pupil-teacher system was a vital factor in the improvement of elementary education in this period. By providing a cheap, plentiful, and trained group of instructors it made possibly the extension of schools throughout the colony, the regular subdivision of schools into classes, and a diminution in the size of each class. The pupil-teacher system, coupled with a system of written examinations, and the improvement of the training school course, represented a

heroic effort to extend the general education of teachers at a time when facilities for advanced education were limited.  

Thus after 1867 the old individual and monitorial systems of teaching had almost completely disappeared from state-supported elementary schools. The final collapse of the individual system was aided by the encouragement given to homework by the 1867 Inspectors' Conference. The introduction of homework, in turn, depended on improved family life and somewhat greater co-operation between parents and teachers.

In 1872 an inspector commented:

In former years "preparing lessons" was often noted on the time-table as a silent occupation for the pupils; but this was the most pernicious and nugatory employment to which children could be put ... With the exception of a few of the Provisional Schools, this practice has been abandoned, and the pupils prepare lessons at home, and when in school they are usefully and actively employed.

The abandonment of the individual system required not only the introduction of homework, but the proper grading of pupils so that class lessons could be easily given. The contrast between the two systems was pointed out by the inspector already quoted:

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127 On the other hand, The Journal of Primary Education (October 1871) noted a decline in the habit of study among teachers since 1867 and suggested that one reason was "Rule 39" of 1870 permitting promotion without examination (pp. 70-73).

By what is known as the individual system of teaching, each of thirty pupils could only receive an average of ten minutes special instruction from the teacher during a school day of five hours ... even to this day, the practice prevails in such private establishments as repudiate innovation, but it is unknown in Public Schools. Class teaching is now substituted for the old system of individual instruction, and the trained teacher instructs from ten to fifty pupils with more efficiency than one was taught in the olden time.

School discipline was a major problem in the 1860's and 1870's. As ever, the existence of a reasonable degree of order in the school-room (class-room was not always the applicable term) was a necessary pre-requisite for effective teaching. In the absence of regularity and order among the pupils, the Maitland District Inspector commented in 1868, good teaching was powerless, while with them, even indifferent methods of instruction produced some result. 129

The March 1867 Conference of Inspectors considered the question of rewards and punishments and decided, perhaps rather surprisingly, that the giving of rewards should not be encouraged. Punishment should be inflicted for persistent inattention and for moral offences. For trivial breaches of discipline, reprimand or impositions were suitable; for grave offences, caning. But the right to cane was limited to the

head teacher; and, to discourage injudicious action, it was to be inflicted after an interval from the time of the offence.\textsuperscript{130}

In general, discipline was a greater problem in the denominational schools. The Sydney District inspectors commented in 1868:

In Public Schools the order is fair, in Denominational Schools it is much less satisfactory. The ordinary characteristics of a disorderly school are whispering and talking during the lessons, shuffling of feet, rattling of slates, a boisterous demeanour on the part of the pupils, inattention under instruction, and an indisposition to anything like mental exertion. The maintenance of order is the first care of every teacher worthy of the name, as on it mainly depends the successful working of the school.\textsuperscript{131}

Inspectorial reports suggest that discipline was somewhat better in Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools than in Anglican or Catholic.

Discipline, in its turn, depended on other factors. The irregular attendance of many pupils made planned teaching more difficult. The large size of classes and their simultaneous instruction in one large room or hall made discipline more difficult. Ineffective teaching techniques led to problems

\textsuperscript{131} Report, 1868, p.175.
of class control, while bad ventilation and unhealthy class-rooms were other sources of disciplinary trouble.

Discipline appears to have improved during the 1870's. In 1879 almost all the District Inspectors reported that discipline was very fair. The Grafton Inspector qualified this only as regards regularity of attendance. At Yass the discipline was considered lax in many schools; at Braidwood, too, comments were adverse. On the other hand, the Maitland Inspector stated: "The disciplinary condition of the schools is their best feature, and may be regarded as very fairly satisfactory."

Irregularity of attendance was a matter of frequent complaint. Parental co-operation was lacking. In 1868 the District Inspector for Cumberland urged teachers to exercise "prudence and consistent firmness" in order to overcome "the indifference of parents, their carelessness in the all-important matter of sending their children regularly and punctually to school, and their unreasonable exactions upon their children's time". He found that in his district the attendance of the total pupils enrolled was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Schools</td>
<td>69.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of E. Schools</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C. Schools</td>
<td>66.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Schools</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan Schools</td>
<td>70.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Once again, Catholic schools rated low, and those of the dissenting Protestants high. This was probably a reflection of both the social status of the pupils and the relative efficiency of the teaching.

Where the number of free scholars was greatest, attendance was generally the worst. In agricultural and mining districts attendance was often poorer than elsewhere. A system of regular irregularity among children of free selectors was noted; in certain seasons children were regularly absent.\(^{133}\) "Neither in towns, townships, nor the bush will a vast number, whom it is desirable to civilize, be ever seen regularly, if at all, in school," (a rural inspector wrote) "while it is left entirely to the parents to decide whether they shall attend or not".\(^{134}\)

In 1868 the daily average attendance of enrolled pupils was 66.0\% for Public Schools and 64.8\% for Certified Denominational schools. In Sydney the position was better, in agricultural districts worse.\(^ {135}\) By 1879 the regularity of attendance had increased only slightly – the average attendance was then 65.2\% of the quarterly enrolment. In

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\(^ {135}\) 1868 Report, pp.30-31.
other words, pupils on the average attended only 152 out of the total of 230 school days.\textsuperscript{136}

The teacher was in a difficult position. Part of his salary (the school fees) depended on attendance. Excessive pressure on his pupils, too firm a standard of discipline, could lead to their withdrawal from school. Parents had to be wooed; but on the other hand the inspector, examining the pupils for results, was critical of any falling off in attendance or discipline. Throughout the period the annual reports of the Council of Education contain insistent demands for compulsory education.

Secular instruction occupied four hours daily. Schools commenced work at 9 or 9.30 a.m. and ended at 3 p.m. or 4 p.m., the lunch break being of one, one and a half, or two hours. There was a recess of ten minutes in mid-morning.\textsuperscript{137} Denominational lessons by visiting pastors or religious teachers could be given daily for up to one hour, though if no religious instructor attended (as was frequently the case) this hour was used for ordinary instruction.\textsuperscript{138} Vacations consisted of a fortnight at Christmas, a week at Easter, and a week at mid-winter. There were four special holidays:


\textsuperscript{137} Public Schools Act of 1866, Section 19; Regulation No.63.

\textsuperscript{138} Regulation 72.
Anniversary of the Colony, Good Friday, Queen's Birthday, and Christmas Day.\textsuperscript{139} This was considerably more liberal than the hours and holidays under the 1853 Regulations.

The school organization was in five classes, each class being divided into four quarters. For each of these quarters specified standards in the various subjects was laid down, and promotion from one quarter to the next was permitted when the child's work was considered adequate. Children in the first quarter of First Class had to be five years old, and could not reach the first quarter of Second Class unless they were seven.\textsuperscript{140}

Proper classification of children was important for effective teaching and in the early years of the new system occupied much attention. The Conference of Inspectors of 25 March, 1867 drew up six principles of classification:

1. each pupil should have one classification for all subjects; 
2. as a rule there should be not more than three classes in a school conducted by one teacher; 
3. as far as possible, pupils in a class should be of similar attainments in reading, arithmetic, and grammar; 
4. pupils should change

\begin{thebibliography}{140}
\textsuperscript{139} Regulations 74 and 75. Good Friday and Christmas Day fell in vacations (\textit{J.L.C.}, 1867-8, Pt.I, p.620).
\end{thebibliography}
classes only at the beginning of a school quarter; (5) children should not be placed in classes for which they lacked attainments; (6) the representations of parents should not override the preceding principles.\(^{141}\)

Very often the three classes were subdivided in one-teacher schools, particularly in rural areas where lower attendance would make composite classes necessary. Inspectors sometimes complained that First Class contained too many subdivisions.\(^{142}\) Other complaints were that the children's classification was put too high, leading to their being given work which was too difficult; and that there were sometimes different classifications for each subject - a theoretically sound system, but impractical in the conditions of the time, leading to far too many classes for a teacher to handle.\(^{143}\)

Some teachers promoted children at irregular times. Classification was usually based on reading ability.\(^{144}\) Sometimes ambitious parents exercised undue pressure over classification. Their ability to do this was enhanced by the teacher's economic dependence on them and the limited role of external


\(^{143}\) Report of Council, 1867, p.48. An article in the S.M.H., 30/12/1869 ("Higher Schools") argued for this system.

\(^{144}\) Report, 1867, p.54.
examinations. Most of these matters are summed up in an inspector's report in 1867:

It requires no small amount of discernment and skill to classify a school of any extent properly; but once this is effected, an important step has been taken towards its future and progressive prosperity. The unnecessary multiplication of classes is objectionable in any case, but specially so when the teaching staff is limited to one or two teachers ... It is a foolish idea that the number of classes in a school is any evidence of its true character for efficiency. Another error, and not an unusual one, is the placing of children in classes beyond their capacity. This is sometimes done at the instigation of ignorant parents, who imagine that if their children have the name of being in a higher class, they must of necessity be making progress ... Reading has been made the basis of classification, and some teachers, by adhering too rigidly to the letter of this arrangement, have acted as if reading alone had to be taken into an account ...

An impropriety sometimes met with, as regards classification, is the detaining of pupils in classes when they are fit for promotion. This may suit the convenience of a lazy, indolent teacher who depends upon such means to bring up his classes, but it is a pure injustice to those so kept back.145

As the regular examination of pupils by the inspectors began to have effect problems of classification decreased, though as late as 1879 there were still complaints of undue subdivision of classes by inexperienced teachers, and

occasionally of too many pupils being kept in the lower classes.\textsuperscript{146}

Teaching techniques were slower to improve; those who have been teaching for some years frequently find it difficult to revise their methods.\textsuperscript{147} The Council encouraged reform in a variety of ways - greater provision of inspectorial assistance; aid to teachers wishing to buy manuals of teaching method, the extension of the training school course; an examination system for pupil-teachers and teachers; and the requirement that teachers should maintain Time-tables, Programmes of Lessons (to be given), and Lesson Registers (of lessons given).

The general comments of inspectors about teaching methods were similar to those which have been made in all periods of educational history:- an intelligent, persevering teacher can always work out his own methods; inexperienced teachers forget to question the class (fail to allow class participation, deliver lectures); recapitulation or revision is neglected (it is assumed that once a teacher has taught the children know it). Mr. Inspector Alexander L. Forbes, of the Cumberland District, put it thus in 1867:

\textsuperscript{146} 1879 Report of Council, pp.74-75 (Cumberland District).
\textsuperscript{147} Report, 1868, p.78.
I find no method of imparting instruction so generally efficacious as the common-sense method — that method which presents a lesson or subject clearly and fully in all its phases and bearings to an individual or class, and by close questioning out of the lesson given, ascertains to what extent the teaching has been profitable. Give me this method in the hands of a faithful, energetic, and fairly-educated teacher, and I have no doubt about finding good, effective teaching as the result. 148

In the same year the Sydney District inspectors stated that, as a general rule,

a determination to maintain order, a power to infuse energy and spirit into the teaching, a disposition to be dissatisfied with imperfect results, a distrust of the efficacy of any method not characterized by a searching examination of the pupils — are always promising signs in a teacher. Added to these qualifications, a teacher anxious to render his instruction thoroughly effective will do well to attach great importance to the frequent repetition of the lessons, and to require the pupils to reproduce the more important in writing. 149

"Too often", the Sydney inspectors said in the following year, "teachers neglect to prepare their lessons — an omission most commonly committed by those whose information is the least satisfactory. This want of preparation is usually accompanied by an absence of everything like a proper arrangement of lessons." 150

149 Ibid., p. 127.
By the 1870's improvement in the quality of teaching appears to have become widespread, both in the public schools proper and the Certified Denominational schools, though the latter were usually rated somewhat lower in inspectorial reports. The Goulburn Inspector's 1872 Report draws attention to improvements in material equipment which contributed in small and often unnoticed ways to the efficiency of teaching.

The desks are generally well made, of the proper height, firmly fixed, and judiciously arranged. There is generally a table for the teacher's use in each school, instead of the old rostrum which was supposed to promote so much laziness and neglect in the teaching profession.

The inter-relation of school-room architecture and teaching method is worth noting. The 1867 recommendation that desks should be arranged in parallel groups, lengthwise, and placed on graduated platforms suited the system of several classes in the one large room, each with its pupil-teacher, the children placed so that they could not move about excessively the head teacher out in front, able to supervise all classes and see all pupils. The older system with the teacher placed on a high rostrum was a product of the monitorial teaching of large masses of children.

Inspector McIntyre of Goulburn continues by remarking that most schools possessed clocks and bells - until recently

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In earlier years, they were frequently found to be too high.
the absence of these had made it difficult to maintain a lesson time-table and to assemble and dismiss children in an orderly way. Black-boards were also usual.

By its use, demonstration supplies the place of rote work, exercises of judgement supersede those of memory. A skilful teacher finds use for the black-board in almost every lesson he gives. If the lesson be reading, the pauses, rhetorical marks, and inflections of the voice are illustrated; if writing, the shapes and elements of the letters are shown; if arithmetic, processes are exhibited; if grammar, sentences are analysed; if geography, outlines of countries and courses of rivers are represented; if drawing, mathematics, natural philosophy, or natural history, then the diagrams which are indispensable for the illustration of these subjects are drawn.

The arrangement of the schoolroom did not yet permit children to move about easily, come out to the blackboard, recite or dramatize in front of the class. But the principle of child-activity, giving all pupils some useful employment, was making headway. A proper arrangement of the time-table could lend variety to pupil activities; the use of drill in the playground could supply the organized physical movement not possible inside the school.

Inspector McIntyre also commended the use of school records, which could reveal the background, educational and personal, of every pupil or ex-pupil.

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152 This was not the only reason for absence of planned movement. Educational theories did not yet allow for the need for varied pupil activity.

(i) Limited Success of Agricultural and Technical Schools

During the late 1860's and 1870's some attempt was made to develop specialised agricultural and technical schools, but with little success. Between 1870 and 1880 the rural population of N.S.W. increased from 364,000 to 522,000. The rate of growth was less than in metropolitan areas, but nevertheless the absolute numbers were sufficient to suggest the possibility of special rural schools.¹⁵⁴ Agricultural schools were advocated by the *Australian Journal of Education* in 1868. "If we keep in view simply the welfare of the great multitude of free selectors and their children who bid fair to become the most numerous class in the community, we still see reason to regard the instruction in agricultural science which such schools are capable of affording not so much as a boon as a necessity".¹⁵⁵ At a time when the Council was extending its network of schools into rural areas and when there was still hope in the campaign for free selection, optimism about specialised rural education was common. "Half-time schools are much like Industrial Schools" (the Goulburn District Inspector remarked in 1868); "the pupils attend to rural

¹⁵⁴ In 1861 and 1871 the metropolitan population made up 27% of the total, in 1881 29%. cf. T.A. Coghlan, *The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1886-87*, (1887), pp.139, 142.

¹⁵⁵ *A.J.E.*, 1 February, 1868, p.33.
industries at home, under the direction of their parents, for half of their time, and they receive school instruction from the teacher during their other half".  

But free selection failed, and no system of specialised agricultural training emerged.

The development of technical education was also slow, due in large measure to the slow growth of secondary industry. Technical education in N.S.W. had its beginning in 1865, when Mr. Normal Selfe established and instructed a class in mechanical drawing at the Mechanics' School of Arts, Pitt Street, Sydney. Classes in mineralogy and geology were added in 1869, a School of Design in 1870, and a chemistry class in 1871. In 1873 a Working Men's College was organized, and incorporated in the Mechanics' School of Arts. At the elementary school level object lessons were sometimes recommended as laying a good foundation for future technical instruction.

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157 E. Dowling, a Congregationalist, moved the motion for this. cf. letter, S.M.H., 21/6/1872.
158 Again, Dowling took the initiative (S.M.H., 31/10/1874). The Sydney Technical College (Sydney, 1888), published by the Board of Technical Education of N.S.W., p.13.
But by and large, widespread parental interest was in the minimum schooling, if any, for their children, and in a utilitarian curriculum. For the commercial life of Sydney the practical courses in the elementary schools were adequate. There was little incentive to seek advanced or specialised vocational training such as agricultural or technical schools would have provided.

(j) A Record of Educational Improvement

Under the Public Schools Act of 1866 a general improvement in the quantity and quality of elementary education was effected. Between 1867 and 1879 the number of schools doubled — from 642 to 1,268. Public schools increased from 288 to 684, Provisional from 31 to 317, and Half-time from six to 107. Denominational schools fell from 317 to 160. In the same period pupils increased from 64,740 to 134,624, and teachers from 971 to 2,038. In the same period, 1867 to 1879, government expenditure on elementary schools rose from £86,800 to £351,800; voluntary contribution increased also, but only from £30,700 to £56,800. Pupils enrolled numbered 50,000 in 1867 and 134,600 in 1879.

161 i.e. excluding orphan and industrial schools, Sydney Grammar School, and the University.
In 1867 government expenditure on education represented 3.9% of total public expenditure; in 1879 6.1%.\footnote{162}

It was in the previously neglected rural areas that improvement in education was most noticeable. By 1871 the Registrar General was able to state\footnote{163} that country districts, previously "lamentably deficient" in education, had improved at a "remarkable rate" since the 1866 Act.

Education was very generally interpreted as the ability to read and write. By 1871 43.3% of children between the ages of five and 15 could read and write; 65.6% of children living in urban areas could do so. In Sydney the proportion of literate children between five and 15 was 66.9%. Nevertheless, it is apparent that rural areas were still backward.

In rural areas particularly, improvement in schooling often waited on improvement in communications. Country pupils attending day schools had to walk, unless they had a horse. Regular attendance was hampered by "bad roads, quite apart from the lack of paddocks alongside the school in which horses might be left."\footnote{164}

\footnote{162} Figures from Statistical Register of N.S.W., relevant years.
SCHOOLS UNDER THE COUNCIL OF EDUCATION,
1877 - TAKEN FROM THE REPORT OF THE
COUNCIL OF EDUCATION FOR 1877
Between 1867 and 1880 the railway mileage in N.S.W. grew from 204 to 850. This had its impact on schooling. When in 1878 the railway line reached Tamworth, numbers in the Catholic schools there almost doubled. A map of the distribution of public schools in N.S.W. (see reproduction) reveals the tendency for schools to be distributed along railway lines and rivers.

(k) The Educational Tradition in the 1870's

The main developments in the educational tradition of N.S.W., as it effected elementary education between 1867 and 1879 were a growing disposition to increase the responsibility of the state for schooling, the emergence of an efficient and centralized system of state schools, and the decline of Church and other voluntary effort in education. There was a heightened ability and willingness to spend state monies on schooling. The democratic spirit in education continued to

165 Statistical Register for 1867; Coghlan, The Wealth and Progress of N.S.W., 1886-1887 (1887), p.376.
167 For map, see Report of the Council of Education for 1877. The distribution of schools may be a reflection of the fact that population often followed river courses, and railways the populated areas. But the process was reciprocal; where railways ran, so ran trade, settlement, and schooling.
grow, particularly in the sense that the public schools were increasingly providing equal opportunities of access to the "higher" subjects and the public examinations. The old equation of elementary education was being broken, at least as far as the public schools proper were concerned. 168

But the educationally deleterious effects of the colonial pioneering social environment were still felt - irregular schooling or complete disinterest in the desirability of education; the demand for a "practical" (i.e. vocationally useful) curriculum; an anxiety to involve children in earning a living, leading to early leaving; the desire of parents to free themselves during the day from children not able to work or look after themselves, leading to a large body of infants in the schools.

It was in rural areas particularly that apathy in regard to education was strong. In 1872 the inspector for the Braidwood District, referring especially to Half-time schools, enumerated in detail the adverse attitudes:

168 Because of the social associations of religion the Anglican and Catholic schools continued to cater, often, for lower class children. Public schools might be middle class, lower class or mixed. cf. Alexander Gordon, letter, S.M.H., 12/9/1870, stating that public schools which provided quality education "are good middle class schools, and are not available to ... the resources of the ordinary working population".
Some parents only desire a school that they may send their children to it when there is nothing else for them to do; some are simply indifferent about their children's education; to some punctuality and methodical life of any kind are so distressing that the daily routine of preparing children for school, and despatching them at fixed hours, becomes an insupportable affliction, and is abandoned; some decline to pay fees, and are too proud to allow their children to go free; some expect to obtain an education for nothing, and withdraw their children if they cannot by the sale of milk or butter clear a small dividend out of the teacher besides; but all baneful influences combined are as nothing when compared with the mischief produced by local animosities ... Between members of three or four families living in a group, and cut off from the rest of the world, there is frequently a blind, relentless enmity, that will give nothing and take nothing, and that make united action of any kind an impossibility.  

The withdrawal of a single family from a school could reduce the average attendance below the permitted minimum, and there were occasions when this was done in order to injure a neighbour.

Irregular attendance continued to be a characteristic feature. In 1867 the average attendance in Sydney schools under the Council of Education was only 67% of enrolment. By 1879 no improvement could be seen, attendance being then 64% of enrolment.  

Evidence of the high proportion of the very young in the public schools is found, in scattered form, in the reports of

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inspectors and of the Council of Education. In 1867 37% of pupils enrolled in the Public schools in the Sydney district were infants (below the age of seven), and in the Certified Denominational schools 46% were. In October 1877 children below the age of five (4,917 in number) made up the high proportion of 7.3% of the total enrolment in schools under the Council.

The limited concern with advanced instruction is illustrated by the low enrolments in the senior classes. This was particularly the case in the denominational schools, many of which prior to 1867 had a tradition of catering for children of the labouring classes. In 1867 19% of pupils in Sydney Public schools were 12 years of age or above, but only 12% in denominational schools. Only in the Fourth, and especially the Fifth, classes did instruction proceed beyond the rudiments. In 1879 no denominational school in Sydney had a Fifth Class, and only about a third had Fourth Classes.

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171 Report of the Council of Education for 1867, pp.135-136. In Roman Catholic schools the proportion of infants was 47%; in Presbyterian 48%.
advanced education was not very great. In October 1877 pupils aged 13 or more made up 7.3% of the total enrolment in all Council of Education schools. 175

The tradition of a "fair average quality" standard had emerged in N.S.W. education, causing Anthony Trollope to remark in 1873 that in the colonies "the mass of the population is better educated" than in England, while "they who are foremost, - in education, rank, and society, are less highly educated". 176

(1) The Constituents of Change

Certain material pressures were at work during the 1870's and helped encourage the movement for educational reform. The purpose of the following pages is to examine some material factors making for compulsory education and the changes associated with compulsory education.

A major consideration behind the reforms of 1866-67 had been a desire to economise by amalgamating the two Boards and by eliminating competing or inefficient schools. In the initial year of the Public Schools Act the establishment of new industrial schools, rural schools, and inspectorial districts not unnaturally led to increased expenditure on

176 Australia and New Zealand (1873), vol.II, p.255.
elementary education, which rose from £97,100 in 1866 to £119,500 in 1867. In 1868 expenditure fell to £108,800, and in the next three years remained fairly steady, averaging £131,200. But government revenue was slowly rising, so that the extension of education was achieved without any significant rise in the financial burden of education. In 1864 expenditure on elementary schooling was 4.9% of revenue. In 1866 it was 3.7% and in the following years 3.0%, 4.6%, 2.7%, 3.5%, 5.2%, 3.1%, and in 1872 4.1%. Related to the number of pupils the picture was even more favourable to the economisers; in 1866 £1.14s.7d. was spent per pupil, in 1867 £1.14s.8d., in 1871 £1.7s.1d., and in 1872 £1.7s.11d.

During the 1870’s the need for economy as a motive for educational reform declined. The years from 1872 to 1877 were boom ones; 1878-9 saw a recession, but this was not a major problem for the government, because the surplus land revenue (not touched until 1879) covered a temporary falling off of revenue. The land revenue came from the sale or lease of Crown land, which reached particularly high levels in 1875-78 (£2 to £3 million a year).}

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177 £126,600 in 1869, £134,100 in 1870, £133,000 in 1871. These figures include all schools other than Sydney Grammar School and the University. All figures from the N.S.W. Statistical Register.

178 Loans are included in revenue.

179 Coghlan, The Wealth and Progress of N.S.W., 1886-1887, p.383. In 1873, to take an example, £845,000 came from sales
The funds of the Council of Education came mainly from the annual parliamentary vote, though the Church and Schools Estates contributed a small amount which was divided equally between the Certified Denominational schools and the Public schools. In 1870, for example, public funds supplied £111,300 of the Council's expenditure and the Church and Schools Estate £713. School fees, devoted to augmenting teachers' salaries, brought in £39,583. In addition, land worth more than £2,000 was donated by philanthropic individuals for school sites.\(^{180}\)

In 1870 buildings cost £6,000 from public monies and £3,855 from local contributions. As a rule, a contribution of one-third of the cost of new buildings was required from local residents.\(^{181}\)

In April 1875 the Legislative Assembly decided that the whole cost of erecting school buildings should be met from public funds. This was made possible by an overflowing Treasury. Hence the great increase in the number of new schools opened annually. In turn, this meant an increase in

and £293,000 from occupation. Borrowing from abroad was virtually suspended during 1872-9; but British funds poured into private enterprise, which flourished, indirectly helping government resources.


teachers and in expenditure on salaries. The latter item was raised further by increases in salaries in January 1876 and January 1878.\(^{182}\)

Thus in the 1870's educational development was provoked not by a desire to economize but by the ability to spend.

An important underlying pressure for educational reform came from the great increase in the birth-rate between 1865 and 1875. This resulted in a rise in the number of children of educable age during the operation of the 1866 Act. In 1861 the number of children between the ages of five and 15 was 77,000, or 22% of the total population; in 1871 129,000, or 26% of the population; and in 1881 187,000, or 24%.\(^{183}\) Between 1861 and 1881 children of school age increased by 143%, necessitating steadily increasing expansion of the educational system, in which the state took the lead.

Towards 1880 this "population bulge" started to reach the labour market. We may take the age group of 15 to 20 years as representing the new entrants onto the labour market. In

\(^{182}\) Report of Council of Education 1875 (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1875-6, vol.5, p.8); Report, 1877 (ibid., 1877-8, vol.2, p.455). In 1875 expenditure increased by £40,600, in 1876 by another £109,500, fell by £20,100 in 1877, and rose by £101,200 in 1878.

\(^{183}\) 1861 census figures from J.L.C., 1862, vol.9; 1871 figures from J.L.C., 1872, vol.21, pp.1052-3; 1881 figures from Coghlan, op.cit., p.146. The 1881 census is somewhat unreliable due to the destruction in a fire of many of the records.
1861 the number in this age group was 45,000, in 1871
43,000 and in 1881 76,000. In a land where shortage of
labour was traditional the introduction of compulsory
education now became more feasible.

Other developments paving the way for compulsory
education have already been mentioned. The improvement in
communications in the 1880's - more railways, more roads in
the countryside, horse-drawn omnibuses, ferries and the
railway in Sydney - made it easier for children to attend
school. Another factor, though an educational rather
than material one, was the growing conviction, fostered in
the inspectors' annual reports, that only compulsory
attendance could solve the problem of irregular or over­
brief schooling. In the 1870's a developing moral and
philanthropic spirit saw compulsory education as contributing
to the solution of problems of juvenile delinquency and crime.
The investigations of the Public Charities Commission in
1873 drew attention to the need for reform.184

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The Commission commented on the affairs of the Sydney
Infirmary, the industrial schools, the reformatory for
girls, the reform ship "Vernon", the Protestant and Catholic
orphan schools, the Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children,
the Hyde Park Asylum, the Benevolent Asylum, the Liverpool
Asylum, the Parramatta Asylum for Infirm and Destitute
Males, and the Institution for Deaf, Dumb, and Blind. Cf.
the reports of September 1873 and May 1874, V.P., N.S.W.L.A.,
1873-4, vol.6, with Minutes of Evidence. The revelations
at these hearings produced a number of institutions for
social reform, e.g. the Sydney Infants' Home (1873) the
Sydney Female Mission Home (1873), and the Catholic Female
Home and Registry Office (1877). Cf. Rev. S.W. Brooks,
Charity and Philanthropy (1878), pp.10-25.
But despite the growth of material conditions and intellectual attitudes conducive to drastic educational reform, the recasting of the N.S.W. educational system had to await the development of an aroused public opinion, sufficiently strong to convince the politicians that the time was opportune to grapple with the controversial social and religious implications of educational reform.
entrance to the university since its foundation. The Senior and Junior Public Examinations established in 1867 provided for those not intending to proceed to the university. From 1871 the Civil Service Examination was a preliminary requirement for applicants for the Public Service. These examinations between private schools offering an elementary education and those providing an advanced one. They gave prestige to successful schools, the effectiveness of whose teaching could now be assessed publicly, and encouraged the elimination of less worthy private-venture schools. They set standards, influenced the curriculum, and had an impact on teaching methods. They provided an incentive to study and hence discipline. In this way the university's impact on the community was extending.

The pass lists of the Junior and Senior Public Examinations between 1867 and 1880 reveal a striking growth of grammar school education. At the first examination held, seven of the nine candidates successful in the Junior Examination and all six passing the Senior Examination came from Sydney Grammar School. The other schools represented

3 The relative importance of these examinations emerges from the following figures. In 1868 12 students passed the Matriculation, six the Senior, and three the Junior. In 1873 22 passed the Matriculation, 45 the Senior, 107 the Junior, 95 the Civil Service. In 1879 58 passed the Matriculation, 45 the Senior, and 103 the Junior (from Reports, University of Sydney).
were Mr. Bates' and Mr. Pendrill's. In 1868 of the ten successful candidates in the two examinations, seven came from Sydney Grammar, the other three from Mr. Savigny's School, Bathurst, Mr. Pendrill's School, Glebe, and Mr. Blackmore's School, Sydney.

In 1870 the influence of the public examinations was widened by the provision of examination centres outside Sydney, in the first instance at West Maitland, Goulburn, and Tenterfield. The analysis of successful students reveals new features. The corporate schools were now well represented - the King's School, Newington College, and Camden College presenting 19 out of the total of 36 successful candidates in both exams. For the first time two Public schools (Fort Street Model School and Goulburn P.S.) appear in the lists, though as yet candidates from these schools secured passes in English and mathematics, rather than the more elite subjects of Latin, Greek, or French. Two of the candidates were private students, a reminder that some families still relied on tutors to educate their children.

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In 1871 the Junior and Senior Public Examinations were opened to females. The list for this year includes 18 schools, five of them public schools. In terms of successful candidates, the four leading schools were Sydney Grammar School, Fort Street Public School, Goulburn Public School, and Newington College. The potency of the Public Examinations was revealed by a considerable increase in the number of candidates, 42 sitting for the Senior and 137 for the Junior. In addition to the establishment of rural examination centres and the admission of girls, two other developments enhanced the popularity of these examinations. The Civil Service Preliminary Examination was introduced, based on portion of the Junior Examination, and about 1870 university professors abandoned the habit of visiting the more important private schools to examine pupils.

The Civil Service Examination was of lesser importance. It was merely a qualifying examination and success in it did not guarantee entrance to the Public Service. After

7 The first girls' schools to successfully present candidates were Queen's College, Darlinghurst and Miss Flower's Ladies College (Report of Sydney University for 1871, p.9, in J.L.C., 1872, p.415).
9 In England the principle of a minimum standard of entry to the Civil Service, fixed by public written examination, was applied from 1859. After 1870 the principle of open competitive examination was very generally applied. Bourke, "Management and Control of the Public Service", in Spann,
1 November, 1871 all persons seeking a clerical position in the N.S.W. Public Service had to produce a certificate indicating that they had passed an examination in Section 1 of the Junior Public Examination. This Section consisted of reading, writing, grammar, and geography and history, all at an elementary level. Since history was not normally taught in Public schools, pupils attending these schools were handicapped. The Civil Service Examination was a more appropriate target for the lesser private schools. From 1876 the Civil Service Examination was separated from the Junior Public Examination. Arithmetic, English, history, geography, and dictation were required, though dictation was later dropped.

In 1873 213 candidates presented themselves for the Civil Service Examination, compared with 63 for the Senior Public Examination and 173 for the Junior. However, only 95 (45%) passed, compared with 71% in the Senior and 60% in the


In pursuance of an address of the L.C. of 17 February, 1871. cf. Report of the University of Sydney for 1871, p.61, in J.L.C., 1872, p.419.

For the development of recruitment by examination cf. Appendix A.

Report, University of Sydney, 1876, p.12.
Junior. In 1876 there were 153 candidates for the Civil Service Examination (of whom 59% passed), compared with 53 for the Senior and 362 for the Junior.

In 1870 the Senate of Sydney University had suggested that candidates for the position of articled clerk should be required to pass the Junior Public Examination. After 1878 the Supreme Court rules required clerks articled to solicitors to have passed Sydney University matriculation (or the equivalent examination of another university). This further stimulated the influence of the external examination system on the schools and gave added importance to advanced education.

The growing popularity of the Public Examinations both caused and resulted from a widening of the number of subjects covered by the examinations, until they coincided, more or less, with the number ordinarily offered in the major schools. In 1874 Sydney University eliminated Greek as a compulsory subject for the matriculation examination; in the following year the compulsory alternative of French or German was omitted, and a science subject (one of chemistry, physics, or geology) substituted. In 1878 several branches of science were added to the list of subjects in the Junior Public

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The examinations were also widened in appeal by elaborating the classification of results in 1878. Before then candidates in the Junior Public Examination were classed merely as pass or failure; they were now arranged in two classes, according to general proficiency, and a two-fold standard of pass (lower and higher) was introduced in each subject. In the Senior Examination passes in each subject were now to be in three grades, A, B, and C, and candidates were graded into three groups according to their general proficiency. In this way a distinction was made between those scholars who had attained merely a basic groundwork and those who were of advanced standard. Coupled with a reduction in the entry fees, the effect was to widen the appeal of the examinations.

In 1872 the headmaster of Newington House welcomed the contribution of the system of Public Examinations to the advancement of education, particularly in the colleges.

15 Barff, op. cit., p.93; University of Sydney By-Laws, passed by the Senate, 2 February, 1876 (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1875-6, vol.5, p.269); Calendar, Sydney University, 1878-79, pp.151, 162, 172.

16 University of Sydney, Report for 1877 (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1877-8, vol.2, p.422). In 1871 the number of candidates in the Junior Public Examination was 137, in 1877 303. The number of successful candidates in 1871 was 64 (from 18 schools) and in 1877 135 (from 42 schools). In the Senior Public Examination there were 42 candidates in 1871 (with 22 successful, from six schools) and 63 in 1877 (with 38 successful, from eight schools). Figures from Reports of Sydney University for various years.
In a young community it is not to be expected that every boy who attends even a first-class school will prosecute his studies with a view to a university degree. In nine cases out of ten the boy's habits, tastes, associations, and inclinations are antagonistic to the idea, whilst the parents, activated, perhaps, by the same influences, may have other and more cogent reasons ... In these circumstances the civil service and public examinations interpose a "happy mean" between the school and the University.\(^{17}\)

That public examinations brought defects was widely realized, and some effort was made to overcome or limit these. In the 1870's the public examiners (especially Badham), the headmasters, and the newspapers all chewed over the issue of cramming, rote learning, and prepared answers for these examinations, but it was generally believed that these evils were being minimized.

Some twenty years later a speaker at a meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science summed up the role of examinations at the end of a half-century of expansion.\(^{18}\) The advantage to the teacher was that examinations provided evidence of the value of his work by a series of challenges skilfully adapted to the comprehension of

\(^{17}\) "Annual Distribution of Prizes", S.M.H., 20/12/1872. Newington was the Wesleyan College. The headmaster (Dr. Howe) echoed the belief expressed in the 1872 Manual of Public Examinations that the examination papers were effectively discouraged cramming.

\(^{18}\) "Use and Abuse of Examinations", by Henry Belcher, Rector of the Boys' High School, Dunedin (in the Report, A.A.A.S., 1895, pp.843-856). This was at Brisbane.
the learner. "Public examination has become a power behind the teacher almost indispensable to his efficiency, and this is a potent factor in general education ... The main drawback is that the best part of a teacher's work escapes analysis." 19

Soon after the extension of the examination system it became manifest that the examination was becoming the controller and master of education. "Whoever examines controls ... For this loss of freedom a teacher should naturally get some quid pro quo ... Men discovered examinations to be a first-class substitute for the birch." 20

In estimating the decline of corporal punishment in the discipline of grammar schools, perhaps adequate allowance has not been made for the expulsive power of this new discipline. As every avenue to life in succession becomes barred by a gate watched by an examiner, so does the mechanical force of the examination mill increase; so also is the schoolmaster supplied with an increasing means of enforcing industry. Intellectual delights belong only to the few; but vanity, ambition, the desire to please, the desire to excel, the desire of independence, these and other motives play their part. 21

But examinations were not as pressing a matter for colonial boys as for English. The colonial boy who proceeded through a primary school and a grammar school to a university and graduation would in all probability pass through the mill

19 Ibid., p. 845.
20 Ibid., pp. 849-850.
21 Ibid., p. 850.
twelve or fifteen times. The English schoolboy was in a worse position; there were more scholarships, open competitions, and university boards lying in wait for him.

Up to this date the pressure of examinations has not been felt in the same degree in these colonies as is the case in the mother country. Grammar school education is not yet organised, while our universities are not wealthy enough to dangle tempting baits before ambitious noses. Examinations for fellowships, for the Indian and Imperial civil services, for the navy, for the army, weigh for little in our academical life. The clerical order which in Great Britain covers and controls a great deal of the examination ground, exerts in this hemisphere very slight influence. In all Australia I suppose there is no professional crammer or coach important enough to impress the imagination of the public ... Learning is very much its own reward, and ... no special pecuniary value attaches to academical prominence. 22

The two university Public Examinations helped to differentiate the various types of private schools in N.S.W. In 1876 66 schools were represented in the list of successful candidates. In the analysis of results the schools were grouped into six major categories. The first consisted of six grammar schools, including Sydney Grammar, which together presented 50 successful candidates for both examinations. Then came 19 Public schools controlled by the Council of Education, providing 90 successful candidates. Seven corporate boys' schools were listed next (Newington, King's, Lyndhurst, Camden, All Saints', St. Stanislaus', St. Patrick's), followed

22 Ibid., pp.855-6.
by half-a-dozen Church secondary schools. The private-venture schools followed, identified by the name of their owner-headmaster; 28 such schools contributed a mere 54 passes, less than two per school. It can be assumed that private-venture schools not mentioned in the examination lists were mainly infant or elementary schools.

We now proceed to examine the main categories of institutions providing what was called higher or advanced education in New South Wales.

(b) Sydney Grammar School

When Albert Bythesea Weigall, an Englishman teaching at the Scotch College in Melbourne, became headmaster of Sydney Grammar School in January 1867 at the age of 26 he found the school's affairs rather depressed. His predecessor, Stephens, had been forced to resign after an inquiry by the Trustees, and when he withdrew he took many pupils to his own school. Enrolments fell from 114 in 1866 to 57 in 1867. Nevertheless Sydney Grammar School, a state-supported

23 A conflict had developed between the headmaster and his staff, mainly over the former's inability or unwillingness to enforce discipline and his inefficient management.

24 N.S.W. Statistical Register. For other problems (e.g. intervention by the Governor and parliament) cf. M.W. MacCallum, In Memory of Albert Bythesea Weigall (1913), p.32.
institution, very quickly became the leading centre of secondary education in N.S.W.

In Weigall's first year a number of reforms were introduced, mostly ones unsuccessfully urged in the past. The headmaster was authorized by the Trustees to secure a "competent lecturer" to teach the elements of physical science. Three annual scholarships were established for boys under 14 whose parents could not afford the fees. These "foundation scholars", as they were called, were chosen by an examination in English language and history, geography, arithmetic, Latin grammar, Caesar's de Bello Gallico, Book I, and Euclid Book I. But frequently it was impossible to fill the places.

At the end of 1867 fees were lowered from £18 to £16 for the Upper school and to £12 for the Lower, the immediate effect being a rise in boys enrolled to 104 in 1868 and 196 in 1869. A steady increase occurred each year, until in 1875 the Trustees were forced to limit enrolments to 400 boys.26

A comparable increase in staff occurred. In 1867 the headmaster was assisted by one Mathematics Master, three Classical Masters, one Writing, one French, one German, one

26 Annual Reports, 1868 to 1875.
Drawing and a Janitor and Drill Sergeant - ten teachers in all. By 1879 there were 15 masters.27

Under Weigall's predecessor considerable confusion in the syllabus existed, and the textbooks in use changed frequently. After 1867, although the syllabus was altered occasionally as the school grew, it remained essentially the classical-modern compromise found in English middle class schools. Weigall assigned the first place to the classics, while he put mathematics immediately next.

In 1870 the Christmas vacation was reduced to five weeks - excessive holidays had been one of the earlier complaints.

Establishing discipline and school tone demanded some effort. Weigall's discipline was firm, so much so that after he had expelled some unruly boys a newspaper referred in its leading article to "the youthful headmaster of the Grammar School who is reverting to the disciplinary methods of convict days".28 There were also difficulties with the parents, "who were slow to recognise that the school code of discipline might differ from the family code, and in the school must take precedence".29

The tightening up was noted as early as 1868, when the Trustees commented on "the high state of discipline and efficiency which has characterized the school under Mr. Weigall's management". As the school grew it became necessary to codify and clarify the disciplinary regulations. The 1874 rules provided for daily detention at 12.30 for all boys who failed to prepare home-lessons. The daily detention at 4 p.m. was abolished, and replaced by a weekly detention from 9.30 to 11.30 on Saturday mornings (for misconduct or habitual idleness). A boy became liable for this detention if he received five bad marks for these offences in one week, or eight in two consecutive weeks. In 1877 the disciplinary regulations were considerably extended to include dismissal and caning.

But good discipline depends not only on penal measures but also on suitable incentives, such as examinations, material or non-material rewards, a teaching staff of ability and character, favourable family background,

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32 For instance Regulation 11 ran: "Any boy guilty of lying, cheating or deliberate impertinence to a Master will, upon conviction, render himself liable to dismissal if in the Upper School, and to a caning if in the Lower School."
OF the school, and the attractiveness of the curriculum. Weigall stressed personal influence more than punishment. "He had an almost overweening reliance", states MacCallum, "on the moral pressure which he himself and the 'genius loci' could exert."

Weigall's efforts at developing moral atmosphere and character faced more difficulties than encountered in English Public schools.

The first of these was the fact, not so much that it was a day school ... but that it was a day school in a large and straggling city. It was an entity for a few hours of class-work; then its constituents dissolved in space, returning to their several and often distant homes .... This affected even sport, the more especially as the playing-ground was unsuitable in the extreme and hardly to be dignified with the name of a yard.

Staffing problems also made Weigall's task harder. On one occasion four masters were absent at the same time owing to drunkenness. The salaries were considerably better than in Public schools, and might have been expected to attract more able men. In 1868 the highest salary paid to a Public school teacher, other than one in a Model school, was £150 per annum; the average emolument, excluding pupil-teachers and

33 MacCallum, _op.cit._, pp. 70-71. Phillips, a staff member from 1902, and subsequently headmaster, states: "Weigall had the rare faculty of combining sternness with genuine tenderness" (_op.cit._, p. 8).
34 MacCallum, _op.cit._, p. 47.
35 Ibid., p. 43.
teachers of Provisional schools, was £118, made up of £74 salary, £44 from fees. In addition, most teachers were provided with a residence. In the same year the headmaster of Sydney Grammar School received a salary of £500 plus £304 from fees and a residence, the Mathematics Master £400 plus £199 from fees, plus a residence, the Assistant Classical Master £300 plus a £12 allowance plus £199 fees, and a residence, the Second Classical Master £254 plus £12 allowance and £59 fees, the Writing Master £143 plus £2 allowance, and the Janitor and Drill Sergeant £100 plus £12 allowance and a residence.


Report of Sydney Grammar School, 1868 (in J.L.C., 1869, vol.17, Pt.I, p.441). Following the increase in the salaries of public school teachers in 1878 those of the Grammar School masters were raised (Report of S.G.S., 1879, in V.P., N.S.W.L.A. 1880-81, vol.2, p.313). It may be of interest to compare Weigall's salary with those of other colonial figures. In 1870 his total emolument was £1,043, together with a residence. In the same year the Governor received £7,000 and a residence; the Chief Justice £2,600; the Colonial Secretary £2,000; the Bishop of Sydney the same (but the Bishop of Newcastle only £500). Professor Badham of Sydney University received £1,165 (£1,050 salary, £115 students' fees, no residence) and the Professor of Mathematics a total in salary and fees of £993 plus a house. Thus Weigall ranked close to a professor, and better than a provincial bishop (Blue Book of N.S.W., 1870, in J.L.C., 1871-2, vol.20).
The examination system acted as another source of pressure on both teachers and pupils, particularly in the late 1870's. Within the school promotion was made quarterly, according to the combined results of the weekly marks and the examination marks. In 1878 external examiners in classics and mathematics were obtained, as had been the case for a while prior to 1867. Some credit for the progress of the school after 1867 must go to the impact of the Junior and Senior Public Examinations, which acted both as motivation and as criteria of success. The annual reports of the Trustees pointed with pride to the record of Sydney Grammar School in the public examinations.

In 1872 the Governor of N.S.W., Sir Hercules Robinson, noted that enrolments had risen over the preceding six years from 44 to 270 pupils. He described the boys as "very fair examples of the higher and middle classes of society in this country" - the sons of professional men, and in some few instances, of tradesmen and mechanics. "And notwithstanding they are thus mixed, I rejoice to find that class distinctions are unknown in the school."

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41 At the annual distribution of prizes, 19 December, 1872 (in Speeches Delivered by His Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson, 1879, p.29).
(c) The Corporate Secondary Schools

In 1867 only a few corporate boys' schools existed in N.S.W. These schools were more stable than the numerous private-venture schools, larger, had a number of boarders as well as day-boys, and were often higher in public esteem. Their properties were vested directly or indirectly in a Church. The controllers of these schools claimed to model them on the English Public schools,\(^42\) though in fact they did not achieve the eminence of their contemporaries 13,000 miles away.

The King's School, Parramatta, reopened in July 1868, when the Rev. G.F. Macarthur had his school at Macquarie Fields recognized as the King's School until he transferred to Parramatta in the following year.\(^43\) The Catholic Dominican School at Lyndhurst, Glebe (St. Mary's College) had existed from 1852 when it had been established to provide a pathway for Catholics to the university.\(^44\) By 1867 the Methodist Newington College, Sydney, had been open for four years and the Congregationalist Camden College for three. This made up the sum of non-governmental corporate schools in N.S.W. at the time.


\(^{43}\) Johnstone, op.cit., p.149.

\(^{44}\) Fogarty, op.cit., p.313.
In the following 13 years almost all the new collegiate schools opened in N.S.W. were Catholic. St. Stanislaus' College, Bathurst (1867), St. Patrick's College, Goulburn (1874), and in Sydney St. Aloysius' College, Woolloomooloo (1879) and St. Ignatius' College, Riverview (1880) were the new Catholic establishments. All Saints' College, Bathurst, founded under Church of England auspices in 1874, was the only non-Catholic corporate boarding school established in this period.

How is this great expansion in Catholic secondary boarding schools to be explained? Partly it was a belated entrance into a sphere of education previously neglected by Catholics, partly a reaction against the growth of state secular education in all the colonies, represented in N.S.W. by Sydney Grammar School and grammar classes in Public schools. The absence of new Protestant foundations may be attributed to the fact that the smaller denominations - the Wesleyans and Congregationalists - had already established


46 This started from the Victorian educational reforms of 1872. In some cases the new system was in fact secular, in other cases it retained religious instruction, but was considered too secular by Catholics.
colleges in the early 1860's; to the fact that many of the colonial middle classes were content to support the grammar classes of the Public schools or the less ambitious independent grammar schools; and to the fact that many Protestants were willing to send their boys to the new Catholic colleges.

Religious divisions limited the reservoir of potential pupils for the major corporate schools. In 1871 Macarthur took the trouble to publicly deny that the recently reopened King's School was denominational, though he agreed that it must be a stronghold of the Church of England. The pupils were to learn "to rise above the bad examples they have set them by too many of their elders in this community, and to learn the importance and possibility of their living together in one society - despite their religious differences".47

Macarthur also stressed the social democracy of his school. There were some, he said, who attempted to dissuade him from leaving Macquarie Fields and going to the King's School, and who urged the importance of keeping his school "select".

Now, it is difficult in a community like this, which certainly has no pretensions "to an upper ten thousand", to discover where "the select" element, IN THEIR SENSE OF THE WORD, is to be found. It is quite possible, and not altogether improbable, that I might seek for it in strange places, and amongst persons who are not esteemed to be "in society".48

In 1868 there were 45 boarders, together with some day boys; of his 84 boarders at Macquarie Fields only 38 followed Macarthur to Parramatta. By late 1874 the boarders numbered 105.49

School fees were £3/3/- per term for day boys (£7 if they had a mid-day meal) and £15/10/- a term for boarders (plus £1/1/- laundry charges). There were four terms per year. These fees were much the same as those charged by similar institutions in other parts of Australia.

The school population at All Saints' College, Bathurst, was always relatively small. During the first headmaster's term of office, from 1874 to 1877, there were 43 town boys enrolled and 32 country boys. In social composition they were a mixture of middle and upper class, using the terms in their 19th century Australian context.

The majority of the boys attending the school in Mr. Kemmis' time were country lads, the sons of parents engaged in pastoral occupations, who looked forward to following the same careers as their fathers, while a few were preparing for a professional or commercial calling. It is always difficult to teach mature youths, whose education has been irregularly conducted in early years, and in 1876-7 there were a number of such boys of sixteen and seventeen attending the College. As a consequence the classical side received less attention than the study of more practical subjects, which might enable them better to fight their way in a life spent in rural pursuits.50

49 Johnstone, op.cit., pp.157, 175.
(d) **The Grammar Schools**

In 1867 the private schools of N.S.W. numbered 529. Included in this figure were the few corporate boys' schools, convent schools for girls and young ladies, quite a few good grammar schools run by private individuals, some of whom were clergymen, and a vast number of nondescript private-venture schools, many of them elementary or infant schools. From about 1873, however, the public examination lists make it possible to discriminate more accurately between private schools providing a grammar school curriculum and those which were largely elementary or infant schools.\(^{51}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Private Schools</th>
<th>Private Schools Mentioned in Examination Lists</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>1876</td>
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<td>1877</td>
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<td>1878</td>
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<td>1879</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Thus in the 1870's some 35 or so of the 540 private schools were providing effective grammar courses. Even within this

\(^{51}\) Before 1873 the Public Examinations were not very popular and provision for country candidates was inadequate. The following table excludes as far as possible Sydney Grammar School, Council of Education schools, and Queensland schools. Figures from Reports of Sydney University and Manuals of the Public Examinations.
small group we can discern an elite of less than a dozen, those which instructed at the advanced level necessary for success at the Senior Examination. In 1875 11 private schools had successful candidates in this exam, in 1876 nine, in 1877 10, and in 1878 nine again. Some of these were the major corporate schools, but private and Church grammar schools were also represented.52

Judging again from the examination lists, about a third of the grammar schools proper were boys' schools, another third were for girls, and the remainder were co-educational.

But many colonial parents of reasonable income still preferred to have their children educated at home, or else sent them to the Council of Education Public schools. Others sent them to Public schools in the early years, and then to a grammar school to be "finished off". In 1877 the principal of the Tamworth Grammar School complained that "an erroneous impression appears to prevail" that the object of grammar schools was merely to give instruction in the higher branches. He urged that "the great majority of boys meant to receive an

52 In 1877 the 10 private schools were: King's School, St. Stanislaus', St. Patrick's (Goulburn), Dr. Sly's School, Miss Flower's School, Mrs. Pillars' School, Lady Murray's Springfield College, Belmore College, Mr. Pentecost (Goulburn), and Rev. D. Boyd (Maitland). There were five Public schools (Fort Street, Kiama, West Maitland, Grafton, Adelong) and Sydney Grammar School.
education higher than that given in the Primary Schools" should also receive the rudiments of education in grammar schools.53

(e) The Remaining Private-Venture Schools

The vast majority of the private-venture schools were smaller than the grammar schools and much smaller than the corporate ones. They were mainly co-educational; in 1867 there were 67 boys' schools, 96 girls' schools, and 366 for both sexes. Many in the latter group would be elementary or infant schools.54 These 529 private schools were staffed by 794 teachers (260 male, 534 female). Making allowance for husband-and-wife establishments, and for the better staffed corporate and grammar schools, it is clear that the average private school was a one-teacher affair. Two hundred and twenty-five or 42% of these 529 private schools were in the metropolitan district, with another 20 at Parramatta. Outside the Sydney area the largest group of private schools was at Maitland. A total of 11,699 scholars claimed for these private schools, as against 50,041 in the denominational and public schools under the Council of Education.55

54 Advanced education for middle class boys generally differed from that for girls, and hence was usually given in separate schools. About 70% of the private schools were co-educational.
55 Figures from Statistical Register of N.S.W. for 1867.
figures in private-venture schools were not always reliable.\textsuperscript{56} In 1879 an investigator stated that "certain teachers attempt to magnify the importance of their schools by exaggerating the number of their pupils. Some have returned more pupils than could be stowed in their house. One teacher who so returned 96, had actually 37."\textsuperscript{57} Such deception was more likely in cities than in small country towns. This investigator found that in the city of Sydney in 1879 nearly one-third (4,998) of the children professedly at school were officially at private schools. He estimated the true figure at 4,500.

There was no government surveillance of the teaching, equipment, or accommodation and buildings of private-venture schools. Their supporters argued that the open play of competition ("free trade in education") was sufficient guarantee of their fitness. The schools, a correspondent of the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} pointed out, survived because they provided superior instruction or more select association, or both. If the keeper of a private school could make a living after hiring a room, purchasing furniture, apparatus, and

\textsuperscript{56} These figures were collected by the police.

books, and spending money on advertisements, then surely this was evidence of popular support.  

One test of the private schools did exist, the public examinations. The *Sydney Morning Herald* was content to assume that very probably "schools which do best at the public examinations do best elsewhere". But there were some who disagreed. The headmaster of the King's School claimed that the public examinations were not a good test of grammar schools and that a system of inspection by university professors was needed. Occasional suggestions of greater evils are found; in November 1877 a correspondent in the *Herald* complained of bad ventilation in private boarding schools, citing an example of 20 boys sleeping in the attic of a house. Some of the private-venture schools still adhered to the individual system of teaching.

In the 13 years following 1867 some interesting modifications occurred in the private school system. The number of private schools reached a peak in 1871 of 561; in

58 Letter, "Free Trade in All Things", by J.K. Heydon (editor of the Catholic *Freeman's Journal*), S.M.H., 18/1/1876.
59 Leader, 19/1/1876.
60 Letter, S.M.H., 28/1/1876.
1880 it was still 531. Private-venture schools were not increasing in proportion with the increase in children of school age. Between 1861 and 1881 the five to 15 years age group increased by 143%; the numbers at private schools by 102% (from 9,087 to 18,317). In 1867 19% of all pupils were in private schools, and in 1880 12%. These overall figures, however, conceal a great growth in corporate private schools, and a great decline in rural private-venture schools.

Between 1868 and 1879 the number of N.S.W. private schools increased from 496 to 538, and the number of pupils in them from 11,486 to 18,592. But in the metropolitan area these schools increased by 29.6% (from 196 to 254) and their enrolment by 100.8% (from 5,201 to 10,444); in rural areas private schools decreased in number (from 300 to 184), though enrolments increased from 6,225 to 8,148. In the countryside the extension of Council of Education schools led to a decline in the number of small private-venture schools. In both city and country the private schools were becoming fewer but larger - they had an average enrolment of 23 in 1868 and 35 in 1879. The growth of the public examination system hastened the disappearance of less effective private-venture schools.

63 In 1867 there were 11,191 pupils in private schools and 51,360 in schools under the Council of Education; in 1880 18,206 pupils in private schools and 150,592 under the Council. Figures exclude Sydney Grammar School. (From Statistical Register).
There was no great alteration in the proportion of boys' to girls' schools (58 to 99 in 1880). Girls had always outnumbered boys in private-venture schools (in 1867 6,566 girls to 5,133 boys). The number of boys increased by 2,188 between 1867 and 1880, and the number of girls by 4,319. The private-venture schools became more womanly institutions from about 1875 onwards, when the number of girls in private schools started to rise noticeably and the number of boys declined slightly.64 Moreover, the teachers were now overwhelmingly female. In 1867 the number of women teaching in private schools barely changed (260 in 1867, 267 in 1880). But the number of men teachers rose from 534 in 1867 to 726 in 1875 and 837 in 1880.65

The feminization of private education was not the result of demographic changes. In both 1861 and 1871 boys and girls between the ages of five and 15 were fairly equal in numbers.66 Possibly more middle class girls were being educated in schools rather than at home, as a result of the admission of girls to the two Public Examinations after 1871 and an increase in the number of convent schools for girls. Male teachers may have

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64 In 1879 there were 11,092 girls and 7,500 boys.
65 Figures from the Statistical Register for various years.
66 The 1861 Census (p.1) reveals 38,931 males and 38,450 females in this age-group; the 1871 Census (p.1) shows 64,965 males and 63,234 females. If anything, girls were increasing proportionately.
been attracted to the state-aided schools by improving conditions and salaries. (In state schools male teachers predominated.) No differentiation is revealed if we analyze private schools in urban and rural groupings. Female teachers and pupils were in a majority in both cases.

When the Dominican nuns were invited to Maitland from Ireland they were told that existing nuns' schools catered for the humbler classes, and that schools for upper class Catholics were needed, for these were going to Protestant schools. In fact, the new Convent schools did not cater

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67 In 1868 there were 690 male teachers and 324 female. The Annual Report of the Council of Education comments (p.13): "The number of female teachers having sole charge of schools is very small, and there appears to be a very general objection, on the part of parents, to their employment in any other capacity than that of assistants. The high approval of the labours of female teachers in the United States and in Canada, renders somewhat remarkable the undervaluing of their services in this Colony".


primarily for Catholic middle or upper class children, for these were few in number. They provided education for many Protestant girls, thus representing a source of revenue for the orders.

A few non-Church girls' schools of good repute also opened in the 1870's - notably Lady Murray's Springfield College in Sydney.

An important spur to an improved and more academic education for girls was the opening of the Junior and Senior Public Examinations to females in 1871, "following the practice of the British universities".70

(f) Education at Home: Tutors, Governesses, Parents

The family continued to be an important agent of formal education, though more so from the aspect of numbers than of quality. In 1868 the Reverend G.F. Macarthur pointed out that in middle class homes the mother usually educated the children, and in upper class homes tutors and governesses.

The real truth is, that the middle classes, as they are called, in this colony, are distinguished for the attention and care which they take in the HOME training and education of their children - the devoted, good mother amongst them, does for her own loved children that which "good society", in too many cases, thinks it right to leave to servants; and the consequences are exactly what one might expect.71

70 Report of the Senate, University of Sydney, for 1871, in J.L.C., 1872, vol.21, p.409.
71 Circular, Sydney Morning Herald, 1 August, 1868.
In 1861 8,025 children (2.3% of the population) were listed as receiving education at home, compared with 37,928 at school.\(^{72-74}\) In 1868 the Council of Education estimated that there were 51,200 pupils in its schools, 11,700 in private schools, and 8,000 being educated at home, and expressed the view that the number being educated at home was diminishing.\(^{75}\) The Council was wrong. The census of 1871 discovered 17,802 (3.3% of the population) educated at home. The extension of schools into rural areas should have diminished home education; but the growth of the middle and upper classes, and the great increase in the number of children starting about 1865,\(^{76}\) stimulated home education. If we relate the number educated at home to the number in public and private schools combined we find:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Educated at Home</th>
<th>Educated at School</th>
<th>Percentage of total Scholars Educated at Home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>8,025</td>
<td>37,928</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>17,802</td>
<td>75,076</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>19,792</td>
<td>135,093</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the relative importance of home education was greatest in 1871, though in absolute terms the number continued to increase in the following decade. The 1881 figures were affected, of course, by the introduction of compulsory education in the preceding year. If we examine the rate of

\(^{76}\) 1871 Census, in V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1872-3, vol.3. In 1881 19,792 or 2.6% of the total population was educated at home (Summary Tables, 1881 Census, in V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1882, vol.3, p.227).
growth in each sphere we find that between 1861 and 1871 the number educated at home increased by 121.9%, those educated in private schools by 50.8%, those in denominational schools by 46.1%, and those in national (public) schools by 234.0%. Between 1871 and 1881 the increase was: domestic education 11.2%, private schools 33.7%, certified denominational schools 39.7%, and public schools (including provisional, and half-time) 271.2%.

More girls were educated at home than boys. In 1871 9,559 girls were educated at home, compared with 8,243 boys. In 1861 18.3% of all girls being educated were receiving tuition at home, compared with 16.1% of all boys; in 1871 20.9% of all girls being educated received home tuition (17.5% of boys); in 1881 the figures were 14.1% of girls and 11.4% of boys. The tendency towards domestic education for girls was greatest in urban areas. For instance, in Sydney (town and suburbs) 1,583 boys were educated at home and 2,236 girls. This probably reflects the growth of urban middle class families.

As one moves into rural areas the proportion of scholars educated at home increases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cumberland</th>
<th>Remaining Counties</th>
<th>Pastoral Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male:</td>
<td>2,015</td>
<td>3,483</td>
<td>2,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female:</td>
<td>2,742</td>
<td>3,861</td>
<td>2,956</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

77-78 1871 Census, p.863.

79 1871 Census, in V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1872-3, vol.3, N.S.W. was divided into 20 counties and 13 pastoral districts. The figures under "remaining counties" include the 19 counties outside Cumberland and portions of five other counties which were partly in and partly out of pastoral districts.
In the County of Cumberland 16.8% of the total of scholars were being educated at home; in the other counties 19.3%; and in the pastoral districts 34.7%.

Whereas the proportion of scholars educated at home rose in the County of Cumberland between 1861 and 1871 from 11.3% to 16.8%, it fell in the pastoral districts from 37.7% to 34.7%. This probably reflects the growth of a well-to-do class in Sydney on the one hand, and the improvement in educational facilities in the distant interior after 1867 on the other. 80

It is possible to make a rough estimate of the number of tutors and governesses from the census returns, which suggest that in 1861 there were somewhat more than 116 tutors and over 483 governesses; in 1871 398 tutors and 842 governesses; and in 1881 283 tutors and 1,370 governesses. The tendency for the number of tutors to decline and the number of governesses to increase was continued in the 1891 census. 80a

The quality of instruction given by tutors and governesses is difficult to assess, but seems frequently to have been low. In 1869 Badham commented that many schoolmasters had lads of 16 years of age brought to them by alarmed people who had found that after eight or nine years study under a private tutor their sons had learnt nothing. 81 In 1868 the Council

80 In Cumberland 2,487 out of 22,166 scholars were educated at home; in the 13 pastoral districts 1,649 out of 4,371 (1861 Census).
80a See Appendix E.
81 Speeches and Lectures (1890-, p.19.)
of Education commented that many of those failing in the preliminary examination were former governesses or teachers from private schools.

The results disclosed by their examination papers are melancholy. The composition of the papers, and style of expression, are loose in the extreme; and the punctuation is often wholly wanting. The knowledge of grammar scarcely enables them to specify even the names of the leading parts of speech; while the details of parsing are frequently unknown. 82

Doubtless it was the less successful of the governesses and private teachers who sought Government employment; it was not till the mid-1870's that conditions in the Public schools began to appear attractive. 83

The habit of domestic education was undermined somewhat by the introduction of the Public Examinations. From 1869 onwards there were usually a few private students amongst the annual list of successful candidates. But the more exacting standards of these examinations undermined the role of private tuition. 84

82 Report, 1868, p.22.
83 The 1868 Report commented (p.26) on "the small inducements to remain in the profession". But a letter in the S.M.H. (18/1/1876, J.K. Heydon, already cited) refers to the "good salaries" of Public schoolteachers.
84 In Victoria the 1861 Census showed 14.2% (8,690) of children under tuition being educated at home; in N.S.W. it was 17.5% (8,025). Report to Census of Victoria, 1861; "Occupations", p.X.
The theory of grammar school ("secondary") education between 1867 and 1880 was concerned with a problem similar to that under debate in primary education - what to teach, and in what proportions. This involved a discussion on what constituted a "liberal" education, the respective merits of "classical" and "modern" subjects, and the role of science. A second, psychological, strand to this discussion concerned the role of certain subjects in promoting "mental discipline" - the disciplinary value of the various studies. The argument over "liberal education" influenced what was taught; that over mental discipline related both to what was taught and to teaching methods.

The main influences on the secondary school curriculum were the system of public examinations established by the university and the interests and outlook of the social groups whose sons attended schools of higher learning. A contradiction existed between the university, with its classical and English presuppositions, and its assumption that few secondary schoolboys were future matriculants, and colonial society.

In this section we deal with the "superior education" offered in the corporate boys' schools, the better private-venture and Church grammar schools, and the grammar classes of the Council's Public schools. In general, these were the schools preparing for the Public Examinations.
with a slowly growing middle class of commercial and professional men, whose assumption was that the prime object of secondary education was to provide as cheaply and rapidly as possible a background suitable for success in the competitive commercial world.

In England the Great Exhibition of 1851 suggested that English technology was being rapidly overhauled in foreign countries; the growth of competitive examinations stressed the need for wider and effective teaching. Hence a debate on the grammar curriculum opened. Middle-class pressure for more "practical" studies threatened the dominance of the classical languages, which was also challenged in Herbert Spencer's magazine articles in the 1850's and T.H. Huxley's address on "The Educational Value of the Natural History Sciences" (1854). The Public Schools Commission (Clarendon Commission) of 1861-4 and the Schools Enquiry Commission (Taunton Commission) of 1864-8 recommended the inclusion of mathematical and scientific subjects and closed the Public and Grammar schools to children of the poorer classes by permitting the abolition of free places. In 1867 a collection of essays by eminent educationists, Essays on a Liberal Education (edited by the Rev. F.W. Farrar), while accepting the

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prevailing faculty psychology with its corollaries of mental
discipline and transfer of training, attacked the grammatical
approach to the classics and urged that "a course of instruc­
tion in our own language and literature and a course of
instruction in natural science, ought to form recognised and
substantial parts of our school system". More stress on
French was also advocated. The concept of a liberal edu­
cation was being reinterpreted to stress its literary-
historical and scientific content.

In N.S.W. the debate also involved the respective merits
of a general (i.e. classical) education as against a
"utilitarian" (commercial) one. In the late 1870's a com­
promise curriculum emerged. However, the pattern of com­
promise varied from school to school, according to the
dependence of the school on parental wishes (highest in the
private-venture schools) and the link between the school and
the three university examinations (highest in the corporate
schools).

The case for the teaching of science in secondary
schools had to be made out in traditional psychological
terms - its value as an intellectual discipline - as well as
in social terms - its value for citizenship and its cultured

87 cf. Curtis and Boulwood, A Short History of Educational
Ideas (1958), p. 440. The quotation is from the essay by
Professor H. Sidgwick of Cambridge.
nature. In 1869 the Australian Journal of Education reprinted, with its own comments, an article by Dr. Lankester in the English Quarterly Journal of Science expounding the psychological and social advantages of the study of science:

The reasoning from the known to the unknown involved in the inductive and deductive processes employed by the natural philosopher could not fail to produce a discipline which would have the effect of correcting the acknowledged defects of a merely classical and mathematical education. Furthermore a knowledge of natural science would tend to bring our youth more closely in contact with the thought and experience of the age in which they live ... Added to these reasons, there is a high intellectual pleasure enjoyed by cultured minds while employed in the pursuits of natural science.

The advance of science in N.S.W. schools did not have to overcome an obstacle which faced English schools: the popularity of the classics due to their association with the great prizes of life - the Bar and politics. On the other hand, the slow development of N.S.W. industry detracted from the strength of science. N.S.W. teachers lacked the prestige and scientific knowledge of many of their English contemporaries.

"Where are the teachers to be found competent to carry out such a comprehensive programme?", asked the Australian Journal of Education. The status of teachers would have to be improved, it said. In both England and N.S.W. the cost of

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Quarterly Journal of Science, July, 1869, referred to in the A.J.E., 1 December, 1869 (p.466) and 4 January, 1870 (p.25).
scientific material for schools constituted a further obstacle to such studies.

The advocates of the classics invoked the same type of argument as the supporters of science. The study of the classics was a cultured pursuit; it provided mental discipline; it was utilitarian in a deeper sense than the directly practical studies. "The study of the classics tends to refine, chasten, and exalt the imagination"; ran an article in the *Australian Journal of Education*. The taste was matured by this discipline, which was also useful in strengthening the reasoning powers.

The noblest productions of human reason have resulted from the combined influence of all liberal studies. The higher mathematics furnish an excellent discipline for minds that have already been partially matured ... Classical study is found ... to be an excellent co-worker with the mathematics and metaphysics, in preparing men for the diversified employments of life.

It was asserted that the student who devoted part of his time (one-third) to the classics, through his better mental training, would equal or exceed the student who followed "English studies" or the sciences wholly. Superficial general reading would be of little benefit. "Hard study, patient, protracted study, discriminating study, is absolutely essential

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89 "The Study of the Classics" in the issue of 1 June, 1868 (p.170) and 1 July, 1868 (p.203). These articles originally appeared in an American periodical some 30 years previously.
to success in literary and scientific pursuits." 90 One of the major values of classical studies is the stress it places on definitions. "Without a minute knowledge of definitions, and of the nice shades of meaning ... no person can speak with precision, or reason with force and perspicuity." 91

But the outcome of this controversy was determined not so much by the strength of the arguments as by conditions in schools and the outlook of the pupils. At the Sydney Grammar School Weigall's initial attachment to classics and mathematics had to be adapted to the requirements of the colony.

Even the teaching of Classics was modified to suit the new environment; practice in verse, if admitted at all, was confined more and more to private tuition out of hours ... Within six months of his appointment he was making arrangements for classes in Physical Science; this, at a time when they were comparatively rare in British schools. Naturally the new venture was at first very tentative and on a very small scale; ... ever increasing attention was paid to Modern Languages and English; provision was made for the commercial side, and hospitality was shown to so experimental a subject as Shorthand. 92

As already noted, the background and interests of the boys at All Saints', Bathurst, led to a diminished stress on the classics and more attention to "practical subjects".

90 Ibid., p.205.
91 Ibid., p.173.
At the university level the tension between the two fields of study was producing a new concept of "liberal education". "Instead of being conceived as a training in linguistic excellence and a discipline of the intellect, obtainable only from the study of Classics and Mathematics, liberal education was conceived as a varied mental discipline, obtainable from the study of a diverse group of subjects."\(^\text{93}\)

The outcome was a closing of the gap between the matriculation and public examinations. Sydney University was somewhat slower than Melbourne University in this, for in Victoria the matriculation had always served as a general public examination. In 1874 Greek was omitted as a compulsory subject for matriculation, in 1875 the compulsory alternative of French or German, and a science subject was added. In 1878 several science subjects were added to the Junior Public Examination (inorganic chemistry, physics, geology) and two additional ones in the Senior (physiology, botany).

In the leading boys' schools, those most influenced by the matriculation and public examinations, the main changes in the curriculum in the 1867-1880 period were a great decline in Greek, a lesser decline of Latin, the increasing importance of French,\(^\text{94}\) and in the late 1870's the emergence of science.


\(^{94}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p.41.
The examination returns of candidates entered for each subject suggest the popularity of the various subjects in the major schools. In the Junior Public Examination of 1878 the 364 candidates distributed their studies as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History and Geography</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the Senior Public Examination the range of subjects was much wider, though the number of candidates (58) was much less.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History and Geography</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigonometry</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Surveying, etc.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analytical Geometry</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inorganic Chemistry</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometrical Drawing, etc.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freehand and Model Drawing</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imitative Colouring</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus in the Junior Examination 99% of the candidates entered for English, 97% for the combined history-geography

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paper and the arithmetic paper, and 82% for algebra. In the Senior Examination the order of popularity was geometry (100%), arithmetic (91%), English (90%), algebra (86%), and history and geography (84%).

The question of the secondary school curriculum received attention in parliament. In March 1876 Captain Onslow sought information concerning the subjects taken at Fort Street, William Street, and Cleveland Street Public schools, at Sydney Grammar School, and at the University, presumably to see how far the curriculum prepared pupils for the university. The curriculum in the Public schools was very narrow. At the three Public schools 651 pupils took Euclid, 505 Latin, 344 algebra, and none took French. At Sydney Grammar School the humanistic and scientific studies were much stronger. The subjects in IVth Form were English language; English history; geography; French and Latin grammar, composition, and translation; Greek grammar and composition, mensuration, physics, arithmetic, algebra, Euclid. In Vth Form the same subjects were taken, geography, however, being "Political and Physical". In VIth Form comparative geography was taken. Physics and mensuration were replaced by trigonometry, conic sections and mechanics.97

97 Ibid., p.219.
The smaller, private-venture grammar schools were under more direct social pressure than the corporate schools and had to consider the wishes of their clientele very closely. This led to a more variegated curriculum, for to exert the maximum appeal it was necessary to offer the maximum range of subjects. Practical subjects also had to figure prominently. The headmaster of Tamworth Grammar School stressed in 1877 that attention was given not only to the essential subjects of the classical curriculum, but also to preparing the pupils for an active life. "With this end in view", the Prospectus ran, "although the Curriculum includes the dead languages, and modern languages are considered as of great importance, a sound English education constitutes the basis of instruction given."\(^{98}\)

The timetable for a middle class at this school consisted of 55 lessons per week, mostly of a half-hour's duration. Twenty subjects were provided. Latin led, with seven periods, arithmetic accounted for six, geography for five (including one of colonial geography and one of mathematical geography). English grammar, reading and elocution, and French each took four periods, writing (and letters) three, and singing, Euclid, dictation, German, history, spelling, Greek, algebra, and bookkeeping (and precis) two. Single periods of

composition, gymnastics, mental arithmetic, and a lecture filled up the remainder of the week's work. Among the "extras" (for which special fees were paid) were instrumental music, dancing, singing, German, class singing, and stationery. The demands of a "practical" education and the need to widen appeal fostered a great dispersal of energies and lowered the standards which could be reached in individual subjects.

(h) **Secondary Education for Girls.**

The *Fifth Reading Book for Girls*, used in N.S.W. girls' secondary schools about 1880, contains some observations by Sydney Smith entitled "Solid Improvement - the True End of Female Education":

If the objections against the better education of women could be overruled, one of the great advantages that would ensure, would be the extinction of innumerable follies. A decided and prevailing taste for one or another mode of education there must be. A century past, it was for housewifery, now it is for accomplishments. The object now is, to make women artists - to give them an excellence in drawing, music, painting, and dancing.

Such an education, Smith remarked, suited women who proposed to devote their whole life to these pursuits, and to earn their living through them. But for the others it was suitable only for the years of youth and early adulthood. If a women was to have a salutary influence on her children, particularly her sons, she must be better educated than this.\(^{99-129}\)

In June 1870 a writer in the *Australian Journal of Education* complained that the current aim of female education was to create "young ladies", not usefully educated women.

Their thoughts appear to run upon outre dress, pernicious reading, tattle, waste of time, and idleness, but examine into their knowledge of domestic duties, sewing, plain cooking, making useful garments, keeping a household neat, or even attiring themselves rationally, and they are immediately lost. All that is homely and of real utility is shunned as vulgar, and considered unlady-like.130

He criticizes the inability of girls of middle class families to manage household duties. "How can any female supervise or direct servants, who does not herself comprehend domestic duties thoroughly?" Too many girls seek to become pupil-teachers rather than prepare themselves for household work. Even the preparation of women as sempstresses (the usual alternative to teaching or governessing as employment for single women of lower or middle class rank) is rejected in favour of preparation for "domestic duties". Girls of the lower classes are criticized for "idling, or encumbering their parents at home". They would be better "in respectable domestic service". The solution recommended was more attention to moral training in schools.

The striking feature of this article was that it favoured the 18th century concept of housewifely training for girls of

both lower and middle class, rather than the growing interest in the general intellectual education of girls.

The secondary curriculum for girls consisted of three strands, varying in importance in the various agents of instruction (the home; the senior classes of Public schools; private-venture schools; and convent schools). The balance between these elements also tended to shift with the passage of time.

One strand was intellectual or academic education overlapping that of boys - grammar, geography, arithmetic, but with the classics a notable omission. In private schools this was likely to include English literature and be described as "a sound English education". Another strand was practical domestic or housewifely education - needlework, first aid, hygiene, etc. Finally there were the polite accomplishments, such as drawing, singing, French, painting, and dancing.

Catholic schools for girls gave a form of advanced education previously unobtainable in the colony. The convent schools were more or less homogeneous in character, their pupils being children of the gentry, the grown-up daughters of the wealthier classes who, up to that period, had relied for their education on governesses in their own homes. Furthermore, as many of the nuns of the early communities were Irish or English ladies of birth, culture and refinement, it followed that the first pupils found themselves enjoying a school
life that was to afford them an entrance into all that was highest and most cultured in colonial society of the time. It was a superior home-training that these young ladies received.131

Young ladies they were - their ages frequently ranged from 19 to 23. The less academic nature of the course and the wide age-range of the pupils encouraged a school organization based on age rather than on scholastic attainment. Frequently there were three divisions - junior (under 12 years), senior (12 to 16 years) and upper or higher (above 16).

We have already mentioned the curriculum at "Subiaco", the Benedictine school, in 1854, with its provision of French and Italian, needlework and drawing. Twenty years later the course had hardly changed. History, geography, and "the use of the globes" had been added. Italian, German, Spanish, Latin, painting, and "finishing lessons" in singing and drawing were available as "extras".132 At the Dominican Convent, St. Mary's Priory, opened at West Maitland in 1868 physical and scientific geography, natural philosophy, history, chronology, epistolary style and composition were taught. French, Italian, German, music, singing, drawing, and the art of illuminating were extras. French and Italian were taught conversationally, pupils asking permissions in French and often presenting an Italian play.133

131 Fogarty, op.cit., p.345.
132 Ibid., p.376.
133 Sister M. Assumpta O'Hanlon, op.cit., p.59.
Alongside middle and upper class female education there existed a "secondary" education for lower middle class girls and for those of higher station who through force of circumstances would have to earn a living. These were catered for by the senior classes (4th and 5th) of the Public schools, and by the smaller private-venture schools.

The Census of 1871 lists 228,430 females in the population of 503,981. Of these females, 124,862 were over the age of 15. The main occupational groupings for women (i.e. those containing more than 1,000 members) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Duties (including children not under tuition)</td>
<td>150,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars at School</td>
<td>36,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars at Home</td>
<td>9,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hired Domestic Servants</td>
<td>16,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needlewomen</td>
<td>4,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>1,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Means</td>
<td>1,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Asylums, Gaols, etc.</td>
<td>1,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>1,203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 29,108 females in gainful employment 55% were domestic servants, 14% needlewomen, 6% teachers, and 2% each were general dealers or storekeepers, or clerks and shop assistants. The main vocations available to women were thus marriage, domestic service, needlework, and teaching. The three latter activities were basically social extensions of family life. Middle class women forced to earn a living had only teaching as a suitable resort.\footnote{134}

\footnote{134} "Many young women in the middle class, through failure of business or the death of their parents, often had to obtain a
The Council of Education, through its pupil-teacher system, training school, and system of examination for teachers contributed to the general education of older females. In 1868 its comments on the level of general education of young women candidates for the training school were scathing.

The spelling is frequently defective, the penmanship slovenly in the extreme, and the mode of executing the exercises so void of care and good taste, as to create painful misgivings regarding the value of much that now passes current as essential to female education ... Substantial branches of education appear to have been little studied.\textsuperscript{135}

In 1868 243 candidates (136 males and 107 females) applied for admission to the training school. Only 132 were admitted, and only 80 males and 37 females finally achieved classification. The extremely high female failure rate continued. In 1872 45 males and 27 females applied for admission; 35 males and seven females passed the admission examination.\textsuperscript{136} By the mid-1870's, however, the quality of female applicants appears to have improved. Adverse comments on their attainments disappear, and in the training school examinations women tend to excel.\textsuperscript{137} It seems likely that

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the opening of the University's Public Examinations to girls explains this improvement.

Subjects which appeared in the curriculum of boys' schools often assumed different content when taken by girls. We have already seen how French had a different emphasis in girls' education than in boys. In 1872 an inspector commented that

some people think that males and females should write exactly alike, but others believe that this is neither desirable nor possible. Round-hand writing is too masculine for females, whereas, on the other hand, the writing of females is so sharp that it is not sufficiently legible. There is a medium style wanted ... In most countries, ignorance of arithmetic is more general among girls than boys, and in some of the private schools of the Colony the subject is considered a laborious and vulgar study for young ladies.138

The examination papers for teachers' certificates, 1868, illustrate the nature of education considered suitable for female teachers. Arithmetic for young women was often partly or wholly different to that for men, being considered either a form of mathematical game139 or to be related to womanly interests, such as the cost of coffee or of drapers' goods. The examination paper in Domestic Economy (three hours) for a Second Class certificate consisted of four questions:

1. How may a good wife render her home attractive to her husband?
2. What are the most common modes of adulteration practiced in daily food? State the evils which arise from the practice referred to.
3. What are the advantages of cold water bathing?
4. What differences are effected upon animal food in baking, as distinguished from roasting?

The same subject in the First Class certificate examination included such questions as "What causes induce Husbands to frequent Taverns?" and "In choosing colours for clothing, what shades are desirable, and what objectionable? Explain why."

The opening of the Junior and Senior Public Examinations to girls in 1871 helped shift the balance in the female curriculum towards the academic subjects. The approach of a new era can be seen in the various advertisements of private schools in the Sydney Morning Herald. Alongside the more traditional ones -

Ladies School, Magnolia Cottage, Parramatta.

Mrs. Boyes and Miss Martin. The course of instruction will embrace the various branches of English literature, with the accomplishments essential to a useful and refined education.141

appeared rather new notices:

141 S.M.H., 10/1/1876.
Education for Daughters of Gentlemen.

Mrs. Spofforth receives a limited number of Resident and Day Pupils, to whom she offers unusual advantages. A ladies' matriculation and Civil Service class (evening) is about to be formed ...142

By 1884 the Catholic Freeman's Journal was moved to comment that the allegation that convent schools taught nothing but drawing, needlework and music, even if true in the past, was no longer so.143

By 1876 36% of candidates for the Senior P.E. were women (19 out of 53) and 21% (76 out of 362) in the Junior; in 1878 women accounted for 17% of Senior candidates and 20% of the Junior. The proportion of successful candidates by sex was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Senior</th>
<th>Junior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>73% of Men passed; 57% of Women passed.</td>
<td>52% of Men passed; 42% of Women passed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>69% of Men passed; 80% of Women passed.</td>
<td>70% of Men passed; 55% of Women passed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The growing overlap of subjects in the boys' and girls' curriculum led to the application of grammar school teaching techniques and theories of educational psychology to girls' schools. In 1875 the Sydney Morning Herald stated that in many ladies' schools French was the only language taught.

142 Ibid., 4/1/1876.
143 6/12/1884, quoted Fogarty, op.cit., p.380.
In such cases it ought to be taught with the same vigour with which the classical languages are taught at a good grammar school... The mental discipline of this is quite as important for the female sex as for the male.\textsuperscript{144}

The Public Instruction Bill of 1879 proposed to establish girls' high schools under state control giving instruction in modern languages, history, music, the elements of mathematics, together with other subjects approved by the Minister (clause 24).\textsuperscript{145} In the parliamentary debates the fear was expressed that such a curriculum would encourage girls to write novels, become governesses, and seek marriages above their station, i.e. to aspire to a middle class mode of life.\textsuperscript{146} "Schools to teach cookery, sewing, and other necessary arts were more needed than those now proposed to be established". Such views reflected class and even religious approaches to female education. Supporters of state high schools for girls argued that higher education was not incompatible with domestic duties, and that girls must be equipped to earn a living if the need arose.

\textsuperscript{144} Leader, 18/2/1876, commenting on the examiners' complaints regarding the inferior quality of the French papers.

\textsuperscript{145} cf. N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 18/2/1880. The boys' high schools had a slightly different curriculum: ancient and modern languages, history, literature, mathematics, physical science, and other subjects.

\textsuperscript{146} cf. Samuel Charles and M. Fitzpatrick, N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 18/2/1880. (Vol.II, pp.1184-1185). Fitzpatrick considered that the colonial tendency to upwards social mobility was expressed in marriage. "There is an unfortunate tendency ... to look upwards in matrimonial ideas".
The education which females received at present was not of much use to them in after life if they did not happen to marry young ... The class of education in these high schools would not be of that frivolous and purely ornamental character which had been hitherto imparted to girls, but it would ... enable them to take part in the battle of life on an equal footing with the young men of their day.\textsuperscript{147}

The impact of the examination system on the female curriculum must not be exaggerated. The majority of middle class girls continued to acquire a mixed education of domestic training, the polite accomplishments, and general knowledge. However, a new morality was being infused into the old forms. The textbook previously mentioned (Collins, \textit{Australian Reading Books - Fifth Book}) is good evidence of this. It's 400 pages contained 162 items - poems, extracts from longer articles - on such assorted themes as Australian Explorers, Soap, Hand-weaving, Michael Angelo, The Brighton Acquarium, Poultices, Requisites for a Nursemaid, The Talking Lady,\textsuperscript{148} Supply of Pure Air, and Social Enjoyment - Where Found.\textsuperscript{149} The final paragraph of a chapter on "Woman - Her Power, and Her Progress" illustrates the growing discontent with the old education.

\textsuperscript{147} T. Garrett, ibid.

\textsuperscript{148} "I wonder, if she had happened to have married, how many husbands she would have talked to death".

\textsuperscript{149} "The crowded drawing-room should be abandoned to those who are capable of no higher enjoyment than gossip, nonsense, flirtations, and eating oysters, confections, and creams; ... people of talent and education ... should associate freely in small circles".
They skim, as it were, a general course of study, but in this study nothing leads them to think with their own thoughts; it is chiefly the school routine which gives occupation to their brains ... they find in themselves a skill for the piano, a memory for words, and a soul which sleeps. Such is, with some rare exceptions, the woman of the present day, with her school morality, her mechanical talents, her love of pleasure, her ignorance of the world, and her desire to love and be loved.\footnote{150}

(i) \textbf{The Alienation of the University from the Community}

"We can scarcely escape from the conviction that, so far, the University has lamentably failed to realise the general benefits that were expected from it." This view, voiced in 1870, might equally have been expressed in 1860 or 1880.\footnote{151}

The obvious defects of the university were the absence of students, the narrow curriculum, and the lack of economic and social support in the community. Between 1867 and 1880 arts was the only faculty, though occasional degrees in law and medicine were conferred. Enrolment was 47 in 1867 and 76 in 1880. Between the same years the teaching staff fell from 11 to six. Between 1867 and 1880 317 degrees were conferred.\footnote{152}

In 1876 the graduation rate, over the previous 20 years, was estimated at 73\%.\footnote{153}

\footnote{150}{Ch. 152, written by L. Aime Martin (p. 369).}
\footnote{151}{"The University of Sydney", by R. (S.M.H., 29/8/1870).}
\footnote{152}{Figures from N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1867, 1880.}
\footnote{153}{Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of N.S.W. Commemoration Address, June, 1876 (in Speeches by Sir Hercules Robinson, p. 126).}
One of the striking features of the student body, noted by Badham, was the high proportion of Presbyterians. Enrolments in the denominational colleges confirm this. In 1874 St. Paul's College (Anglican) held 12 scholars, St. John's (Catholic) five and St. Andrew's (Presbyterian), which opened in that year, held six scholars. Two years later the Anglican College had 11 members, the Catholic ten, the Presbyterian 14. By 1879 there were 25 at St. Andrew's and by 1880 29. St. Paul's and St. John's remained stationary at about a dozen each.

As previously noted, the curriculum remained unchanged from 1852 until 1865, when the third year course was liberalized. In 1867 the subjects taken in the third year were increased to three - classics, mathematics and natural philosophy, and natural science (chemistry, experimental physics, geology, and mineralogy). This meant that logic and mental philosophy (which included the


155 The division of the Presbyterian Church between 1842 and 1865 delayed the establishment of a Presbyterian college. cf. J.D. Lang, The Impolicy and Injustice of Religious Establishments (1856): "In consequence of that division, a Presbyterian College, in connection with the University of Sydney, which they might easily establish with their united means and efforts, must remain in abeyance". (pp.73-74).
constitutional history of England) was dropped. At the same time the lectureships in French and German were abolished, as were readerships in English and political economy. 156

The lack of students and their inadequate preparation partly arose from the condition of secondary education in the colony. From 1867 the Junior and Senior Public Examinations raised standards in the secondary schools, while university matriculation requirements and courses were modified to make easier the transition from grammar school to university. In 1874 Greek was eliminated as a compulsory matriculation subject and was made optional as a university subject; those who omitted Greek were required to show greater proficiency in Latin and were required to take mathematics and science in their third year, as well as Latin. In 1875 the matriculation was further modified, the alternative of French or German being omitted and one of three science subjects (chemistry, physics, geology) substituted. From 1880 two only of the three subjects prescribed for the third year course were required from pass students.

A greater appreciation of the nature of the university is obtained by examining the situation in more detail for one year, 1876. There were then 58 students in attendance. The Chancellor was Sir Edward Deas-Thomson, the Vice-Chancellor

156 Barff, op.cit., pp.91-93.
(a part-time officer elected annually by the Senate from its membership), was the Rev. Canon Allwood. The lecturing staff consisted of Professor Badham, (classics and logic), Professor Fell (mathematics and natural philosophy), Professor J. Smith (chemistry and experimental physics), Professor Liversidge (geology and minerology and also demonstrator in practical chemistry), and Hugh Kennedy (Assistant Professor in classics and also Registrar). Three of these men were Cambridge graduates, one Aberdeen, and one Oxford.

St. Paul's College (Anglican) consisted of a Warden, Vice-Warden, Bursar, 18 Fellows, and eight undergraduates. St. John's College (Catholic) was made up of one Reader, one Vice-Reader, 17 Fellows, and six undergraduates, and St. Andrew's (Presbyterian) had one Principal, 12 Councillors, four Theological Tutors, three undergraduates, (together with two graduates who had just passed their B.A. examination).  

Lectures were given in the morning. The academic year opened on 5 June (Trinity Term), with the Matriculation, B.A., Annual, and Scholarship examinations on the following day. Lectures commenced on 19 June. Trinity Term ended on 26 August, and Michaelmas Term started 2 October (to 10 December). Lent Term commenced on 5 March. Thus the university year was  

The slight discrepancy with earlier figures cited presumably arises because the statistical year was January-December, and the academic opened in June-May.
an Anglo-Australian compromise. It commenced in mid-year, as in England, but the long vacation was in the Australian summer, not the English.

There was only one Faculty, Arts, but Boards of Examiners existed for Law and Medicine. The Arts course was arranged in three years. **First Year** consisted of classics (Herodotus, Book III; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus*; Terence, *Adelphi*; Livy, Book I), mathematics (arithmetic, Euclid, Books I-IV), algebra and natural science (experimental physics - heat, magnetism, electricity). **Second Year** consisted of classics (Demosthenes, *Meidias*; Aristophanes, *Nubes*; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*; Virgil, *Aeneid VI*), mathematics (algebra, Euclid, Books V, VI, XI, trigonometry, logarithms, statics), and natural science (experimental physics - heat, magnetism, electricity). **Third Year** consisted of:

**Classics**
- Sophocles, *Oedipus, Colonoeus*
- Plato, *Euthydemus*
- Sallust, *Jugurtha*
- Plautus, *Aulularia*

**Mathematics**
- Conic Sections
- Differential Calculus
- Integral Calculus
- Dynamics
- Algebra - Higher part
- Trigonometry

**Natural Science**
- Practical Chemistry
- Geology
- Mineralogy.

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In 1876 36 students were admitted to matriculation, and 11 men graduated (six of them with honours). One LL.B. degree was conferred, and 15 M.A.'s.

A certain degree of corporate life had developed. A University Football Club was established in 1863 and a Cricket Club in 1865. From 1870 on, inter-university boat races were conducted with Melbourne. The Sydney University Union was founded in 1874. 159

In September 1876, the number of graduates now having reached 100, the first election of a University Member for the Legislative Assembly was carried out, W.C. Windeyer narrowly defeating E. Barton for the honour. 160

Up to 1880 the endowment of Sydney University remained £5,000 annually, and this prohibited extension of the number of courses.

The University followed the English tradition of aiming to develop the character and general intellectual ability of future leaders of society. To do this it relied considerably on subjects possessing suitable classics and mathematics, with social and psychological associations. In 1867 Mill had argued that a university was not an institution for

159 Barff, op. cit., pp.132-134.
160 This was provided for in the Electoral Act of 1858; a new Electoral Act in 1880 abolished this privilege.
providing technical and professional training, nor for research; its main function was to give a general or liberal education.¹⁶¹ He wanted both a scientific and literary education. "Scientific education teaches us to think, and literary education to express our thoughts".¹⁶² The University of Sydney approximated reasonably well to this ideal.

By contrast, Melbourne University had greater similarities to the more practical Scottish universities. In 1876 it exceeded Sydney in enrolments (170), lecturing staff (19), revenue (£17,000),¹⁶³ and number of courses. It had only one affiliated College, however - Trinity College (Anglican).

The First Year Arts subjects at Melbourne were junior Greek; junior Latin; lower mathematics; upper mathematics; chemistry, mineralogy, and botany; deductive logic; and ancient history. A pass was required in five of these seven subjects, junior Greek and junior Latin being compulsory.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ "Men are men before they are lawyers, or physicians, or merchants, or manufacturers; and if they make themselves capable and sensible men, they will make themselves capable and sensible lawyers and physicians" - Rectoral Address at St. Andrew's. Curtis and Boulton, op.cit., p.415.
¹⁶³ The colleges at Sydney had a revenue of £6,500, making a total university revenue of £10,300. cf. Victorian Year Book, 1876-7, pp.203-4, N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1876, p.24.
¹⁶⁴ Calendar, Melbourne University, 1876, p.88.
Charles Badham, who succeeded Woolley as Professor of Classics, made energetic attempts to increase the number of those coming under university instruction, while preserving standards. He endeavoured in 1875 to persuade the wealthier classes of the colony to endow bursaries for poorer scholars, with a certain degree of success. He advocated the admission of women to the university, correspondence courses, and part-time (evening) courses, and expressed regret that the university had not been made an avenue of recruitment to the public service.

On this latter point, he had no great respect for the value of the Civil Service Examination (that "dismal burlesque"); and believed that the lack of opening for graduates in colonial society was a major handicap to the university.

165 "Our most anxious considerations have been, What can we concede without injuring education?" - Sydney University Commemoration, 1868 (in Speeches and Lectures, p.11).
166 Ibid., p.XXVI; p.96.
167 Commemoration, 1871 (op.cit., pp.32-33); Letter to S.M.H., 1/9/1883 (op.cit., p.xxvi); Commemoration Address, 1871 (op.cit., p.34). Evening courses were advocated in the S.M.H. article already cited, ("The University of Sydney", by R., 29/8/1870).
Some, we know, will go into professions, some will become teachers, some will have private means; but this University is not only for those who have private means or professional connections to start them; it is founded for the people, and thus the thought of all these Government places, into which uneducated youths are continually being drafted, recurs with a peculiar bitterness.

He considered that had Deas-Thomson, Colonial Secretary before the granting of responsible government, been able to retain control for a few more years he would have "turned our University honours into substantial state rewards, and enriched the Public service with men of solid education".\(^{168}\)

The limited influence of higher education in public affairs was deplored by none other than Parkes himself.

Education has not the weight which it ought to carry with it into the councils of the country. We hope for better things from the young men who are passing through the higher courses of academic instruction under all the patriotic influences which endear to them their native soil. But so far the Australian universities have done but little to purify the tone and elevate the standard of Parliamentary life.\(^{169}\)

But whose fault was this? Academics were prone to blame society. Badham, like most enlightened contemporaries, was aware of the adverse influence on higher education of certain long-standing "strange phenomena" of colonial society:

(1) an enormous amount of wealth in the hands of men utterly illiterate;

\(^{168}\) Commemoration, 1879 \textit{(op.cit.,} p.103).\(^{169}\) \textit{Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History} (1892), vol.2, p.297.
(2) the learned professions, including the Church, with very little learning to divide amongst them;

(3) the mercantile classes of all grades very much below the standard of their congeners in Western Europe in literary and intellectual tastes.¹⁷⁰

The same explanation for the slow development of higher education was given by the Governor of N.S.W., Sir Hercules Robinson, who, like Badham, urged the rich to help construct "social ladders by which young men of exceptional intellect, but without means, can climb into a position which will give their faculties fair play". He, too, saw that "among those in New South Wales who can afford to give their sons a University education, the advantages of literary culture are insufficiently appreciated, and its aims but imperfectly understood". The rich man whose sons would not need to work saw little use in advanced education; the pastoralist preferred his son to study the wool-shed; boys who would need to work for a living were apprenticed rather than prepared for the professions.¹⁷¹

Thus it was that in 1876 the proportion of the population attending universities in Scotland was 1 in 1,000; in

¹⁷⁰ "University Studies", article in the University Review for 1882 (op. cit., p.106). He might well have made the same comment as an English visitor in 1958 - "What Australia badly needs is not a ruling class but an educated class". (Pringle, Australian Accent, p.112).

¹⁷¹ Commemoration Address, 24 June, 1876, in Speeches by Sir Hercules Robinson (1879), pp.127-128.
Massachusetts 1 in 1,300; in Germany 1 in 1,500; in Ireland 1 in 3,000; in Switzerland 1 in 3,300; in England, about 1 in 4,000; in Victoria about 1 in 4,300; but in N.S.W. only 1 in 10,000. 172

Sir Hercules Robinson added a further criticism of popular attitudes to higher education. The failure to use the university, he said, arose from "the mistaken modern notion that the value of high education depends mainly on the money return which it will bring. In other words, it is looked upon almost solely as a means of 'getting on'". 173

But others argued that many could not attend lectures during the hours of trade and labour, and that if the university were to be open to all classes, evening lectures were needed. Since the power of the state was in the hands of the masses, they should be given advanced education. The difference between Sydney and Oxford and Cambridge was that the former owed everything and the latter nothing to the public purse. "This is the keystone of the argument for popular reform". 174

172 Ibid., p.127.
174 "The University of Sydney", by R. (S.M.H., 29/8/1870). It was argued that male Public school teachers near Sydney would attend evening lectures.
Despite the efforts of a few headmasters, the most prominent being Macarthur of the King's School, the private secondary schools had failed, by and large, to respond to the demands of the 1870's. This was a failure both of quantity, as measured by the number of schools and of places in them, and of quality, as assessed in the public examinations. Many of the middle classes relied on the state-maintained Public schools to provide higher education for their sons or on Sydney Grammar School, also state-supported. But by 1875 Sydney Grammar School was full, with 400 boys. Despite the tradition of Presbyterian support for education there were no Presbyterian collegiate institutions in N.S.W., although in Victoria this denomination provided Geelong College (1861) and Ballarat College (1864) for boys. In N.S.W. only the Roman Catholic Church was extending its colleges. In public examinations, too, it was state or state-aided schools which captured the highest scholastic honours - Sydney Grammar School leading, followed by Fort Street Public School. Amongst the private schools only the King's School was achieving some success in these examinations.

The need for improved educational facilities for girls was also neglected by private enterprise. As yet there were no collegiate institutions for girls in N.S.W. comparable to Clarendon College, Ballarat (1876), the Presbyterian Ladies'
College, Melbourne (1875), Brisbane Girls' Grammar School (1875), the Advanced School for Girls, Adelaide (1879), or the Bishop's Ladies' College in Perth. What little provision there was in N.S.W. for the higher education of girls was mainly by state or state-aided institutions. The Public schools had girls in their grammar classes. The Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, which received a state subsidy, had opened its classes about 1871 to females, some of whom studied for the public examinations. The Catholic convent schools were also playing a part in the provision of quality education for girls.

During the 1870's N.S.W. secondary education continued to suffer from unfavourable practices. Schooling was frequently too brief; the curriculum was over-crowded; and the desire for cheap education was one reason why the grammar classes of the Council of Education's Public Schools were preferred over the corporate schools or even more humble private-venture schools. The propensity to economise in time and money sometimes took the form of sending boys to Public schools for their elementary education before transferring them to grammar schools in the senior years.

Some of the more pleasing aspects of the N.S.W. educational tradition were also found in the higher schools of

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*S.M.H., 31/10/1874.* The School of Arts gave instruction in Latin, French, chemistry and physics, writing, and arithmetic for youths and adults.
the 1870's, of course. The democratic tradition in education continued to be expressed in the absence of sharp differentiation between schools in curriculum, and in the varied social origin of children in many secondary schools. Colonial democracy also made very easy the admission of girls to the public examinations, leading to the spread of academic or grammar-type education for girls. The public examinations also brought improved quality in schooling generally, though standards do not seem to have been as good as in the best English schools. But although the university had met a social need when it instituted these examinations, resentment and lack of support continued to suffer from widespread dissatisfaction with the university's reform.

Both the unsatisfactory features of higher education and the advances made in certain directions paved the way for a new spate of reforms. Just as with the primary schools, these reforms involved questions of state participation and the role of religion. However, the disputation over higher education was less violent than that concerning elementary schooling. For one thing, fewer children were involved.

(Κ) The Pressure for Reform

Towards the end of the 1870's various influences were at work favouring reform of higher education. The defects just mentioned - the need for more good grammar schools, the
inadequate provision of general academic education for girls, the reluctance of parents to leave their children at school for an adequate time — were themselves arguments for reform. The desire for a broader curriculum was another influence. Since 1867 there had been some redefinition of "liberal education" (already interpreted more in the Scottish than the English tradition), notably in connection with the new interest in scientific subjects. Demands for more science subjects, as well as for more attention to history and English literature, in both state and private grammar classes, were not infrequent.

In the late 1870's the University faced a new threat, that the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts or a state-controlled technical college might embark on courses in competition with its own. The Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts had already ventured beyond elementary education and vocational training for the lower classes. A scheme for a Working Men's College was proposed in 1873,176 courses in advanced subjects for the public examinations were provided at the School of Arts, and there was talk of a School of Mines in association with the School of Arts.177 Consciousness of the lack of

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176 S.M.H., 5/2/1873; V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1876-7, vol.5, p.814.
177 S.M.H., 31/10/1874; V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1876-7, vol.5, pp.818-819.
technical education in N.S.W. was growing. The question was whether this training would be provided by Sydney University, the Working Men's College, or by night schools. The University asked for an increased endowment to enable it to establish a School of Mines. In 1876 and 1877 there were numerous meetings and deputations over evening and technical courses.

The crisis in the secondary schools was highlighted by a forward-movement of the Catholic schools. The convent schools had for long provided for non-Catholic girls of middle and upper class rank. Now it seemed possible that they would adopt the newer academic curriculum for girls, and that the Catholic boys' colleges would cater for Protestant boys. Events in other colonies, starting with the 1872 Education Act in Victoria, had made it apparent to the Catholic bishops that the time was not far distant when they would have to set up an independent system of primary schools and develop their secondary ones. When Vaughan became Archbishop of Sydney in succession to Polding he prepared for the coming struggle by persuading new religious teaching orders to come to Australia.

178 cf. report of meeting of Engineering Association, S.M.H., 4/2/1877; V.P., ibid., p.820.
179 cf. deputation of Engineering Association, S.M.H., 5/5/1876.
180 Fogarty, op.cit., pp.358-360.
Polding, himself a Benedictine, had relied mainly on this order to provide Catholic secondary schooling. But Benedictine education had never been extremely popular. Some of the finance for the new Catholic corporate schools in N.S.W. came from the closure of the Benedictine College of Lyndhurst, which occurred a few months after Polding died in March, 1877. The £30,000 realized from the first sales of the Lyndhurst estate provided an important building fund.

The tendency for Protestant girls and even boys to turn to Catholic schools for superior education caused alarm among non-Catholics in the late 1870's, and was one source of support for the creation of state high schools. The proposed state high schools, a parliamentarian pointed out in 1880, were planned for towns where Catholic grammar schools were being built.

But the religious issue was only one of several in secondary education. There was a shortage of facilities for

181 "The education imparted at Lyndhurst, though of a superior type, was considered too ambitious for the needs of colonial life. Its strong classical bias and its intimate connection with an ecclesiastical seminary were factors which, in the eyes of the new commercial and trading classes, rendered its course of studies quite inappropriate." Ibid., p.325.


183 McElhone, N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, ibid., p.1126.
children of the growing middle classes, while in many cases working class parents found existing schools too expensive. The need for schools providing superior education for girls was also apparent.

In March 1878 W.C. Windeyer, Attorney-General in the Parkes administration and university representative in parliament, moved that provision be made for grammar schools at Maitland, Goulburn and Bathurst, and that scholarships be provided annually for ten public school boys to attend grammar schools, and five grammar school boys to attend the university. Sydney Grammar School had reached its maximum size; areas outside Sydney had to be catered for; scholarships would open the way for the able of all social classes to reach the university. In December, 1878 Windeyer moved for the establishment and partial endowment by the state of a High School for girls in Sydney. Their efforts on behalf of secondary and university education were subsumed in the Public Instruction Bill of November, 1879.

The various pressures for reform during the 1870's were, however, blocked for a number of years by one major obstacle - the unwillingness of parliamentarians to deal with matters of educational reform.

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185 Moved 3/11/1878; 1st reading passed 7/2/1879 (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1878-9, vol.1, p.184)
(a) The Questions at Issue and the Interests Involved.

The controversy between the "denominationalists" and the "secularists" in the latter part of the 1870's involved much more than the relationship between religion and education. The part religion should play in elementary education was certainly a vital question. But other issues - the ability of the existing system to provide for increasing numbers of elementary pupils, the need to improve the quality of education, the pressure for increased access to "superior" or secondary school education, the need to improve the education of girls, and even demands for technical training - were also important elements in the controversy over education which broke out in 1875. Each of these matters has already received some mention in a preceding chapter, and only a brief elaboration is necessary at this stage.

The central religious issues were the right of the Churches to maintain elementary schools with state assistance, now challenged by the Public School League, and the place of religious instruction in the school curriculum. In the latter case, the alternatives were non-denominational "scripture" lessons, or the complete exclusion of religious instruction, either by teacher or visiting clergyman, as in Victoria.
The provision of an adequate number of school places was also a problem, arising not only from the growing number of children of school age, but also from increasing demands for compulsory attendance. In England Forster's 1870 Act and Mundella's 1880 Act proved that it was possible to combine compulsory education with a state-supported denominational system and local control. But in N.S.W. local participation was weak, and local funds were providing less rather than more support for the school system. Moreover, there was a greater variety of denominations capable of maintaining school systems than in England. The Council of Education had rationalized the competing denominational and state schools, but the existence of Anglican, Catholic, and State schools added to the expensiveness and inefficiency of primary education. If compulsory attendance were introduced the question of increasing the denominational schools would arise, something against the whole trend of recent developments.

The debate over the quality of education also involved religion if it could be asserted that denominational schools were not giving as good an education as the purely state ones. But since 1867 all state-aided elementary schools were subject to the same inspection and "standards of proficiency", and this had done something to raise the level of instruction in the less efficient denominational schools. Compulsory attendance promised to improve the quality of
education by correcting the prevalence of irregular attendance and brief schooling. Further, there was pressure from outside the school system to improve elementary education by giving greater attention to literature and history.

The National Schools had taken a great step forward in the 1850s by broadening of their curriculum, and in 1867 this curriculum had been extended to denominational schools. But certain subjects (particularly history) were still excluded from elementary schools. In addition, there was pressure for greater provision of grammar-type education in the higher grades of the elementary school or in state grammar schools, with the attached implication that this would open up the pathway to the civil service, the professions, and the university to wider social groups. Moreover, if the denominational schools were class schools it could be argued that their extinction would represent a growth of social democracy.

The reformation of girls' education was another current problem. N.S.W. was beginning to enter upon another period of democratic reform and the "condition of women" question
started to become an issue. Educational reform and democratic advance frequently had gone hand in hand, and the demand for grammar schools for girls, as well as their increasing participation in the public examination system, were in keeping with the revival of democratic ideas.

Even the demand for increased technical schooling was part and parcel of the educational controversy, in particular because this was seen as a scheme requiring increased state intervention in education. The agitation for a Technical College also involved questions of the role of the University in providing engineering and similar courses.

It is necessary to consider not only the above educational issues, but also to see how the various interested groups - the politicians, the clergy, the educational theorists, the teachers - reacted to these questions. It is also possible to general differences of approach among the different social classes - middle class, working class, and even the pastoralist class. Finally, the general climate of opinion, the changing ideology of the time, exerted a broad influence on the controversy.

1 There were three bites at political democracy and social reform during our period; the first in the 1830s, the second in 1850s and the third from 1880 to 1900. cf. C.M.H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History 1851-1900 (1955), p.xii. The first claims for female suffrage were voiced in the late 1870s. cf. Gollan, Radical and Working Class Politics (1960), p.177.
For the sake of clarity this complex of opinion-makers has to be simplified. Many of the small sectional interest-groups mentioned above were primarily concerned with one aspect of the educational issue, and this makes it easier to tackle educational opinion between 1875 and 1879 under the six heads: (1) the Public School League, which initiated the discussion; (2) the Churches, expressed in statements of Church leaders, newspapers, pamphlets, etc.; (3) the growth of secular and liberal ideas, which gives a picture of the general climate of opinion, against which the Public School League and the ecclesiastical hierarchy conducted their arguments; (4) the views of the newspapers, as revealed in their leading articles; (5) the views of educationalists at the university, in schools, and in the educational administration; and (6) the political struggle in parliament, which responded in no small degree to the influence exerted by the opinion-making bodies. The question of class approaches to education has not been given detailed and separate treatment, but comes into a general survey of class and education in Chapter IX, and in Appendix C.

(b) The Public School League Sets the Pace.

As already noted, in 1874 James Greenwood, a Baptist minister, took the initiative in forming a Public School League to agitate for a "National, Free, Secular and Compulsory" system. The objectives if the League were:
universal education provided by a national and uniform system to an agreed minimum standard.

(2) instruction to be "secular", but with scripture lessons by the teacher and religious instruction by visiting clergymen; the cessation of State aid to Denominational Schools.

(3) parents to be compelled to send their children to school.

(4) education to be free up to the agreed minimum standard.2

This moderate view of "free, compulsory, and secular" was consolidated by several explanations in the Sydney press disclaiming any extremism. "State grants to religious denominations for educational purposes should cease", said a League supporter in 1874. But he hastened to add: "I am not aware that a single voice has been raised advocating the abolition of the scripture lessons now taught in our Public Schools."3 The League was equally restrained on compulsion. According to Dibbs, a parliamentary supporter, children would not be expected to start their education until 7 or 8, and they would be required to attend for a minimum of two-thirds of the school days each year. Dibbs also argued that in attempting to extend the ability to read the League was assisting religion.4

The initial impact of the League was considerable.


3 Letter of George Martin, S.M.H., 26/10/1874.

4 "We were the best friends of religion if the clergy only knew it for we prepared the mental soil in which they could sow the seeds of religion." S.M.H., 27/10/1874.
In Newcastle, the largest centre of population outside Sydney, a public meeting was held in October 1874 at which a branch of the Public School League was formed. Within a few days branches were formed in the nearby townships of Wallsend, Waratah, Lambton, and New Lambton. The establishment of the League stimulated all the Churches, and particularly the Anglican and Catholic ones, to take a public stand over primary education. The need for this was increased by the general elections of 7 December 1874 to 12 January 1875. The fact that these elections were dominated by education must be credited to the energy of the P.S.L. and the reactions it provoked. In the new parliament G.R. Dibbs was particularly active in forwarding the policies of the Public School League.

(c) The Reaction of the Churches to the Challenge.

The foundation of the Public School League in 1874 forced all denominations and all newspapers to indicate their position on education; the greater number of

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5 In 1881 Newcastle had a population of just under 9000. This excludes neighbouring township-suburbs such as Wallsend (1000) and Lambton (2500). Sydney had a population of 103,000, with 120,000 in the suburbs.

6 Newcastle Chronicle, 22/10/1874. The meeting was addressed by the chairman (James Hannell, M.L.A.), the Rev. Dr. Barry, the Rev. James Greenwood, the Rev. T.J. Pepper (Congregationalist), the Rev. T.A. Gordon (Presbyterian), and others.

politicians, however, remained evasive. The bishops of the Catholic and Anglican Churches were most prompt in reacting, and their statements doubtless influenced the smaller denominations to take up their position. Being rather more democratic in organization, these latter often had to await the assembling of their annual conference before expressing their views.

In April 1872 the Catholic Church had been afforded convincing evidence of the weakness of lay support when the "Catholic Association for the Promotion of Education and Religion", founded in 1867 to maintain Catholic schools deregistered by the Council of Education, collapsed, and the schools under it closed. The campaign launched in 1874 by the Public School League revealed that the settlement of 1867, unsatisfactory as it was to the Catholic Church, was threatened. In August 1874 Archbishop Vaughan, coadjutor with Polding since the previous year, for a united front. He pointed out the advantages of denominational education and appealed "to all religious sects to unite, and work together in the defense of that system of education".

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8 Fogarty, op.cit., p.220
9 In 1868 Polding had forecast that the country would rue the day when the Public Schools Bill was passed. "The fruits of the measure will not, in all probability, be seen for ten or fifteen years, but sooner or later they will be seen" - Newcastle Chronicle, 17/9/1868.
10 Speech at Maitland, Newcastle Chronicle, 18/8/1874.
Lacking strong support for church schools within its own laity, the Catholic Church hoped to compensate for this by outside alliances.

Initially the Church of England showed some disposition to co-operate. In 1866 some Anglicans had joined with Roman Catholics against the Public Schools Bill.\(^{11}\) In 1874 Bishop Barker again extended a hand of friendship to Catholic opponents of a state system.\(^{12}\) Moreover, the Anglican Church was more successful in rallying its lay adherents against the Public School League. A Church of England Education Defence Association was organized, its manifesto of 30 September, 1874 stating that it had been formed to maintain by all legitimate means the existing system of public education and to resist the agitation for its replacement by a system designated "secular, compulsory, and free".\(^{13}\) But the more active lay movement in the Church of England was a mixed blessing, for at times the internal struggle against the bishops intruded on the question of denominational schooling.\(^{14}\) One of the founders of the Public School


\(^{12}\) "The Roman Catholics were our fellow-citizens, and had equal rights - if we claim the right to teach our children religious truths in our own way, surely the Roman Catholics have the same privilege." S.M.H., 27/10/1874.

\(^{13}\) S.M.H., 6/10/1874; 23/10/1874.

\(^{14}\) The first diocesan synod met in Sydney in December 1866 (W.M. Cowper, Frederick Barker, D.D., Bishop of Sydney, 1888, p.185), and the annual meetings thereafter provided a forum for clerical and lay opinion. Parkes comments on the
League was an Anglican clergyman, and one of its leading parliamentary supporters, George Dibbs, was a prominent layman and member of the synod. But when the synod resolved in favour of denominational teaching in 1875 there was only one dissentient voice. Dibbs warned that "if the clergy wished for the assistance of the laity they must face the inevitable doom of the denominational schools".

The Anglican Church, with some 80 elementary schools, had a considerable stake in the existing system. As the largest denomination in the colony (229,243 of the 503,981 inhabitants in 1871) it might have been expected to exert the greatest influence. However, the social composition of its adherents was more variegated than that of the other denominations and currents of opinion within the Church were correspondingly more diverse. The Bishop of Sydney did not hesitate to appeal to the social prejudices of upper and middle class Anglicans, pointing out that compulsory education would necessitate building two sets of schools. "When they get hold of all the ragged and shoeless children, what was to become of the young ladies and gentlment? Would they stop in the same room with the "gutter" children?" Ambiguity separation which grew up between clergy and laity subsequent to the Public Schools Act. (Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, 1892, pp.167-8).

15 The Rev. Dr. Zachary Barry, pastor of St. Matthias's Anglican Church, Woollahra.
16a Address at a public meeting, S.M.H., 27/10/1874.
in the Anglican camp also arose from the great variety of issues involved in the proposed educational reforms which included compulsory education, free education, the extension of secondary schooling, and so on, in addition to the removal of state aid from denominational schools.

By the time the Public Schools Act was passed the Congregationalists (formerly known as Independents) had become organized; a N.S.W. Congregational Union met annually from 1866 on. In addition to stress on local autonomy in church affairs, a main Congregationalist tenet was the separation of church and state. Originally this implied that the state was incompetent to interfere with education, which was a function of the Church, but at the 1844 enquiry the Congregationalist spokesman recommended the "general system", and the Congregationalists supported the Act of 1866. In 1874, however, the Ninth Annual Session of the Congregational Union of N.S.W. strengthened its doctrine of the separation of church and state, affirming that "the time has come for the entire withdrawal of state-aid from denominational schools".

The Baptist position showed a similar evolution. Originally they favoured a non-denominational system along the lines of the British and Foreign School Society and their spokesman had supported this solution in 1844, but in view of the objections of others in the community he was prepared to

17 Article, "Congregational Church", in Australian Encyclopaedia (1958), vol.2.
18 S.M.H., 19/10/1874.
accept the Irish National system. In 1869 the Baptist Union was formed. At the annual meeting in the following year the Chairman, the Rev. J. Greenwood, recently arrived from England, gave a powerful description of the rapid movement of "the wheels of progress" throughout the world, and shortly afterwards came out in favour of "secular" education, taking a leading part in the N.S.W. Public School League.

The Congregationalists and Baptists were small groups, numbering in 1871 9,253 and 4,151 respectively, out of a population of 503,981. However their influence in educational matters was quite out of proportion to their numbers. They also had a reputation for a relatively high degree of literacy among their children.

Compared with the smaller dissenting sects the Presbyterians and Methodists had less radical views on education. Opinion was divided, but non-denominational or secular instruction. One reason for the lack of unanimity within these groups was the variation in their position as teaching organisations in the different colonies, and from

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22 Report on Census of 1881, p.XXX.
time to time within the one colony. Moreover both sects suffered from divisions. The Presbyterian Church Act of 1865 reunited that Church.\(^{23}\) Annual Methodist Conferences met from 1872 onwards.\(^{24}\) The Presbyterians established denominational elementary schools in good numbers in N.S.W. and Victoria, but not elsewhere. The peak year was 1866, when there were 31 Presbyterian and 23 Wesleyan elementary schools in N.S.W.; by 1879, however, only 3 Presbyterian and 6 Wesleyan schools remained.\(^{25}\)

This decline in the number of their schools was undoubtedly of great influence in determining the attitude of the dissenting Protestants. In 1866 both Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists had supported the Public Schools Bill, though urging some modifications.\(^{26}\) But under the Council of Education their schools withered away, and they turned more and more to the Public Schools for their educational needs. The Presbyterian Assembly took a stand against denominational teaching in primary schools and for a national system. In October

\(^{23}\) Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of N.S.W. (1865).


\(^{25}\) *N.S.W. Statistical Register*, various years.

\(^{26}\) Petition of the Moderator and Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of N.S.W., 1 November 1866 (J.L.C., 1866, Pt.I, Abstract of Petitions, p.180); Petition of Ministers of the Wesleyan Church in Sydney, 15 November 1866 (ibid.)

\(^{27}\) S.M.H., 5/11/1874.
1874 the Education Committee of the Wesleyan Church resolved in favour of the abolition of state grants to denominational schools and for a general national system. The direction of dissenting opinion was clear.

Thus as early as 1875 dissenting Protestants of N.S.W. were by-and-large committed to the overthrow of the 1867 system. The two main antagonists of educational reform, the Anglican and Catholic Churches, found it unwise to restrict themselves to opposing all change. To counter the argument of economic and educational inefficiency and to encourage the state to withdraw as far as possible from education, the introduction of a "payment by results" system was suggested. In October 1875 Canon Arthur E. Selwyn of Christ Church, Newcastle, urged that the government pay "any one who should bring forward children able to pass their inspectors" the amount that was expended per head on children in Public Schools.

All the rest may safely be left to private and local enterprise. Let the State enter the open market as a customer. Let the State itself determine what the quality of the article is to be. Let it simply refuse to purchase and pay if the article does not come up to the mark. ... By this the religious difficulty would be entirely got rid of.

This position was also taken up by Catholic spokesmen, for instance by J.K. Heydon, editor of the Freeman's Journal.

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28 Evening News, 7/10/1874; quoted by Newcastle Chronicle, 10/10/1874.
29 Letter, S.M.H., 4/10/1875.
and by Archbishop Vaughan. But "payment by results" was a system of educational control which had already been tried in England and in other Australian colonies, and to which there were considerable objections.

(d) Religion, Secularism, and Liberalism in the 1870's.

It is time to make some reference to the background of ideas against which the arguments of so-called secularists and so-called denominationalists took place. A great strengthening of secular and liberal attitudes occurred in Eastern Australia in the twenty years following 1860. The withdrawal of state aid to religion had occurred in 1851 in South Australia, in 1859 in Tasmania, 1860 in Queensland, 1862 in N.S.W., and 1870 (effective 1875) in Victoria. The initial stage of state control over denominational schools, represented in N.S.W. by the Public

Heydon wrote to the S.M.H., 18/1/1876 favouring "free trade in education, as in all things" and a withdrawal of state intervention in the business of education. The Joint Pastoral of June 1879 had as one of its "practical recommendations": "Introduce payment by results in place of the present unjust and galling system. According to this method, whilst no creed is subsidized, each section of the community receives equal assistance with the other, according to ascertained results (by government inspection) of secular teaching". (S.M.H., 25/7/1880) A petition from Roman Catholics was presented to parliament on 18 November praying for the introduction of payment by results and the capitation system into the Public Instruction Bill (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1879-80, Vol.I, Abstract of Petitions, p.660).

Schools Act of 1866, had occurred in Queensland in 1860 and in Victoria in 1862. Three colonies had gone further; Victoria had withdrawn state aid to denominational schools completely in 1872, and Queensland and South Australia in 1876. N.S.W. was by no means in the vanguard of the movement.

Fogarty remarks that the general decline in religion in the 1860's and 70's is difficult to document directly and statistically, but was frequently referred to in contemporary evidence. It was seen in the general indifference to religious matters in denominational schools. It was also expressed in the lack of concern of many parents whether or not their children attended schools of their own denomination; a reluctance by some denominations to sustain their own schools financially; and the neglect of ministers of religion (with the possible exception of the Catholics) to provide religious instruction in both public and denominational schools.

However, "secularist" opinion was not necessarily anti-religious. Some of the apparent hostility to religion was in reality hostility to organized religion, to the Churches. There were even some popular philosophers who anticipated the merging of all creeds in a new Australian religion. "I am also anxious" (Farnell said in 1879) "to

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33 This neglect was partly an inability, due to shortage of clergymen.
cement the ties between the people of this colony and I see no reason why there should not be such a thing as an Australian religion."

Similarly, the advocates of secular schooling did not necessarily oppose religion; merely religious control of the schools. Many people, particularly among the smaller sects, believed that the place for religious inculcation was the home, the church, and the Sunday School.

The prevalence of religious indifference may be explained by such factors as the lack of religious homogeneity; an under-developed middle class, usually a bulwark of religion; and the enhanced role of the state, which competed with the Churches in claiming allegiance and narrowed the social functions left to religious organisations. The conditions of a pioneering society, with its "practical", materialistic rewards, made it difficult for the Churches to recruit sufficient clergymen, particularly of good calibre.

The very moderate interpretation of "secular education" by the Public School League is in striking contrast with developments in neighbouring Victoria, where the 1872

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34 N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 3/12/1879, p.465. Cf. W. Stephen in the Victorian Legislature, 12/9/1872. The theme of reconciliation was prevalent. Cf. Dillon, N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 27/11/1879, p.361: "Our object is to smooth the differences between the members of the various denominations." In January 1880 Vaughan commented that some "think that the whole world is advancing towards a new civilization, and that religion and the supernatural will, like denominational schools, be gradually, and not very slowly, swept away" - "The Catholics and the Education Question", first of a series of lectures, S.M.H., 12/1/1880.
Education Act completely excluded religious instruction by either teachers or clergymen. This contrast becomes more remarkable in that it was generally accepted that the hold of religion in 19th century N.S.W. was weaker than in Victoria. It was a commonplace in the 1840s and 1850s that the Sabbath was profane in Sydney but respected in Melbourne, and a similar situation seems to have existed in the 1860s and 70s. In Victoria some 71% of the population between six and 15 attended Sunday School, compared with 56% of the population between seven and 15 in N.S.W. In 1885 Francis Adams commented on the greater liberality of the "Sabbath rest" in Sydney compared with Melbourne. But this contrast took place within a general environment of low religious susceptibility. Russel Ward says that throughout the nineteenth century the pastoral workers of the outback were consistently anti-clerical. In 1874 Ranken commented on the great indifference to religion (and politics) in all the colonies.

"There is less religion exhibited, but the people are certainly

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36 These figures from R.W. Dale, Impressions of Australia (1889), p. 229, are for a slightly later date. But in 1880 N.S.W. (population 770,500) had 72,393 children (average enrolment) in Sunday Schools, while Victoria (860,000) had 130,274 (Statistical Yearbooks, N.S.W., 1880, Victoria 1880-81.).
37 In Australian Essays (1886), quoted M. Clark, Sources of Australian History (1957), p. 462.
not worse". 39

The explanation of N.S.W.'s failure to emulate Victoria's secularism lies not in any weakening of the wave of secularism in the 1870's, 40 but in certain differences between the religious and political patterns of the two colonies.

In N.S.W. the Church of England had some 456,000 nominal adherents, but provided church accommodation for only 107,000, while the average attendance at her principal service was only 61,000. In Victoria the Church's adherents were fewer by 100,000, but those present at worship were fewer by only 2000. 41 "In New South Wales", wrote an English observer, "to a much greater extent than in Victoria, the Church of England has lost its hold." 42

To whatever extent the effective strength of a Church is to be measured by the number of persons attending its services, Roman Catholicism is the strongest of the denominations in both New South Wales and Victoria ... The Roman Catholic attendance in New South Wales is 72,505 against the Church of England attendance of 60,796. 43

Attendance at church is, of course, by no means a completely reliable measure of support. Church-going can

39 The Dominion of Australia (1874), p.345.
40 This is suggested by G.H. Frodsham, Bishop of North Queensland, "Primary Education in Australia", in The Nineteenth Century, February 1904, p.222.
41 Dale, op.cit., p.229.
42 ibid., p.256.
43 ibid., p.237.
become a nominal form; it might not extend as far as sending children to church schools; and the strength of a denomination must also be measured by the social status and economic resources of its supporters. Nevertheless, the greater solidity of the Catholic community was a factor in the educational controversy of the 1870's. The existence of a strong Catholic minority, whose adherents seemed more docile to clerical leadership, was regarded as a pressing threat by many Protestants, and the Public School League was in part an association of Protestants anxious to harm Rome rather than a genuinely secularist movement.

Another relevant fact is that the dissenting sects, who made up the heart of the movement for the abolition of state aid to church schools, were weaker in N.S.W. than Victoria. In 1871 Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists made up 20.3% of the population of N.S.W., compared to 33.0% in Victoria. In N.S.W. the church attendance of Presbyterians and Methodists was proportionately less for their numbers than in Victoria, though the Methodist response was somewhat better in N.S.W. than that of other denominations.

45 Census returns, N.S.W. and Victoria, 1871. In N.S.W. Baptists and Congregationalists combined numbered 13,404 (2.7% of the total); in Victoria 34,502 (4.7%).
46 cf. Dale, op.cit., p.239.
The strength of the dissenters in Victoria disposed them to be more firm in their rejection of state aid for religious schools than in N.S.W. In this colony there had long been a tendency for the dissenters to move into the national schools, partly as a result of their inability to sustain schools of their own. The traditional non-conformist support for a "general system" with non-denominational religious instruction was carried on by the Public School League.

The political system of N.S.W. throws further light on the paradox of the religious interpretation of "secular education" favoured in N.S.W. in the 1870's. The political influence of the religious groups, particularly the Anglicans and Catholics, was much stronger in N.S.W. than in Victoria because of the absence of political parties. Organized political parties had emerged in Victoria, but it was not until 1887-89 that proper free trade and protectionist parties developed in N.S.W. The kaleidoscopic factionalism of N.S.W. politics gave the religious pressure groups a political strength beyond their social importance; politicians were reluctant to take any strong stand, and the propaganda of the P.S.L. had to be moderate.

Nineteenth century liberalism was another influence undermining ecclesiastical control of schooling. Applied

Cf. Gollan, Radical and Working Class Politics, pp.141-142.
to religion, liberalism implied that there was no positive truth in any particular religion, or at least that the state could not determine that truth. All creeds had to be treated as of equal merit. The individual was to discover religious truth for himself. The educational system could at the most support only general religious instruction or the reading of the Bible without comment.

Nineteenth century liberalism was not merely a negative doctrine of freedom in religion, it was also a positive assertion of the importance of democracy, nationalism, and enlightenment. Every man was entitled to vote, but in order to vote intelligently, he must be educated; and this, it was contended, was where the Church had failed. Instead of providing universal education, it had hindered it. It became necessary to remove education from the sphere of the Church. 48

The increasing annual influx of migrants of varying background was felt to be another argument for increased education for citizenship and democracy. 49

With the rise and progress of the sentiment of responsible government came an earnest thirst for

48 "The Church having failed in its duty to the young, the State began to interfere on their behalf" - letter on "Public Education" by "Theophilus", Journal of Primary Education, March, 1872 (p. 260).

49 In 1871 the number of immigrants into N.S.W. was 19,463 (of whom 2,261 were children); in 1873 23,882 (2,453 children); in 1875 29,994 (3,640); in 1877 32,610 (3,960); and in 1880 42,736 (4,746) (Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1880, p. 4). In 1880 26,559 departed by sea and an unknown number by land.
knowledge ... The closer we come to an absolute democracy the greater the necessity for schools; and the necessity creates the thirst, and the thirst, according to the great law of want, creates the supply.\textsuperscript{50}

The growing confidence of a liberal democracy that it could reform society encouraged belief in education as a social ameliorative. Crime was the result of ignorance, education dispelled ignorance. It was as simple as that.\textsuperscript{51}

The Statistical Register grouped crime, religion and education together - they were complementary facets of a general social condition.

But liberalism in N.S.W. was not interpreted as laissez-faire in education. It was the opponents of educational reform who tried to utilize traditional liberal phrases in their cause. When the denominationalists called for "payment by results" they also used the arguments of political economy, economic efficiency, and free trade in education.

Let the State enter the open market as a customer. The supply will be sure to meet the demand. Let the State itself determine what the quality of the article is to be. Let is simply refuse to purchase and pay if the article does not come up to the mark. Let them ask no questions as to where or how or by whom the article was produced. If the child is up

\textsuperscript{50} W.F. Morrison, \textit{Centennial History of New South Wales} (1888), p.320.

\textsuperscript{51} J. Jones, candidate for Central Cumberland, voiced the general opinion in 1869 when he asserted that the state ought to educate the people to make them law-abiding, and because ignorance was the mother of crime (\textit{S.M.H.}, 20/12/1869).
to the standard it requires, what more can it want? ... If it is said that such a system would multiply small schools, it may be answered that it would not multiply them unless it would pay, and it would not pay if they did not turn out a good article ... Here would be a real free trade in education; here would be ample room and opportunity for all the efforts of all eager educationists.52

The reply to this sort of argument had to be in its own terms: efficiency, ability to produce the results.

Some years ago, at an earlier stage of the controversy, we were inclined to support this proposal ... But experience has clearly shown that the advantages of this system are illusory, and that its disadvantages are real ... Twenty years ago the colony of South Australia adopted this system and now, having found that it is the most educationally backward of all the colonies, it is, in spite of all the vested interests that have accumulated, abandoning it in favour of a simple national system.53

Belief in progress was another important intellectual influence on the educational debate. The idea of progress, of the existence of an age of improvement, which can be traced as far back as the 1840s, gained a firm grip during the 1870s and 1880s. Economic growth was the rule and a liberal, independent, property-owning middle class was growing. But the importance of this middle class was restricted in N.S.W. because of the limited industrial growth in what was essentially a pastoral and commercial

52 Letter of Canon Selwyn, S.M.H., 4/10/1875, already quoted in part.
53 Leader, S.M.H., 6/10/1875. In 1863 a public meeting of N.S.W. teachers protested at suggestions that payment by results be introduced (cf. Griffiths, op.cit., p.111).
colony.  

If the International Exhibition of 1851 launched the era of optimism in England the International Exhibition at Sydney, September 1879-April 1880, performed the same function for New South Wales, as the closing address by Patrick A. Jennings, Premier shortly afterwards, suggests.

We have entered into a new arena and a race for progress among the nations of the earth, and have placed ourselves in kindly competition with the most ancient States of the Old and New World. It remains for us to prove by our energy and patriotism that we shall prove worthy of the exalted destiny which lies before us, and that foremost in the van of great colonies planted by the Anglo-Saxon race over all the habitable globe will be found our colony of New South Wales.  

Progress in the nineteenth century was thought of especially in quantitative terms. In education this meant pupils enrolled, examinations passed, new schools opened and citizens able to read and write. The annual reports of the Council of Education are crowded with such statistics, as are the relevant sections of the census reports. Progress in education was viewed as the extension of schooling till it became universal, and

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54 A minor industrial revolution started in Victoria after 1870. "In 1893 secondary industry contributed approximately thirty per cent of the total Victorian production and twenty per cent of New South Wales." (Gollan, Radical and Working Class Politics, 1960, p.154).

the agitation in the 1870's for compulsory attendance at school was strengthened by the belief that this step was an inevitable stage in the unrolling course of history.

"The vast increase of the means of education will tell ultimately", the Herald said in 1869, and expressed the hope that, in time, "wisdom and knowledge will give stability to our institutions, and render them more genial, more beneficent, and more fraternal."  

Pope Pius IX's attack on liberalism and progress, beginning with the "Syllabus of Errors" in 1864 and culminating in the proclamation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility in 1870, had a decisive influence on liberal-Protestant thought, accentuated the fear of Catholic influence in the community, and stimulated the movement for the withdrawal of state aid to denominational schools.

Even while the liberal-minded Professor Badham proclaimed

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Leader, 20/12/1869. For the link between progress and education cf. letter by "Tertius", "Education Progressive", S.M.H., 10/10/1877.

"It would have been impossible" (the Herald said of the "Syllabus") "for the most ardent and most skilful opponent of the Romish Church to draw up a more complete and exhaustive Bill of indictment against that institution as a friend of darkness and an enemy of light." (Leader, 20/3/1865) Quoted Suttor, op.cit., cf. letter in Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 3/12/1879.

Cf. Austin, Australian Education 1788-1900, pp.196-203. "After 1869 it was inevitable that the liberal State and the Roman Catholic Church should abandon their existing educational relationship and establish a new one." (p.203).
his sympathies with the Catholic case for aid to their schools and his abhorrence of sectarianism, he warned of the dangers of political Catholicism.

You must have seen more than once how that sympathy has changed to a very different feeling when priestly organisations have made themselves felt on the hustings, and the "Catholic vote" has sent into Parliament men whom they neither trusted nor loved ... chosen in order to secure a preponderance of denominational votes.59

(e) The Newspapers and the Educational Debate.

When the future of education became the subject of debate with the formation of the Public School League in 1874 the Sydney Morning Herald quickly came around to the view that the 1866 Act should be reformed. Certain, changes in the administration of the paper facilitated this change of policy. In 1873 Andrew Garran, an Anglican, succeeded West as editor. James Greenwood, leader of the Public School League, became a leader writer for the "Herald" (until he entered parliament in 1877) and did much to advocate the cause of the new education in his articles.60

When in 1872 Forster had moved a resolution favouring abolition of state aid to education the "Herald" had argued that this action had been provoked by the supporters of denominationalism, but defended the Council of Education and the "status quo".

59 Speeches and Lectures by Professor Badham (1890), letter to W.B. Dalcey, 1876, pp.92-93.
60 A Century of Journalism, p.656.
We think that Mr Parkes is strictly correct in stating that the Education Act has been a great success, and that it has in the main commended itself to the judgment and affections of the people. It has placed schools where there were none before; it has improved many that sadly needed the change; it has weeded out many incompetent teachers; it has shut up schools that gave the form without the reality of instruction; it has raised the standard of teaching; it has consolidated many small and inefficient schools into others larger and more effective; and it is steadily providing a class of teachers for the next generation.

Despite an oblique reprimand to the denominationalists for challenging the Council's policy on certification of denominational schools the paper concluded: "If the policy of the Council is to be in any degree reversed we are not letting well alone."\(^{61}\)

Then the Public School League launched its campaign and education became a burning issue. During the parliamentary debate initiated in 1875 by Dibbs, a prominent supporter of the League, the "Herald" came out clearly for reform. Competing systems existing side by side were uneconomic and inefficient; all children of school age should be receiving instruction. The paper also pointed to the weakness of voluntary educational institutions in N.S.W.

A larger proportion of our people depend upon a common school education for all the formal systematic training they receive than in any well-educated European community. Yet there is not one of these communities that has so small a portion of its people in regular attendance at

\(^{61}\) Leader, 16/12/1872.
common schools as we have, 62

In subsequent years the Herald continued to support educational reform, particularly in 1879. 63

We have suggested that Congregationalism was an influence on the Herald's education policy. The degree to which Congregationalists influenced the Sydney press was surprising. The Rev. Barzillai Quaife, a Congregationalist who for a while fell among Presbyterians, was a leader-writer on The Empire, published by Samuel Bennett from 1859 until 1869, when it closed down. Quaife was responsible for some of the educational articles in The Empire. From 1867 on Bennett also published the Sydney Evening News, on which H.H. Heaton, also a Congregationalist, worked as a reporter. Heaton married Bennett's daughter. This little nexus of Congregational journalists was an added strength for education reform. 64

The Evening News, a light paper by current standards, with no wish to be a political or party organ, 65 had no

62 Leader, 18/6/1875. On the following day the paper pointed out that under the 1872 Act in Victoria 12 per cent of the population was at schools, as against 8 per cent in N.S.W. Of Parkes it said: "The greater part of his speech was little worthy of the man or of the occasion."
63 See below, Section (h).
65 Leader, 20/12/1872. "We are by no means inclined to swear by the present Government, nor have we any desire to make the Evening News a political or party organ ..."
comment to make on Forster's 1872 motion. On Dibb's 1875 motion it favoured procrastination. The elections had shown that Dibb's views were not predominant; the community was not yet ready for a single state system of education. Despite the defects of the present system, any reform would produce a worse evil, social division. In short, the people were not yet ready for "adequate efficiency in the system of State Education".66

The Newcastle Chronicle had not committed itself over the reforms of 1866.67 But the paper welcomed the Public School League and specifically endorsed the League's policies of free education and compulsory education.70.

The Freeman's Journal, the weekly magazine of Catholic opinion, which devoted considerable attention to education and Ireland, attributed most of the opposition to denominational schooling to the dissenters, and considered the Herald a leader of dissenter activity.71

66 Leader, 3/6/1875.
67 Leader, 29/9/1866. ("Education"). "It is neither out province nor our purpose to take up the cudgels in favour of either plan."
68 Leader, 15/9/1874.
69 Leader, 25/4/1877. ("Free Education").
70 Leader, 13/2/1878. ("Mr Greenwood and Education").
71 'The Dissenters versus Denominational schools" (contributed article), 7/12/1872.
had his way, said the *Journal*, "in addition to foregoing all participation in State education, we will have to build and maintain schools to which our children can go, at our own cost. Is this fair?"\(^72\) It was merely a taunt to say that the state provided schools and if Catholics did not use them it was their own fault.\(^73\)

(f) The Views of Educationists on Educational Reform.

A striking feature of the discussion of the late 1870's was the limited participation of educationists. The main educational spokesmen for reform were the inspectors and some university men. The two outstanding educational theorists of the period were undoubtedly William Wilkins, Secretary to the Council, and Charles Badham, Professor of Classics at Sydney University, 1867-1884. Wilkins was mainly interested in elementary schools and Badham in grammar schools, but they both expressed views on wider aspects of education.

After 1867 Wilkins no longer polemized in public on behalf of state schooling as in the days of the National Board. In 1879 many parliamentarians expressed approval of the non-partisan attitude which the Secretary of the Council of Education had maintained.\(^74\) Nevertheless in

\(^72\) Minor leader, 5/6/1875.
\(^73\) Leader, "The Education Debates", 26/6/1875.
\(^74\) *S.M.H.*, 19/6/1879.
the Council's annual reports Wilkins still managed to put
the case for reform. He was also Chairman of the Committee
publishing the monthly *Australian Journal of Education*
(January 1868 to December 1870), 75 most of the articles in
which were written by members of the Committee. These two
avenues for propaganda were exploited by the advocates of
reform. 76

The inspectors and Wilkins were particularly fervent
in advocating compulsory attendance. The neglect of many
parents to send their children to school regularly persuaded
the Council of Education of the need for legal compulsion.
The 1877 Report took up the matter in some detail. "Want
of parental control, pandering to the caprices of children,
and a disposition to take offence at the teacher on slight
or even unwarrantable pretexts, are common causes of removal
of pupils from school."

In November 1877 Wilkins

75 Wilkins took 12 months leave, for health reasons, 1869-70,
visiting England. *The Western Australian* took over then.

76 The magazine was mainly concerned with raising the
professional status of teachers and the art of teaching.
A.J.E., 1868, p.1. An article in The Freeman's Journal
referred caustically to the hazy platitudes of Inspector
McIntyre's Reports, 21/12/1872. ("Mr Forster's Education
Speech").

77 The Council cited a "singular example" of the last-mentioned
case. A female teacher having found one of her scholars,
a grown girl, reading *Pamela* during the recess, took the
book from her, and sent it with a note to the girl's guardian,
who, "so far from feeling gratified at this manifestation of
interest in her ward's welfare, took offence, and removed her
from the school, sending at the same time an insolent message
to the teacher". 1877 Report, p.5 (*V.P., N.S.W.L.A.*, 1877-8,
requested teachers to ascertain the reasons for non-attendance of children at public schools, and some of the findings were reprinted in the 1877 Report of the Council. Parental indifference was by no means the only cause (others included poverty, the need to employ the child's labour, the disagreeable smell of the slaughter yard adjacent to the schoolroom, and religious reasons). 77a

Badham was a leading advocate of an intellectual education for girls. He welcomed the opening of the Senior and Junior Public Examinations to females as likely to improve the female mind and to equip women to lead a more active life in society. The university, he said, in this way avowed its sympathy.

77a

One teacher, investigating the transference of twelve children belonging to five families to a private seminary, obtained the following explanations: (1) You are by far too hard, and keep them too close at work, and give too many home lessons, and make too much fuss about nothing, if they do not prepare them, or if they happen to be late in the morning; (2) I have a decided, an insuperable objection, to my children, who have noble blood in their veins, mixing with the common throng. I was never taught at a Public School, and I will not allow my children to be so, if I can help it; (3) Well, you see -- owes me an account for the last three months, and I will never get it unless I take it out in this way; (4) The poor -- asked me to give him a turn, and my children are so young that it does not matter where they go for a year or two; (5) My children were getting too impudent at the Public School; they came home and bounced me about not having the house clean, and I could not stand it.
with the struggling governess, who desires some better testimonial of her own fitness than the paltry certificates of employers, perhaps her inferiors in knowledge, and who would be glad to overawe the criticism of vulgar gossip by an appeal to the judgment of a University; with the frank-hearted and bright-eyed native schoolgirl, whether her parents rich or poor, whether born in a Sydney mansion or in the hut of a free-selector.\textsuperscript{78}

Badham reminded women that there was nothing to prevent them attending university lectures and expressed the hope that they would soon be admitted to degrees.

It was not until 1876 that Badham expressed any views on the organization and administration of primary education,\textsuperscript{79} however, from the time of his arrival in the colony he was concerned with the quality of elementary education, and with breaking down the distinction in kind between elementary and grammar school education. He wished to lessen the stress on memorizing facts in elementary education and to encourage the development of thinking and understanding characteristic of the best middle class and higher class education. "We talk of primary and secondary education as if they were two distinct things, as if there were two educations - the mind

\textsuperscript{78} Commemoration Address, 1871 in Speeches and Lectures by the Late Professor Badham (1890), p.33. The opening of the Public Examinations to women seem to have public pressure but \textsuperscript{79} I have never taken any part in politics ... I have never taken any side in the question between the advocates of secular education and their opponents". (Letter to John Robertson, 1 March, 1876, reprinted in Speeches and Lectures, p.34).
only learns in one way whatever it learns ... whether the mind to be informed belongs to the son of a glazier, or to the child of the lordly mansion."\textsuperscript{80} Badham's numerous differences with the Council of Education and its servants\textsuperscript{81} were not over aims, but over the best methods of achieving common ends. These clashes led Badham to support Robertson's move in 1876 to dissolve the Council of Education and place the schools under a Minister.\textsuperscript{82} He followed this with a letter to W.B. Dalley, Robertson's Attorney-General and a Catholic. Badham (an Anglican) limited himself to supporting the current Bill. He reiterated his belief in the need for a Minister to control the "hierarchy of Secretary and Inspectors"; expressed the view that denominational schools should not be forced out of existence, particularly those of the Catholics, "the poorest sect in

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p.87.

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., p.87.

\textsuperscript{82} Badham's attack on grammatical analysis in the public schools was interpreted as a criticism of Morell's The Analysis of Sentences, and the founder of this system was invited to comment (Australian Journal of Education, 1870, pp.3-5). Cf. also Badham's letter to Under-Secretary of Justice and Public Administration, 28 March, 1876 (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1875-6, Vol.5, p.213) in which he argues that the quality of education (especially in English) is adversely affected by the inspectorial system, the choice of books and teaching methods, and by the lack of concern by the Council of Education in these matters.

\textsuperscript{82} Badham to Robertson, 1 March, 1876, reprinted in Speeches and Lectures, pp.84-85. Robertson read out this letter during the second reading of his bill.
Australia". His main sympathy towards the Catholics, however, sprang from a liberal resentment of the sectarian and intolerant atmosphere prevalent in public discussion. He believed that the League stimulated sectarianism all round, though expressing admiration for its leader, James Greenwood ("that terrible Statistical Windmill"). He was also opposed to the principle of compulsory education, and argued against the view that ignorance led to crime. "It is at least as likely that excessive poverty leads to both at once."  

Another academic, Professor Smith, was Chairman of the Council of Education, where he became convinced of the need for education to be controlled by a staff of full-time administrators under a Minister of Education, rather than by the part-time, voluntary members of the Council of Education.

Catholic educationists were relatively silent, though letters in The Freeman's Journal sometimes expressed their views. But they had no leading educational figures in the public debate. W.A. Duncan, a former teacher and friend of Parkes, was appointed to the Council 31 December, 1872 and remained a member until 1880, and this seems to have restricted

83 "Will you punish for all ages to come and for no nobler motive than that of economising on your taxes, the men who help you pay those taxes?"

his public pronouncements. 85

What of the educators themselves - the headmasters of private schools, the public schoolteachers? Did they make any contribution to the formation of public opinion on the system of education?

The headmasters of the major grammar schools were afforded an annual occasion of presenting their views at speech days, full reports of which usually appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald. Such addresses, however, usually dealt with the content and method rather than the organization of education. 86 As for the Public School teachers, their public activities were inhibited by the authority of the Local Boards, the inspectors, and the regulations of the Council. 87 An attempt in the 1870s to establish a "Teachers Association of N.S.W.", and to resume publication of a journal similar to the Australian Journal of Education might have provided formal vehicles for teacher-opinion. But

85 The death of Plunkett in 1869 removed a Catholic educationist with influence in official circles.

86 In 1879 Weigall permitted himself a mild denial that "the so-called secular system of education" promoted immorality (S.M.H., 20/12/1879).

87 The 1875 Regulations included among the powers of the local Board - "67 (g) To observe whether the Teacher discharges his duties; to report his conduct to the Council when he is at fault; and to protect him from vexatious complaints. (h) To suspend a teacher from office, pending the decision of the Council, upon reasonable evidence of gross irregularity or immoral conduct." (V.D., N.S.W.L.A., 1875-6, Vol.5, p.147). Such power was likely to make a teacher very circumspect.
The Journal of Primary Education only lasted from 1871 to 1874, and the Council gave little encouragement to these efforts. Some teachers contributed to this magazine in defence of the existing system or in advocacy of reform. But The Journal of Primary Education had little support from teachers, apart from those in rural areas. Many teachers felt that it took the part of the Council against them.

(g) Parkes and Parliamentary Ambivalence, 1875-1879.

The Public School League had precipitated the educational issue in 1874. The Churches were not slow to declare their opinions and to take up the challenge. The colonial press was, by-and-large, either neutral or favoured reform. The educationists, often discreet as far as public utterances were concerned, in their professional circles recognized the need for educational change. The prevailing colonial sentiment was in the direction of liberalism and progress, and hence favoured reform of the school system, on lines already indicated in some sister-colonies. But in parliament there was hesitation. The political system.


89 Cf. Letter protesting against a suggestion of Professor Smith that Alexander Gordon was a suitable person for membership of the Council of Education (September, 1871, p.49); letter advocating abolition of fees (March, 1872, p.261).

90 "What is to be the fate of the Journal" (April, 1872, p.273).
of the time encouraged procrastination on controversial issues. There were no political parties, but rather constantly changing groups and alliances; "personal factions of an evanescent nature, which shrouded their methods - and often their membership - from the public gaze". Their strength depended considerably on the skill of their leaders in parliamentary intrigue and manoeuvre. Members of parliament were not paid, but the seven to ten ministers were, thus adding to the attraction of office and the instability of government. Education was an explosive problem which parliamentarians preferred to leave alone, save when it promised some immediate benefit to themselves or embarrassment to their opponents.

In the parliament which followed the elections of December 1874-January 1875 Robertson was premier and Parkes leader of the opposition. Parkes successfully moved abolition of the requirement that private sources contribute a third of the cost of school buildings. G.R. Dibbs, a government supporter and a member of the Public School League, attempted to develop this initiative, calling for a return of the amount of religious instruction being given in schools, and another on the number of children obtaining

92 20 April, 1875, V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1875, Vol.I, p.78.
free education. In June he moved a motion in similar terms to that of Forster in 1872 calling for the discontinuance of aid to denominational schools. This was lost, by seven votes to 21, both Robertson and Parkes opposing. Parkes took the opportunity to deal with the policy of the League in detail, and attempted to show that compulsory education had been a failure in America and Victoria.

For the sake of a thin, unsustainable theory, were they going to shut up such magnificent schools as St Philip's, St Mary's, and St James', and put the country to the expense of building other school houses, which would supply no better kind of education? (hear, hear) They should gain no single advantage, but only gratify the whim of a bigoted disbeliever in religion or an equally bigoted secularist. (Derisive cheers).

Thus Parkes, champion of tolerance and the cause of denominationalism. An article in the Sydney Morning Herald took a cynical view of Parkes' courting of the Catholic vote (his "new orthodoxy") and remarked: "Mr Parkes, when he is continually genuflecting, has his attention perhaps more fixed upon place than prayer, and upon pay than piety".

Early in 1876, however, a crisis in the Council of Education forced matters to a head again. Two members resigned and the President indicated his anxiety - through

4 June, 1875, ibid., p.188.

Introduced 1 June (ibid., p.182) defeated 21 July (ibid., p.303).

Sydney Morning Herald, 19/6/1875. "Bigotted" in the original. Smith and Spaull, op.cit., p.159 change "disbeliever in religion", to, "Religionists".

"The Reaction of Political Conversion", signed X, 22/6/1875.
overwork - to be relieved of his duties, recommending at the same time that in his opinion a responsible minister should be put in charge of educational administration. 98

Robertson cautiously tested Parliamentary feeling by submitting a motion on the desirability of introducing a bill. This was approved, and the Public Schools Amendment Bill was read a first time on 11 February, 1876. The Bill was moderate. It provided for a Department of Education, under a Minister, the raising of the necessary minimum attendance figure for Certified Denominational Schools from 30 to 40, increased remuneration for teachers, and prohibited the establishment of new denominational schools. 99

The Public School League and the Church of England Defence Association each immediately planned meetings to test public opinion. Robertson delayed the second reading, admitting that he was awaiting the outcome of the impending demonstrations. The Sydney Morning Herald commented:

Those who have deep convictions on the subject, as well as those who care little about anything but themselves, alike look upon the manoeuvres of the party leaders as a game in politics. They attribute both to Mr Robertson and Mr Parkes the same fundamental convictions

98 N.S.W.L.A., 27/1/1876 (S.M.H., 28/1/1876); S.M.H., 11/2/1876 (leader). From December 1873 the Minister of Justice also bore the title of Minister of Public Instruction.
and principles. Both men are believed really to prefer a National to a Sectarian system of education. Neither of them is credited with any passion for martyrdom. Either will forward the work of National education if it can be done consistently with the retention of office, but neither will fly in the face of the powerful Denominational vote. At the same time neither is willing to offend hopelessly the growing power of the League, and each tries to excite hopes and allay fears so as to balance the conflicting forces as well as may be. It is in the deliberate conviction of the great mass of the people that the ultimate solution of the question is to be found, and the trading politicians will jump with the utmost nimbleness to whichever side they see is becoming the more powerful.

The Church of England Defence Association held its meeting on 28 February and the Public School League on 4 March. As a result, Robertson found sufficient courage to proceed with the second reading (8 March). Parkes, leader of the opposition, opposed the bill, but cautiously. It was "patchwork legislation." A clause had been inserted in the bill forbidding the employment of children who had not received a minimum amount of education. The place for such a provision, said Parkes, was in a bill dealing with the employment of children. He was opposed to compulsory education, but if education was made free and all classes of children attended Public Schools he would support it. "He was anxious to preserve the present state of things; but if he were compelled to give his vote, he must give it against Denominational schools." However, he would be sorry if he lived to give that vote. Parkes took his

100 Leader, S.M.H., 28/2/1876.
101 S.M.H., 9/3/1876.
stand, feet planted firmly in both camps.

When it came to the vote the ambiguity continued. Alexander Cameron voted against the bill on the grounds that its secularisation clauses were not strong enough. The Catholic Butler, his disappointment with Parkes still fresh, supported the bill because he did not want to see Robertson defeated and Parkes premier. "I hate the Bill, but I hate Henry Parkes more." Secularists such as Dibbs and Buchanan also opposed the bill. A group of denominationalists, led by Sir Alexander Stuart, President of the Church of England Defence Association and Colonial Treasurer, who had just joined Robertson, supported the bill. The second reading passed narrowly, 32 to 28, on 15 March. Parkes then delivered a fiery speech announcing a change of heart:

For ten years I have incurred a large amount of contempt and met with any amount of opposition in maintaining the present settlement of the question of education, but I have now seen gentlemen who came into this House as the avowed friends of Denominational schools - (great cheering) - turn traitor - (continued cheering) - and strike the first fatal blow at the existing schools. (Cheers) I am now relieved from any obligation to maintain the cause they have betrayed - (laughter, and cheers) - and, so far as I am concerned, I shall hold to myself the right of taking that course which the extraordinary circumstances of tonight's division may seem to direct.

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102 Fitzpatrick, N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 26/11/1879 (p.324). In November 1873 Parkes had elevated Martin as Chief Justice, Alienating Butler.

103 In the October 1877 elections Parkes alleged that Robertson, realizing he would be defeated, promised to drop the bill if the Second Reading were passed.

104 S.M.H., 16/3/1876.
A few days later, however, Robertson's Bill was ruled out of order on the grounds that it had been improperly introduced. 105

1877 was a year of political confusion. In March Parkes successfully moved a vote of censure on the Robertson government, but there was no dissolution; Parkes formed a ministry which lasted from March to August. Then Robertson came back for a few months. On October 12 parliament was dissolved and elections were held from 24 October to 12 November. 106

Under these conditions little effective legislation was possible on education or any other matter. The university had requested an increased endowment. In March 1877, four months after the request, the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction was forced to explain that "the multifarious and harrassing matters which had been forced upon the attention of the Cabinet" had prevented any action. 107 In May 1877 Buchanan, the bitterest parliamentary opponent of the Public Schools Act, moved a

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105 22 November, 1876, V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1875-6, Vol.1, p.135. The speaker ruled that "the Bill is one for the appropriation of part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, and not having been first recommended by a message of the Governor ... it was not regularly before the House".


motion in terms of Forster's of 1872. It was lost, six for, 23 against.108

In the elections of October-November 1877 Parkes continued his cautions veering into prevailing winds. He expressed support for the establishment of high schools - for which some public demand had been voiced - but made his support of compulsory education dependent on the lessons of the Victorian experiment. If experience justified the change he was prepared, upon certain conditions, to give it support.109 James Greenwood of the Public School League, was a candidate in East Sydney, where Parkes and Stuart (who supported denominational education) also stood. Greenwood presented himself as a supporter of Parkes and he and Stuart were among the four elected; but Parkes was defeated, as was Robertson in West Sydney. However, alternative seats were immediately found for both.110

Robertson and Parkes both being discredited, Farnell, leader of a "third party" of Independents, formed a ministry which survived for a year (December 1877 to December 1878) but achieved little. Greenwood seized the


109 Smith and Spaull, op.cit., p.164.

110 For Parkes defeat in East Sydney vide S.M.H., 25/10/1877; for his election for Canterbury, ibid., 30/10/1877.
earliest opportunity to introduce a resolution supporting compulsory school attendance between the ages of six and 15, abolition of fees, and discontinuance of state aid to denom national schools. Parkes criticized the motion, but agreed that the education question should be tackled fairly soon, and moved an amendment for a Select Committee. His amendment was eventually lost, but so was Greenwood's motion. One of the members accurately remarked that Parkes wanted to get the question into his own hands again.

In December 1878 Robertson joined Parkes in a coalition government, Robertson moving into the Legislative Council and Parkes becoming premier. The new alliance had a firm majority and a period of effective government commenced, bringing important reforms in land, electoral matters, and education.

(h) Archbishop Vaughan Precipitates the Crisis.

In March, 1879, Dr Bowker moved that education be placed in the hands of a responsible minister, instead of the Council of Education. Parkes agreed that reform was wanted but urged delay, and the debate was postponed several times between March and June. On 31 May Parkes indicated in a speech at Sutton Forest that governmental

112 22 March, 1878, ibid., p.187.
policy was changing. After outlining the growth of the national system since 1866, he commented on some of its defects. Undoubtedly, he said, the time was close when the Public School system would have to be changed. "Indeed, the present Government - so I believe, so I am told - is pledged to some change in the school system ... That change must take place, and in all probability will take place before another year is over." The Herald commented that this "was a vague as the delphic oracle."

In June, during a discussion on the estimates, Parkes promised to introduce a Bill within four months.

The agonizing delay was brought to an end when the Catholic Archbishop, R.B. Vaughan, and his three suffragan bishops issued a Joint Pastoral letter which deliberately provoked the final break with the denominational system. Published in the Sydney Morning Herald on 25 July, it raised a storm of controversy, quite exceeding that produced

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114 Speech at laying of foundation stone of Public School at Sutton Forest (near Moss Vale) S.M.H., 14 May, 1879. 30/5/1879.

115 The events of the last year, he said, had persuaded him that "changes in the educational law of the country must take place". (S.M.H., 19/6/1879).

117 "You had made up your mind to crush the Denominational schools before a line of any Pastoral had been penned, and all I have done has been to poke you on a little faster than you were going" - that we might realize our position, and get our shoulders to the wheel"- R.B. Vaughan, Pastorals and Speeches on Education (1880), p.134. (Speech in Sydney, February 29, 1880, in reply to Parkes' Third Reading attack).
by the League in 1874.\textsuperscript{118} Wishing to deter Catholic parents from sending their children to the public schools, the bishops condemned schools founded on the "principle of secularist education" as "seeplots of future immorality, infidelity, and lawlessness, being calculated to debase the standard of human excellence, and to corrupt the political, social and individual life of future citizens." The immediate result was the withdrawal of Catholic children from the public schools in large numbers. This efflux was encouraged by five further Pastoral letters, issued between 10 August and 10 October.

The Joint Pastoral was issued during the parliamentary recess. The politicians were thus afforded an opportunity to watch public reaction and estimate which way the wind was blowing. There was little doubt about popular feeling now!

Parkes decided that it was time to act. On 29 October he gave notice of a motion to introduce an education bill\textsuperscript{119} and on 5 November he moved "that it is expedient to bring in a Bill to make more adequate provision for public education".\textsuperscript{120} Speaking to this motion of principle, which was passed, Parkes proposed reforms which met most of

\textsuperscript{118} Fogarty, \textit{op.cit.}, p.250.

\textsuperscript{119} N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, Vol.I., p.28.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., p.87.
the educational demands raised in recent year - more grammar schools, the introduction of history into the curriculum, state provision of secondary education for girls, ministerial control of education and so on.

Petitions from all parts of the colony, for and against the Bill, poured in, but the number favourable was convincing evidence of popular support; Parkes had no reason to doubt the course he was taking. The Public Instruction Bill was read a first time late in the evening of 12 November, 1879.

The Presbyterian Assembly, on 5 November 1879, reiterated its objections to separate grants for denominational schools, and supported the proposed bill without qualifications.\textsuperscript{121} The Congregationalists also supported the bill, the Chairman of the Congregational Union forwarding a petition to parliament in support.\textsuperscript{122} The \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} played its part in refuting Archbishop Vaughan's allegations of the social evils of secular education. "Those who maintain that attendance at a public school is preventive of religious training ... have the burden of proof on themselves ... A boy runs less risk of perversion there than he does elsewhere."\textsuperscript{123} A leading article on the occasion of the

\textsuperscript{122} V.P., N.S.W.L.A., ibid., p.605.
\textsuperscript{123} Minor leader, 11/9/1879.
second reading of the Public Instruction Bill approved it on the secure grounds of efficiency in education. "Those who are familiar with the working of our school system have been insisting, for years past, that some compulsory enactment alone will enable the country to overtake its educational wants." The paper strongly attacked the Catholic clergy, and attempted to distinguish between the hierarchy and Catholic laymen.  

The position of the Anglican Church on the education question was vital, but it was apparent at the 17th session of Synod in September 1879 that the Church of England was not united. Though the majority in the Synod still supported the denominational schools, there were many dissentient voices, clerical as well as lay, by 1879.

Now that the crisis had come, the solidarity of the Anglicans cracked, the anti-hierarchical groups within the Church viewing the discarding of church elementary schools as a continuation of the movement for disestablishment and as a liberal and democratic measure. They very violence of the Catholic bishops' onslaught aroused a revulsion of feeling, preventing unity of Catholics and Anglicans against the bill. In 1875, when the controversy over the future of denominational schools was

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124 Leader, 21/11/1879.
125 S.M.H., 17/9/1879 and 19/9/1879.
already under way, Bishop Tyrrell had warned the Synod not to speak in terms of untruthful disparagement of the public schools, for they were neither Godless nor irreligious.  

The composite nature of the proposed reforms inhibited any clear stand by the Church; the bill was concerned not simply with the cessation of state aid, but with compulsory attendance, the extension of grammar schools, and so on. Nor did it propose to introduce secular education in the proper sense of the word, for general religious instruction by the teacher, as well as denominational instruction by visiting clergymen, was envisaged. The divided views of the Church were illustrated by the petition presented to the Legislative Assembly in December 1879 by the Bishop of Sydney approving the proposed extension of educational facilities but praying for no interference with denominational schools.

In the meantime the Catholic Church maintained its

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127 In this respect N.S.W. offered a contrast to Victoria. The Anglican Bishop of Ballarat praised the N.S.W. bill. "I should be deeply grateful if our Victorian Education Act could be conformed to it in its provision for religious instruction." - letter to Parkes, 8/3/1880 (Parkes' Correspondence, p.32, in Mitchell Library. A 919. quoted Westerway, p.29.

128 2 December, 1879, in *V.P., N.S.W.L.A.*, 1879-80, Vol.I, p.661. At the 1879 Synod the Rev. J. Ross warned against falling to the level of the dissenters by abandoning Church schools, against embracing Catholicism, and against reacting so extremely as to aid secularism. (*S.M.H.*, 17/9/1879).
In his Pastoral Letter of September 1879 Bishop Murray of Maitland stated forthrightly:

In towns and district where a Catholic school is in operation Catholic parents who send their children to public or other anti-Catholic schools cannot be admitted to the sacraments, nor will children attending these schools under such circumstances be confirmed.129

The break had been made and Church policy was to be implemented. The rites of Catholic burial were refused on at least two occasions130 and Archbishop Vaughan himself refused to confirm children attending public schools.131

A prominent lay Catholics, such as McKenna and Fitzpatrick132 disagreed with their bishops. But following the Joint Pastoral and Vaughan's own Pastoral letters in late 1879 many Catholics withdrew their children from public schools. The Sydney Morning Herald conducted a survey of 17 public schools in Sydney to assess effect of

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130 Richard Kenna, a pastoralist who died on 20 June, 1879, was denied consecrated burial by the Bishop of Bathurst because he refused to remove his son from Sydney Grammar School. The case aroused resentment because Edward Butler, Q.C., who died 11 days earlier and who also had a son at the school, had been buried with full ceremony in Sydney (leader, S.M.H., 12/1/1880). Michael Fitzpatrick, M.L.A., who died on 10 December, 1881, was also refused consecrated burial, owing to his attitude on the education question, but this was soon reversed and a burial service performed - Mennell, Dictionary of Australian Biography (1892), p.166.
131 Leader, S.M.H., 12/1/1880.
132 Fitzpatrick supported the Public School system and spoke against the abuse of ecclesiastical authority, but abstained from voting on the 1879 Bill. Cf. Heaton, Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men (1879), p.62.
the Joint Pastoral on enrolment of Catholics. It found a
drop within one week of approximately 192 out of a total of
1,157.\textsuperscript{133} In November Parkes also investigated the effect
of the Pastorals on the attendance of Catholic children in
public schools.\textsuperscript{134} It was clear that Catholics were
responding to the call of their Church. Over a longer
period Catholic enrolments in N.S.W. public schools dropped
proportionately:\textsuperscript{135}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dec.1878</th>
<th>Dec.1880</th>
<th>Dec.1883</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Enrolment</td>
<td>66,668</td>
<td>114,811</td>
<td>132,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Pupils</td>
<td>12,600</td>
<td>27,827</td>
<td>24,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Catholics</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Charles G. Heydon, editor of the \textit{Freeman's Journal},
attributed the continued enrolment of Catholics in public
schools to the fact that in many places, particularly in
the country, there were no Catholic schools, and that
Catholic children of mixed marriages frequently attended
public schools.\textsuperscript{136}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{133} S.M.H., 29/7/1879, 30/7/1879. Total pupil enrolment in
these schools had been approximately 9,206.
\item \textsuperscript{134} Letter from Miller of Council of Education to Parkes, 20
November, 1879. Parkes Correspondence, quoted Fogarty,
\textit{op.cit.}, p.251, N.2.
\item \textsuperscript{135} Figures from Report of Council of Education for 1878
(p.12). Report of Minister of Public Instruction 1880 (p.94)
and 1883 (p.30). The rise in 1880 is due, of course, to
compulsory attendance.
\item \textsuperscript{136} Letter headed "The Catholic Laity and the Public Schools",
S.M.H., 2/1/1880.
\end{itemize}
The Catholic Church had precipitated the crisis of 1879, but had not caused it. This was pointed out at the time by the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which saw the Public Instruction Bill as the culmination of the inevitable march of educational progress. "Our public educational policy has pursued, although slowly, a natural course. It has been the gradual transfer of the management of education from the Church to the State." The final timing of this eventually was determined by the Catholic Church.

Sooner or later the end must have been reached, but they decided that it should be sooner. The course of events could not be turned aside, nor could the public be made to go back on its convictions. The gradual emancipation of primary education from ecclesiastical surveillance was bound to be achieved. That followed from the operation of an inevitable law. The only question was as to how and when.137

(i) The Passage of the Public Instruction Act.

When Sir Henry Parkes moved his motion of principle in the Legislative Assembly on 5 November, 1879138 he did not immediately lay the bill before the House, but outlined the main changes proposed. Education was to be placed under the control of a minister; at least three additional grammar schools for boys and one or more higher schools for girls would be provided; night schools would be established; the number of children required for the founding of new public

137 *Leader*, 28/11/1879.

138 *N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates*, 1879-80, pp.87-88.
schools would be reduced from 25 to 20; the arrangements for religious instruction were to be agreed upon by the teacher and ministers together; children would be given separate religious instruction by visiting clergymen; the history of England and Australian was to be taught; attendance would gradually become compulsory; fees would be reduced to 3d. per child, with a maximum of 1s. for each family; and after a certain date, state aid to denominational schools would cease.

When Parkes introduced this motion a member expressed regret that "the honourable member who was looked upon as the champion of denominational education" was not present.\(^\text{139}\) This member, Mr Alexander Stuart, had been offered an appointment as Agent-General in London. He resigned from the Assembly on 25 November and the East Sydney by-election was regarded as an opportunity to test public reaction on the education issue. The candidates were Dr Arthur Renwick, a supporter of the bill, Mr R.C. Tooth, associated with the brewery firm, who supported denominational education, the Rev. J.A. Dowie, a Presbyterian, temperance candidate who also supported the bill, and Mr T.D. Dalveen, who made no attempt to support either public or denominational schools. Although on the polling day electors were treated to free beer, cabs, and

\(^\text{139}\) Mr Jacob, 5/11/1879 (ibid., p.89).
omnibuses by Tooth's supporters, Dr Renwick's party countered this liberality by "smartly-executed cartoons, representing Bishop Barker and Archbishop Vaughan fraternising with Bacchus, who was seated on a barrel of swankey, squeezing the juice of the grape into chalices held by his revered companions." 140 Dr Renwick was elected by a majority of 1915 over Mr Tooth, scoring 61% of the votes. The Herald described the result as "decisive beyond expectation" and welcomed "the fact that public opinion has matured".

The bill that Parkes introduced late on the 12 November passed the second reading in the Assembly on 4 December with a heavy majority (49 to nine), and the third reading on 25 February by 42 to six. 141 In the Council the discussion of the bill was limited to the most controversial clauses, and the amendments were only nominal.

Parkes opened his second reading speech by surveying his own part in the history of N.S.W. education, previous parliamentary attempts to modify the educational system, and the changes which had occurred in the system since 1867. He next presented a defence of the public schools against the allegations contained in the Catholic Pastoral Letters. He concluded his general remarks by stressing the number of children (20,300) growing up without any education at all.

140 S.M.H., 18/12/1879.
The remainder of his speech was an analysis of the main clauses of the bill.\textsuperscript{142}

Buchanan claimed the right, as a leader of the movement for secular education, to follow Parkes and to indicate his support and differences. He enthusiastically endorsed most of the bill. He estimated that if every member of the House were present the second reading would pass by 60 to ten, urged the opposition to have the courage to vote against the bill, and called for a further effort by secularists.

I trust that the friends of secular education will stand firmly and inflexibly together in this great crisis, for we shall never again have such another opportunity of settling this great question of public education on a solid foundation.\textsuperscript{143}

The country was with them, he said, to a man. The public mind was agitated and refreshed to a clear vision, and the questions could now be settled on sure and right principles. Buchanan urged three amendments, all in a secular direction. The original Clause 20 permitted state aid to private schools in remote districts; Buchanan was successful in having the clause reworded subsequently to ensure no denominational aid. Clause 26 provided for the cessation of aid to denominational schools after 31 December, 1882; Buchanan wanted the interim period cut from three years to one. As finally amended this clause continued aid for three years, but provided for the immediate introduction into denominational schools of the form of secular instruction,

\textsuperscript{142} Vol.I, pp.262-275.

control, and inspection in public schools. Buchanan also objected to Clause 15, which permitted religious instruction by clergymen for one hour each day. This clause was retained, but modified so that "not more than one hour" was set aside for religious instruction, instead of "not less than one hour".

The other changes to the bill during the debate were such as to liberalize and generalize its provisions for state-sponsored secondary education. Thus Clause 6(iv), defining the classes of schools to be established, originally mentioned:

High schools for boys, in which the course of instruction in language, history and science shall be of an order either to complete the Public School course or to prepare pupils for the university.

This was amended by deleting reference to the specific subjects to be taken in high schools. Similarly, Clauses 23 and 24 originally named the towns in which boys' and girls' high schools should be established, and the subjects to be taught. The revised clauses merely permitted the establishment of such high schools. The opposition to the establishment of high schools was based on the view that while it might be the duty of the state to make people better citizens by providing primary education, it was not its duty

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The alterations were on the initiative of Parkes. Cf. N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 11/12/1879, p.587; 12/2/1880, p.1121.
to compete with private education. Moreover, excessive education might make the lower classes discontented with their station. "We should find that we were over-instructing the people, and that the poorer classes would be so highly educated that they would be above gaining a livelihood by manual labour", said one speaker. However, the scheme for state high schools was characteristic of the composite, inter-class nature of the Public Instruction Act which went far to ensure its success. As Sir John Hay, President of the Legislative Council, put it:

These schools would be established chiefly for the advantage of what he might call the middle classes - that is to say, the children of those who were not dependent upon manual labour. They would also open a pathway of advancement to the children of the labouring classes who were gifted by nature with superior talents.

The main provisions of the Public Instruction Act passed in April 1880 were the dissolution of the Council of Education and the transference of its powers to a Minister of Public Instruction; the establishment of teachers employed by the Department of Public Instruction as civil servants; the authorization of state-maintained Public Schools, Superior Public Schools providing higher education; Evening Primary Schools, and High Schools for boys and girls. Teaching was to be non-sectarian, but primary school teachers

145 Mr Jacobs, N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 11/12/1879, p.587. Captain Onslow regarded state provision of higher education as the first step towards Communism (ibid., p.590).
146 N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 6/4/1880 (p.1787).
were to give scripture lessons on a non-denominational basis, while visiting clergymen could give denominational instruction. Lessons in English and Australian history were to be introduced. Weekly fees were to be charged, but no longer formed part of the teachers' salary. Public School Boards of not more than seven persons could be appointed in such districts as the Governor should determine.

Attendance at school was compulsory for children between the ages of six and 14, the attendance being required for not less than 70 days in each half year, but exemptions were provided for (e.g. if the child was being regularly and efficiently educated elsewhere, or if the child had reached the required standard prior to becoming 14). Provisional Schools and Itinerant teachers were authorized in thinly-populated areas. A Training School for male and female teachers was to be established.

State aid for certified denominational schools was to cease on 31 December, 1882, and these would then be replaced, where necessary, by public schools.

In general, then, the Act accelerated the existing trend towards a centralized, state-controlled, system of education. It took a moderate step towards "free, compulsory, and secular" education. Schooling was not free, but the fees were low; the provisions for compulsory attendance were not very stringent, for the minimum period of attendance required was low, and provision for enforcement of the
compulsory clauses was not very effective. The provision for both non-denominational and religious instruction qualified the secular nature of the Act.

The Public Instruction Act gave legal expression to a number of features which had been emerging in the educational system over the preceding decade or so. Superior Public Schools had in fact come into existence before 1880. The Sydney Grammar School had been full for a few years, and the creation of new grammar schools (the high schools) was but the continuation of an existing trend. The increasing participation of female candidates in the two Public Examinations prepared the way for the extension of grammar school education for girls, already provided in a restricted form in the higher classes of Public Schools. Pressure for the teaching of history in public schools had become prevalent in the 1870s. Clause 15, which provided for an allocation in Public Schools of not less than one hundred cubic feet of space for each child ordinarily in attendance, was inserted during the second reading in the Legislative Assembly; it had been foreshadowed in 1878 when Dr Bowker had called for a return giving details of the size, ventilation, and condition of public schools. Increasing support for compulsory attendance had been evident in the annual reports.

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147 In March 1878 Windeyer had successfully moved for 13 more grammar schools (V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1877-8, Vol.I, p.135).
148 ibid.
of the Council of Education, in the Report of the 1877
Select Committee on the Employment of Children, and was
encouraged by a labour market full to overflowing. The
establishment of a Minister and Department of Public
Instruction had been forshadowed by the conferring of the
title - without substance - on members of the cabinet for
a number of years. Professor Smith had also pointed to the
future when he commented in the Legislative Council in 1876
on the intolerable burden placed on the part-time, voluntary
members of the Council of Education.

An analysis of the educational debate in terms of social
class does not reveal a simple picture. Between 1850 and
1880 class consciousness was at a relatively low ebb in
New South Wales and there was something of an alliance between
sections of the working classes and of the middle classes.
The Anglican Church drew support from all social ranks - this
was one cause for its division of the education question.

Cf. comments on regularity of attendance, V.P., N.S.W.L.A.,
1876-7, Vol. 5, p. 560; the Select Committee of 1876-7 urged
that "legislation should take such a direction as either
to compel a certain proficiency in learning to be attained
before engagement be sanctioned, or a certain amount of
instruction to be imparted during the term of employment".

"The death-knell of the Council of Education was sounded
in the speech of its President", the Herald commented. "The
work of the Council has outgrown the limits within which a
Council so constituted can reasonably be expected to transact
it properly" (leader, 1/2/1876).

E.g. trade unions and selectors' associations.
The minority Churches were more closely associated with the middling social orders, and favoured reform. The Catholic Church, whose adherents belonged mainly to the working class, needed to resort to extreme measures to rally its supporters.

The content of the 1879 Bill reveals its inter-class character. It had elements which might be expected to appeal to enlightened working class opinion (moderately compulsory education, extension of superior public schools, evening schools), to members of or aspirants to the middle classes (state high schools, high schools for girls), and to inhabitants of the pastoral districts (Provisional schools, itinerant teachers). Its provision for religious instruction by both teachers and visiting clergymen was likely to placate religious feeling. Thus it was calculated to attract the maximum support from those elements in all social classes who were at all interested in education.152

The reforms of 1879-80 were overdue, the educational revolution was over-ripe. Many features of the new order were beginning to emerge in fact, but could not attain proper fruition until legislative sanction had been granted. Partly the delay had arisen from the cowardice of politicians anxious to avoid controversy, partly to the natural instability of governments, partly to Parkes' insistence

152 For further on Social Class approaches to education cf. Appendix C.
that he should be the one to carry through the reforms.\footnote{For a discussion of the role of Parkes cf. Appendix B, "Parkes and Education in the 1870's".}

It had required the formation of the Public School League in 1874 to make educational reform a political issue. It had required the action of the Catholic Church, already committed to a system of independent schools, to force the decision.
The educational reformation of 1880-1883 removed state aid from church schools, and set up a centralised system of state primary schools, with considerable provision for secondary education, if that term be used with a little latitude. Through the Technical College the state rapidly became directly involved in the provision of "tertiary" education.

How far had the programme of "free, compulsory, and secular" education been affected? The short answer is, most inadequately. The education provided was not free, though fees could be waived for necessitous cases and provision was made for free railway passes for pupils. The degree of compulsion was very limited, for the Act was not too demanding on the child's time, was not strictly enforced, and permitted children to leave earlier than the age of 14 if departmental standards had been reached. Finally, the new system was in no sense secular, providing as it did for religious instruction at the school by visiting clergymen, and for scripture lessons given on a none-denominational basis by the teacher. Under the Act, visiting clergymen might claim up to one hour per day of the children's time, though in fact most were satisfied with half-an-hour each week.

"The Act is a fraud", The Bulletin concluded in 1882. The education was not unsectarian, but Christian and, moreover, Christian in the sense understood by dissenters.
or non-conformists. In taking this view, the Sydney journal was in accord with some Catholic opinion.

The question of compulsion draws attention once more to an influence underlying the development of N.S.W. education for many decades: the shortage of labour, leading to the employment of child labour to the detriment of attendance at school. In so far as the Public Instruction Act did succeed in producing attendance at school between the ages of six and 14, for not less than 70 days each half-year, it was the first factory act in N.S.W. In England the first effective factory act was passed in 1833, some fifty years prior to legislation for compulsory attendance. In N.S.W., by contrast, the first effective factory act limiting hours of work for women and children was passed 16 years after compulsory attendance was legislated.

The conquest of literacy had been a major aim of elementary schooling for the lower classes for nearly 100 years. With the introduction of compulsory education, this end was largely accomplished. A powerful argument for the teaching of reading and writing had been that literacy was conducive to reading the scriptures and likely to produce a diminution of crime. In 1879 the N.S.W. Statistical Leader, "Religious Instruction in State Schools", 8/4/1882. Prior to 1880 there were now laws directly regulating child labour in N.S.W., except in the mining industry. Factory acts were passed in N.S.W., Victoria, and Queensland in 1896. Cf. Gollan, "Nationalism, the Labour Movement, and the Commonwealth, 1880-1900", in Greenwood's Australia: A Social and Political History (1955), pp.175-176. Effective regulation of child employment in shops did not come till 1899 in N.S.W., ibid., p.176.
Register commenced recording the literacy and religion of persons received into gaols or police detention cells. During 1879 10,336 persons were detained, of whom 73.0% could read and write (compared to 85.1% of the community), 12.2% could read only (5.4% in the community), and 14.7% could not read (9.5% in the community). By 1887 Coghlan conceded that the statistics "would seem to show that the progress of education has not been attended with that decrease in crime which the friends of education confidently assert follows in its train". But he insisted that this was a mistaken view. All that could be said was that now even criminals were becoming literate; moreover serious crime had diminished.

By ensuring the achievement of almost universal literacy the 1880 Act brought to a close one phase of N.S.W. educational endeavour, just as the removal of aid from church schools brought another line of development to a close. But the reticence displayed in the past towards schooling now assumed a new guise; an emphasis on primary education, and a general disbelief in the advantages of secondary and university education. Irregularity of attendance also

Anglicans, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, and Baptists were under-represented among the offenders (compared to their strength at the 1881 census); Presbyterians were present in due proportion; and Catholics and Jews were over-represented.

continued to characterise education. The proportion of children in public schools whose attendance exceeded the legal minimum requirement of 140 days annually was only 39.9% of the year's enrolment (76.3% of the quarterly enrolment) in 1881, and 50.3% of the year's enrolment (60.1% of the quarterly enrolment) in 1883.

The tradition of "fair average quality" in secondary education remained; and only a slight swelling in the proportion of pupils taking secondary and higher education occurred. The University of Sydney remained important as much for its role as an external examiner of secondary schools as for its function of providing education for colonial elite. The reforms of 1880-1883 did not bring any great increase in the proportion of the population under education. In 1878 one in 4.52 of the total population of N.S.W. was enrolled in a school; in 1880 one in 4.61; by 1884 the proportion had risen to one in 4.46. The expansion in education had barely kept pace with the growth in the number of children of school age. The educational reforms had been left to the last minute.

But there was one very positive feature of the N.S.W. educational reforms which marked them off from similar

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Report, Minister for Public Instruction, 1890, p.11 (V.P., N.S.W., L.A., 1891-92, Vol.3, p.61). By 1888 the figures had improved slightly; 55.9% of the year's enrolment had attended 140 days or more, 64.8% of the quarterly enrolment.

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N.S.W. Statistical Register for 1878 and 1884.
changes in most other English-speaking societies: their liberal and democratic tendencies. A Congregationalist visitor in 1887-8 noted that N.S.W. lacked the payment by results system, which in Victoria and England had led to such evils as "cramming" and insecurity for the teacher. Victorian teachers were more completely controlled by Public Service regulations than those of N.S.W., where the Minister had greater discretion. Above all, the provision by the state for secondary education (Superior Public Schools, High Schools, Sydney Grammar School) compared most creditably with England and Victoria. A broader curriculum was widely available in N.S.W. and the Superior Public Schools brought secondary education to small country towns which otherwise would have lacked this.  

The Public Instruction Act laid down the pattern which N.S.W. education was to follow for decades to come. Subsequent legislation modified some sections of the Act, while other clauses have been reinterpreted, sometimes through departmental regulations, sometimes without this authority. Certain sections have fallen into disuse. Nevertheless the Public Instruction Act of 1880 has never been repealed, and remains to this day the fountainhead of education in N.S.W.

(a) Public Opinion and Education, 1833-1880.

One of the problems in investigating the sources of educational change in N.S.W. during the central portion of the 19th century is how far public opinion played a role. Both the 1830's and the 1870's were periods of aroused political opinion on educational matters, while the developing social concern of the 1860's could not but have relevance to educational improvement. Yet one cannot avoid the conclusion that a sustained educational opinion was lacking; that when interest was widely displayed in education it was frequently an interest agitated over the religious or political affinities of education, rather than over educational issues in the proper sense.

The main avenues by which public opinion over education was liable to find expression were through petitions to London, to the governor, or to parliament; through the newspapers, both in leading articles and in letters; in pamphlets and by public meetings. Frequently it was specific, organized, interests which used these media for expression, in particular the various churches; individual, non-attached contributors were fewer than might have been anticipated - even the few teachers and university academics who expressed their views towards the end of the period.
under consideration might be regarded not as members of
the "general public", but as spokesmen of interest groups.
Had there existed a social class deeply concerned with
education, such as a strong middle class, expression of
opinion on this matter might have assumed the appearance of
a popular movement. But by and large the lower classes
were uninterested, the pastoral classes lacked a concern
with education, and the middle class was relatively weak -
its interest in education was limited, and was likely to
take the form of support for a utilitarian, commercial
curriculum. The small learned professions supported a semi-
classical curriculum, but with limited effect.¹

In early N.S.W. English public and official opinion
had a strong impact on N.S.W. educational policy. During
the 1830's a transitional situation existed, with local
opinion forcing its attention on the government. It was
then that the churches undertook their first public
campaign on education, under the leadership of the Church
of England. The public opinion aroused was sufficiently
strong to frustrate Bourke's plans for a system of state
elementary schools. But this public opinion was strongly
coloured by sectarian (anti-Catholic) feelings, and not
well-informed concerning educational principles and needs.
However, the political and economic circumstances of the

¹ For a more detailed survey of class and education see
Section (d) below and Appendix C.
time left the basic initiative on educational matters with the governors, though after the Constitution Act of 1842 the influence of colonial opinion was noticeably augmented.

With the inauguration of representative and responsible government in 1856 channels for the expression of public opinion broadened. But most politicians preferred to follow rather than lead public opinion. The absence of organized political parties meant that unless majority public feeling were clearly and strongly expressed politicians evaded controversial issues likely to lose votes; and the religious connotations of education made it a controversial issue. The frequency of elections encouraged politicians to avoid committing themselves too definitely; the elections provided occasions for talk about education, but this rarely led to effective action.

The Churches took a forthright stand throughout the period for they had a vested interest in schools and their religious and moral teachings involved them in questions of formal education. But it was becoming increasingly dubious how far the opinion of the churches overlapped with public opinion, and how far church leaders could speak in the name of the members. After mid-century an organized lay movement challenged the authority of the Anglican hierarchy. The dissenters grew in importance and were now less disposed to follow Anglican leadership. The withdrawal of state aid to religion weakened the finances of the major churches and
made the church leadership more dependent on their laity. The Roman Catholic Church lacked a strong lay movement but if this meant greater church unity it also meant that apathy was frequently widespread among the Catholic population.

The 1870's were the second occasion when the churches took the education question right into the public arena. On this occasion the dissenters took the lead; the Anglicans were split. Once again, anti-Catholic feeling was a vital element in the debate over education, though educational questions proper seem to have loomed larger than in the 1830's. One other significant difference was that the Catholic Church itself provoked the culmination of the educational debate. Doctrinal hardening and its experiences in other Australian colonies were important in producing a forceful Catholic education policy.

The press both expressed public opinion and helped form it. Prior to self-government the number of papers was greater, and their expectation of life less, than subsequently. It was possible for a great variety of interests to find expression through their own newspapers. In later years some newspapers, such as The Empire and the Freeman's Journal, were wholeheartedly committed on educational reform. Others, like the Evening News preferred to imitate many politicians by remaining unattached. The Sydney Morning Herald's attitude evolved steadily, paralleling the slow maturation of public feeling. In the 1860's and
1870's the dissenters, by and large, had the advantage over Anglicans and Catholics in newspaper publicity for their views on education, for they were strongly represented among the educated or literate vocations, including journalism.

The view that the press was replacing the pulpit as the voice of the people was sometimes advanced by both clergymen and editors in the 19th century. While it seems clear that the churches did exercise less influence over urban public opinion as the years passed, it is more doubtful whether newspapers had enhanced their influence very much by 1880.

Official investigations into education frequently failed to influence, or be influenced by, public opinion. The 1844 Select Committee hearings attracted wider participation and attention than any others in the century. It heard evidence from leading political and educational figures, and although mainly concerned with the politics of education did provide opportunity for discussion of educational techniques and standards. The 1854-55 enquiries, despite some public evidence, especially on the grammar school, depended mainly for its analysis and conclusions on the reports of the three School Commissioners. It threw valuable light on the organization and methods of schooling.

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but had little influence on the political or social features of education. The 1841 Legislative Council enquiry into Lang's school, the 1859 Select Committee on Sydney Grammar School, and the 1860 Select Committee on Sydney University evoked little public attention.

These investigations were directed as much at the executive or the legislature as the public. From 1833 to 1867 policy-forming circles in N.S.W. were much absorbed with the inadequate quantity of both general education and secondary education. Considerations such as these, rather than public opinion, were conditioning educational policy. Some governors, such as Bourke, were ahead of public opinion and had to retreat. But the expression of public opinion tended to be intermittent, and once a system of state schools had been created, a class of educational administrators came into existence whose persistence was probably of more importance than public opinion in bringing educational reform. "The National Board have wrought into their system some principles at variance with - but I venture to think, in advance of - the views entertained by the community generally", wrote William Wilkins in 1865.3

(b) Educational Theory in N.S.W., 1833-1880.

In 1934 Professor F. Clarke, the English educationist, wrote that "new countries" often display an intellectual timidity in the world of ideas. In spite of forward-

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3 National Education: an Exposition of the National System of N.S.W., p. 34.
looking confidence, a desire to offer means of intellectual
cultivation to all, and a spirit of experiment engendered
by the fluidity of social conditions, new countries
frequently exhibit in education a "rigid adherence to safe
orthodoxies". This view is valid for Australia. As K.S.
Cunningham has said, most of Australia's contributions to
education "lie in the realm of school practice and not in
the realm of education thought ... Her comparatively small
band of writers does not include educational philosophers;
she has made a few contributions to the study of learning
but none of major importance."

Throughout the fifty year period under consideration
the central concept of educational psychology in N.S.W. was
the training or "disciplining" of the "faculties". The
implications of the doctrine of faculty psychology
included the treatment of subject matter as a "formal
discipline" and a belief in the "transfer of training". The
dominance of faculty psychology in N.S.W. education was
encouraged by the popularity of phrenology amongst the
general public, the teaching methods dictated by large

4 "The New Countries in Education", in The New Era, Sept.-
Oct. 1934 (quoted K.S. Cunningham, "A Critical Account of
Australian Education", in The Year Book of Education,
1936, p.642.

5 Ibid., pp.642-643. Twenty years later Professor W.F.
Connell made much the same comment. "The theory of
education taught in Australian is a philosophy thought up
and worked out by other people in other times and places."
classes, and the limited theoretical training of teachers. Scottish philosophers and psychologists gave considerable support to phrenology and Scotsmen promoted phrenology in N.S.W. Henry Carmichael, for instance, considered it an important aid to education. With the retreat of religious influences on education from the middle of the century, phrenology and faculty psychology were sometimes urged as a secular, scientific theory for education. 6-7

The main change in faculty psychology in N.S.W. in the second half of the century was the increased acceptance of the view that lower class children had the right to have all their faculties developed, and particularly that instead of developing memory alone, reasoning should be encouraged. This took practical expression in the introduction of grammar school subjects into the elementary school. The old dichotomy - that elementary schools should encourage the acquisition of practical skills and superior schools the development of opinions - was passing. A little later the right of middle class girls to have a wide range of their faculties developed became generally accepted. Leading exponents of the "democratisation" of faculty psychology included state school inspectors (e.g. Mr Gardiner) and

William Wilkins (e.g. in The Art of Teaching).  

In Germany J.F. Herbart (1776-1841) formulated a theory of learning under the term "apperception" which eventually supplanted Locke's "faculty psychology". Herbart's ideas became popular in Germany after 1865, and were introduced into the United States about 1890. But they made no impact on N.S.W. educational theory or practice until 15 more years had elapsed.

A similar insulation from overseas educational developments was displayed with regard to organization of subject matter. The emphasis on memorization of subject matter, as well as the close association between education and religion, had promoted the catechetical method of presenting content. The material to be learnt was set out in question and answer form, to be recited to the monitor or teacher. In the better textbooks the questions would be

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8 Wilkins also helped to popularise the view that the faculties unfold in a fixed order as children grow up.

9 Herbart argued that the ideas which gained attention in the mind were those with the greatest force. Command of superior force was achieved by similar ideas associating and reinforcing each other; ideas which were dissimilar repelled each other, and weakened their force. The doctrine of apperception stated that it was the mental background that made possible the assimilation of new ideas, and suggested learning the new in terms of the old - proceeding from the known to the unknown. cf. Brubacher, op.cit., pp.144-145; Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education (Spens Committee), pp.432-433.

10 Cf. Cubberley, op.cit., p.762; Crane and Walker, Peter Board (1957), p.46.
logically grouped and graded according to difficulty or natural subdivisions. Definition usually comes first.\textsuperscript{11} The increasing concern to develop the faculty of reason brought greater attention to the "formal disciplinary" approach after the mid-century. The favoured method, particularly evident in the classical languages, mathematics, and geography, was to expound an initial list of principles or definitions to be learnt by heart, followed by material which illustrated these, also to be memorized.\textsuperscript{12} In history the method of logical organization took the form of a genealogical-chronological system. A link with the catechetical method was sometimes present in the form of detailed questions on the content of each chapter.\textsuperscript{13}

The educational psychology underlying these methods of organizing material revealed greater concern with the subject as conceived by the adult mind than with understanding the nature of the child's mind. The first major move towards subordinating the curriculum to the child was the introduction of the concentric system of organization. This was still a

\textsuperscript{11} An example of the use of the catechetical method was Sir T.L. Mitchell's \textit{Australian Geography} (Sydney, 1850), though by this date the system was becoming outmoded.

\textsuperscript{12} Lake's \textit{Book of Object Lessons} (London, 1857), which was used in N.S.W. schools, is a good example of a logically organised handbook.

\textsuperscript{13} e.g. W. Hughes, \textit{A Classbook of Modern Geography} (London, 1886); W.F. Collier, \textit{History of the British Empire} (London, 1881).
logical form of organization, and involved repeating the treatment of an area of knowledge in increasing detail as the child grew older. It was particularly applicable to history, geography, grammar, botany and natural history, and was popular in Germany after 1820 and France after 1852. But this system only influence the N.S.W. curriculum in the 25 years following 1890.\textsuperscript{14} The theory is found in Kant, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Spencer,\textsuperscript{15} but its popularity arose from Ziller (1817-1882), who developed Herbart's ideas. The essence of the theory was that the genesis of knowledge in the individual had to accord in mode and arrangement with the course by which this knowledge had grown in the history of the human race.\textsuperscript{16} It was not until the 1922 primary school syllabus that this system appeared in N.S.W.

In general, then, N.S.W. educational theory in the 19th century displayed remarkable immunity to new psychological ideas being propagated abroad. Even in the area of infants' education the ideas of Pestalozzi and Froebel, while known in N.S.W., were not generally applied with success until the last years of the century. Educational theory was of

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. H. Johnson, Teaching of History, (N.Y., 1940), p.87.


less influence than the size of classes, standards of discipline, or the wishes of parents in determining practice in the schools.

The philosophy of education in N.S.W. showed some marked changes between 1833 and 1880, but it was consistent throughout these years in being posited primarily on social rather than educational premises. At the beginning of this period the traditional association of the churches with education was still widely accepted, i.e. the belief was prevalent that a major purpose of education was to equip all to read the Bible and to lay the foundations in this world for a life in Eternity. But the special features of religion in N.S.W. - the unusual religious diversity, the state's policy of multi-establishment, the lack of clergymen, the inadequate quality of many clergymen, and the considerable antipathy towards religion - were undermining the association between religion and education. To many, education's function in harmonizing the community seemed more important than its religious and moral functions. Yet in the disordered social life of a convict colony the moral function of education retained an appeal in social rather than religious terms. Until the 1860's unstable family life was common, and schooling was envisaged partly as an attempt to remedy this. The prevalence of crime sustained the belief that a major purpose of education was to help put down offences against persons and property.
By 1880 the doctrine that a prime purpose of education was to conquer crime had reached its zenith. Henceforth the close association in colonial thinking between crime, education, and religion was to wane. With the introduction of state schools in the mid-century the supporters of the churches were disposed to argue that knowledge as such did not decrease crime, and that religious instruction had to be an integral part of education not only for the scholar's welfare in another world, but for society's welfare in this. In Victoria secularists answered these sorts of arguments by asserting that education alone made men socially adjusted, and that irreligious persons could yet be moral. But in N.S.W. the philosophy of secularism was weaker; the incorporation of religious instruction by both teacher and clergyman in the school curriculum represented denominationalists.

In 1886 the N.S.W. Statistical Register ceased to group crime, religion, and education in the same section. Cf. also Coghlan's 1887 comments concerning the apparent lack of relationship between the advance of education and existence of crime, already quoted.

Cf. Bishop Broughton to the Lowe Committee, 15/7/1844, Q.38 and the Catholic Joint Pastoral Letter of July 1879 on public schools as "seedplots of future immorality, infidelity, and lawlessness".

Cf. "Ragged Schools", in The Vagabond Papers, Second Series (Melbourne, 1877), pp.156-158. This is a reprint of an 1876 article in The Argus. J.D. Lang had denounced the separation of morality and religion as far back as 1835. "The newfangled notions of those who pretend to teach morality without the scriptures are an insult to the common sense of a Christian community" (the Colonist, 29/1/1835).
Education for citizenship and political stability was another important strand in the educational philosophy of N.S.W. In the first half of the century, before self-government and during the era of transportation, the stress was on loyalty to England and to constituted authority, but from the 1830's on the role of higher education in the preparation of a social elite was stressed. In the second half of the century, with adult franchise and the absence of a traditional ruling class, the stress was on education for political responsibility and the inculcation of respect for authority among the lower orders. But there was now less public emphasis on the function of higher education to prepare a social elite.

A utilitarian or vocational strand ran through colonial educational philosophy, particularly in connection with "superior" schooling. The various aims of education were interwoven with each other, and J.D. Lang, in his early years, combined this utilitarian approach with a belief in the desirability of education to meet the needs of society and Heaven. "It is the design of education" (he stated in 1835) "to fit men for filling their places and discharging their respective duties in society, with credit to themselves and with advantage to the community; education itself is merely the course of training through which this most important end is sought to be obtained."

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The Colonist, 29/1/1835.
However, while a practical or utilitarian curriculum was sought, the fact remained that vocational advancement in an expanding economy was possible without much education. Schooling should be useful, but not much schooling was necessary.

Thus education as a corrective to crime, a source of social morality, an aid to political stability, a preparation for life-after-death, and as a vocational and utilitarian training were the main elements in the educational philosophy of 19th century N.S.W. They were interwoven beliefs, with the emphasis changing from time to time. As the decades passed and secularism grew, the stress on the narrowly religious aim of education diminished. The ability to rise economically and socially without much schooling weakened the utilitarian approach from the 1830's onwards. The lack of a leisured class and of a strong colonial intelligentsia handicapped the doctrine of "education for knowledge" - the development of a cultured citizen - as an educational aim. Education for social adjustment remained a permanent feature, however; social reconciliation was a constant colonial problem.

There were some distinctions between the philosophy of elementary schooling, boys' "superior" education, and the education of middle class girls, though not as much as in Britain, and such distinctions diminished as time passed. It was sometimes held that the development of reasoned
opinions was a special function of higher education, while elementary education was properly concerned with the acquisition of practical skills and memorization. In practice a classical-utilitarian curriculum dominated higher education, while that in the elementary schools centred on basic skills, with increasing attention to commercial subjects and later some classical ones.

Originally the education given girls of "respectable families" contrasted much more strongly with that given boys than among the lower orders. Accordingly the acceptance of an academic and commercial education for such girls was a dramatic development. Three rival traditions existed. The oldest was that of education for housewifely duties. Such education was practical rather than intellectual, and was conducted in the home. With the growth of colonial "society", education in the polite accomplishments became popular for urban and upper class girls, though in the practical environment of N.S.W. it was frequently criticised. The 1870's saw the beginnings of intellectual education for girls of this class. Women were admitted to the Public Examinations in 1871, and to the university in 1884.

The ease with which girls gained admittance to higher education owed much to the relative unimportance of education for status and material reward in a "new",

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It was favoured, for instance, by John Macarthur. Cf. *Early Records of the Macarthurs of Camden*, pp.223-224.
democratic community. There were few vested interests to bar the way. It was a society in which women were showing an ability to participate with men in most spheres of life, where there was little desire for exclusiveness in advanced education, and, indeed, where the university was troubled by a shortage of undergraduates rather than a plethora of candidates for admission.

The absence of a conscious, coherent educational philosophy in N.S.W. is explained by the relative unimportance of education for social and economic advancement, the absence of a strong body of secondary schoolmasters in the teaching force, and the undeveloped nature of an intelligentsia or learned leisured class. The theory was borrowed largely from Scotland and England. But practical evidence of the philosophy of education between 1833 and 1880 is afforded by the subjects of the curriculum. The discussions over what should be taught revealed the underlying assumptions of the N.S.W. philosophy of education.22-23

The main developments in the curriculum in 19th century N.S.W. were (i) the rise of science (science proper, nature study) alongside the older classics; (ii) the growth of modern humanities (history, modern foreign languages, English literature); (iii) the emergence of physical

According to Brubacher (op.cit., pp.249-250) the history of subjects of the curriculum usually reveals a functional origin - the curriculum, whether formal or informal, takes its origin in the daily activities of the people.
education (from calisthenics and drill); and (iv) the emergence of technical education (both in the general schools, particularly as drawing and design, and in special technical institutions).

Any more detailed survey requires a distinction between elementary and secondary education. Between 1833 and 1848 the elementary school subjects were the four R's with some grammar and geography. Between 1848 and 1867 the National schools became more ambitious, some introducing the "liberal" subjects and many more presenting the beginnings of scientific and technical education in the form of object lessons. From the broadened curriculum characteristic of national schools was imposed on the denominational ones, but in contrast to the fluidity of the preceding two decades the course of instruction now remained stable until 1884. The main advance was the inclusion of singing and drawing, the main loss the disappearance of history, which some denominational schools had provided. The educational reforms of 1880-83 brought history into the primary school, advanced a "liberal" study (Euclid) into 4th Class, and added French to the "superior" course in 5th Class.

The pattern over fifty years is one of increasing uniformity in the subjects taught in elementary schools but with a widening range of subjects being provided. The original basic subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic,

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24 Sometimes only in the form of scripture history.
grammar, and geography were augmented by an early form of science (object lessons), the arts (singing, and drawing), technical subjects (drawing may be considered such) and classical and modern subjects from the grammar school curriculum (geometry, algebra, Latin, French). The essential considerations were that the state had the right to rigidly prescribe the subjects to be taught, that history was too closely associated with religion to be included (until 1884), and that democracy in education implied expanding the number of subjects considered suitable to the primary school.

In secondary education the debate over the curriculum revolved around the question: What is a Liberal Education? The concept of a liberal education has varied considerably since Graeco-Roman times. From the 16th century on, English educationists tended to equate a liberal education was a preparation for the "liberal" professions. The influence of Matthew Arnold on the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864-68 encouraged a wider concept of liberal education, based on the neo-humanistic concept of general culture, reached either through the humanities or the sciences. His prime distinction was between general liberal

25 In the 16th century, democracy was not interpreted as giving equal weight to all subjects. From 1884 different values were given to the subjects for exam purposes.

culture and technical-professional training at the secondary level, rather than the traditional contrast between elementary and secondary schooling. But the juxtaposition of general education and vocational training conceals the fact that frequently a general liberal education was also a particular form of vocational training.

In colonial New South Wales the 18th century English view of liberal education as based in the classical-mathematical studies never gained much of a hold, for a classical-modern compromise was rapidly forced on the early collegiate schools. Moreover, the rival Scottish view of liberal education, placing considerable emphasis on the commercial and scientific ("practical") studies, was fostered by J.D. Lang and others. In the mid-century the establishment of Sydney University (and to a lesser degree Sydney Grammar School) gave renewed strength to the old definition of liberal education with its classical-mathematical bias. By 1867, when Wigall took over Sydney Grammar School and the university initiated the Junior and Senior Public Examinations, physical science and German were finding a place in the grammar curriculum, and French and physics appeared in the public examinations. But it was only in the late 1870's and 1880's that Arnold's concept of a general liberal education, through the humanities or science, made much headway.

These developments were mainly in the corporate schools,
Sydney Grammar School, the Superior Public Schools, and post-1883 state High Schools. Only a few of the private-venture schools aspired to the classical-modern compromise; mostly practical and commercial subjects predominated.

To sum up, the main changes in the N.S.W. secondary curriculum during the fifty years under survey were the increasing uniformity of courses as a result of the growth of public examinations; the slow rise of science; a coming together of boys' and girls' curriculum, and the persistence of the classical-modern compromise. Expansion of the curriculum, a feature of the elementary school, was not characteristic of the secondary school till the 20th century. Right from the beginning the modern subjects were accepted, and subsequent changes took the form of a shift in stress from Greek and Latin and the rise of French. English, geography, and history remained stable in their popularity. In secondary education "democratisation" in the form of the introduction of commercial and practical subjects took place from earliest times; the intervention of the university, however, helped bolster the status of the classical-mathematics studies after mid-century.

(c) How Educational Change Occurred.

Who were the innovators? Control of the education of children was a responsibility shared between the churches, the state, the parents, and the teachers. The evidence suggests that within the school system it was not primarily
the teachers nor the few educational theorists who were responsible for improvement in educational techniques, still less the churches, whose schools were usually among the more backward. The pressure of parents on the school system was usually inspired by motives other than an enlightened concerned for a good general education. Indeed, parental anxiety for a brief and "useful" schooling was an important source of that rigid adherence to orthodox methods which Frederick Clarke considers characteristic of "new" countries. The main conscious striving for educational improvement came from the state administrators - from William Wilkins and his band of inspectors.

But outside the classrooms and the schools change arose mainly out of impersonal forces. There was a marked tendency for the main features of educational reform to emerge first, in practice, then to be recommended with modifications by committees of investigation and finally to be adopted (again with modifications) by legislation. Thus, much of the new pattern recommended by Bigge in the 1820's had already started to emerge. Major provisions of Bourke's 1836 Act had developed in the preceding three years. Superior Public Schools had grown up in the 13 years before the 1880 Act gave them official recognition. A separate Catholic system was emerging before the crisis of 1879-80 led to the formal breakaway.

This, of course, is another way of saying that
educational change did not occur suddenly, and that the schooling system was constantly evolving.

A corollary of the above was that committees of investigation in education frequently had their conclusions embodied in their terms of reference (e.g. Bigge), or implied in the composition of members of the committee (e.g. Lowe Committee).

A further implication of this view is that, in general, educational theory did not play a major role in bringing about educational change. Public opinion was not very important as far as improvement of technique was concerned (indeed it seems often retarded teaching reform), but it did, at times, play a forceful role in public political decisions, not always in an enlightened form.

Economic factors were a consistent force for educational change. In the early 19th century this usually took the form of a desire to save money, in absolute terms if possible, if not, then relatively (per head of children). Until the 1870's cheap and efficient education was a constant goal. Many of the early reforms of education may be explained in these terms. During the 1870's the government's resources improved, and the 1880-85 reforms owed much of their practicability to the existence of a large treasury surplus. In the decade preceding the Act of 1880 the state was able to relieve parents of some of their financial responsibility, such as that for school buildings.
A most important drive force for educational reform was that of numbers, of school population pressure. The major reformations in N.S.W. education coincided with the pressure of a large "bulge" of children of school age. Thus events themselves forced change. A particularly important example of demographic pressure was the need to improve rural education as population moved inland. It was in rural education that private enterprise clearly revealed its incompetence, forcing state intervention.

Another economic-demographic factor was the condition of the labour market. During the 19th century the perpetual shortage of labour held back the education of the lower classes. The Public Instruction Act of 1880 was the first child labour law in N.S.W. The shortage of labour helps explain the tendency of both lower and middle class children to leave school as soon as possible and the interest in a utilitarian-commercial curriculum amongst the middle classes. The great proportion of infants in elementary schools arose partly because they were the part of the population which was of least use for the workforce, partly because their schooling permitted mothers to accept employment. The shortage of labour may also help explain the coincidence of educational reform and the population bulge; a temporary filling of the labour market made easier on expansion of schooling (1880 especially).

In "secondary" education, as in primary, the improvement
of standards of instruction owed much to the intervention of state agencies in the 1850's, when Sydney Grammar School and Fort Street National School started to set the pace for other, private-venture and independent, schools. From 1852 the University of Sydney began to influence schools which provided superior education, and this influence became more effective after the public examinations started in 1867.

Shortage of private capital for education limited the growth of the corporate schools and the university, and forced government intervention in both elementary and higher education. This situation, coupled with the ineffectiveness of the competing denominational systems, underlies the importance of the state and of state agents for educational development in N.S.W.

We have seen that the main periods of educational reform were 1833-36, 1848-52, 1866-67, and 1880-83. Such reform usually affected all levels, elementary and advanced, school and university. The four periods coincide, by and large, with periods of growing social democracy in N.S.W. The first, in the 1830's, saw the collapse of the attempt to establish an Anglican dominance based on a landowning ascendancy, an established church, and control over education. Bourke, the Whig governor, gave official parity to the four major denominations. The second series of educational reforms took shape in mid-century when the pressure for representative and responsible government was reinforced by the economic and
social effects of the gold rushes. With the emergence of political democracy came the beginnings of a school system which could aspire to prepare pupils for life in a self-governing community. If in the 1830's democratic advance took the form of a struggle for religious equality and in the 1850's a directly political form, in the mid-1860's the general movement for reform, which involved schooling also, was concerned with social improvement, involving such matters as improved family life, attention to neglected or delinquent children, religious disestablishment, and the extension of civilised standards into the interior. The reforms of 1880-1883 were associated with an increased growth in secular views, with more equal opportunity in education, expressed particularly in increased access to the university, and with greater provision for technical training. New economic and social patterns were emerging in N.S.W. about 1880; in particular, a liberal, economically independent, middle class was growing.

(d) Religion, Class, and Education.

The association of social class and education arises partly from the vocational function of schooling; since vocation implies social status the educational system, in so far as it influences vocation, influences social class. But the connection is reciprocal; the influence of social class on social institutions means that schools supported
by a particular social class will provide a distinctive
cultural-ideological-vocational education. The association
of social class and religion was a feature of English
society which was transmitted to early N.S.W. Where
religion has a social character the tendency for schools to
assume a class character may be fostered by Church control
of education.

The inter-relation of vocation and education, class and
education, politics and class, and religion and education
created a nexus of interests whose historical evolution in
colonial N.S.W. throws considerable light on the social
role of education. The main qualifications in the colonial
setting, as compared to England, was the more limited
dependence of occupation on education in a "new" society,
the undeveloped nature of colonial party politics (despite
representative government in 1842 and responsible government
in 1856, no proper party system emerged until the late
1880's), and the quite different balance of religious
denominations.

The abandoning of the attempt to make the Church of
England the established church of N.S.W., with a monopoly
of elementary education, opened a more flexible period in
religious and social relations. Catholic emancipation in

27 "The social character of English religious divisions
was stereotyped at the Restoration and continued with
little change until the Victorian era" - Trevalyan,
_English Social History_ (1946), p.255; cf. W.O. Lester
_Smith, Education_ (1957), p.131.
England (1829), the appointment of Bourke, a Whig governor, in 1831, the abolition of the system of land grants with the patronage which this implied, and the cessation of convict transportation after 1840 increased the "open" nature of colonial society and possibilities of economic and social advancement. Free play was accorded to class rivalry, religious rivalry and educational rivalry.

Roger Therry, who reached N.S.W. in 1829, was the first Catholic given an administrative post in the Australian colonies. Therry found Catholics a subordinate class, with no voice in the social life of the settlement. There were not half a dozen Catholic families belonging to the gentry. In his 1833 despatch on education Governor Bourke estimated that about one-fifth of the population of N.S.W. was Catholic, many of them Irish convicts. The Presbyterians were smaller in number, "but amongst the most respectable of the inhabitants, and are to be found with few exceptions in the class of Free Emigrants". Bourke extended state aid from the Anglican Church to the Presbyterian and Catholic in 1834. Aid was also being given to the schools of these

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28 Magistrate in 1830, acting Attorney-General in 1841, judge in 1844.
three denominations, but in unequal amounts. It was to overcome this discrimination the Bourke advocated non-denominational state elementary schools modelled on the Irish National System, leaving the churches free to maintain their own schools if they so wished.

The opposition to his proposal reflected not only religious but class antagonisms. The Herald argued that the Irish National System would "give an ascendance to the children of the present race of transported Irish papists, at the expense of the Protestant landowners"; James Macarthur that it would prevent Protestants "from attaining that influence in the colony, which is proportionate to the influence they have obtained in society". Bourke abandoned his proposal and formalized state aid to religion and education by the Church Act of 1836. The Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and, from 1839, Methodist Churches were Established Churches until 1862. Even so, many Protestants, such as the Reverend J.D. Lang, opposed the 1836 Act because of the strength it gave to Catholics, strength they would have lacked under a voluntary system.

31 Leader, 4/7/1836.
34 Three lectures on the impolicy and injustice of Religious Establishment or the Granting of Money for the Support of Religion from the Public Treasury. (Delivered in 1842, printed in 1856).
The link between the Roman Catholic religion and working class status was reflected in the large number of Catholic elementary schools, these being the schools designed primarily for the children of the lower classes. In middle class education (private-venture and corporate schools) Catholic facilities were very limited.

A feature of the religious pattern of the colony was the small proportion of dissenting Protestants. Prebyterians made up 10.3% of the population at the 1841 census and 11.7% in 1846; Wesleyans 2.6% in 1841 and 4.2% in 1846; other Protestants 1.4% in 1841 and 2.6% in 1846. This was not unconnected with another feature - the small weight of middle class elements. In 1843 John Hood, a Scottish Presbyterian, found the pastoral settlers "a class of great enterprise and daring, with a vast amount of invested capital; and the generality of them are men of superior birth and education - in fact they are the gentlemen of the colony". Amongst the squatters were men of social standing and education, many of them graduates. But a middle class was lacking. "There does not seem to be any middle class in the colony of sufficient weight to take a leading part; or if such a class exists, it appears, at present, to have no inclination to mix itself up in public matters."

35 Gregory, op.cit., p.20 (n.50). Anglicans were 57.3% in 1841, 50.6% in 1846; Catholics 27.5% and 30.0%.
37 ibid., p.309.
Many of the educated Scottish Presbyterians, who might otherwise have augmented the colonial middle class, devoted their lives and resources to pastoral activities and their education and public spirit was dissipated in the thinly populated rural hinterland. On the other hand, the Presbyterians maintained as many elementary schools as the Catholics.\textsuperscript{38}

Hood noted the Irish origins of the lower classes. Many of these had been sent out as convicts but assisted immigration also brought Irish Catholics to N.S.W.\textsuperscript{39} Famine in Ireland and the gold rushes brought more. During the period 1860 to 1890 the Catholic immigrants were overwhelmingly landless Irish.\textsuperscript{40}

The annual reports of the N.S.W Immigration Agent show that between 1860 and 1869, 17,320 adults (persons over 12 years) entered the colony as assisted migrants (such migrants were likely to be the poorer ones). Of the 10,929 Catholic adults, 58\% could read and write, compared with 80\% of the 4,472 Anglicans, 85\% of the 1,337 Presbyterians, 79\% of the 335 Wesleyans, and 80\% of the 247 others.

The 19th century concern with the relationship between

\textsuperscript{38} 17 in 1838; but the average enrolment was about 30, compared to over 57 in Catholic schools (Blue Book, 1838).

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{ibid.}, p.200.

\textsuperscript{40} Cf. J.G. Hurtagh, \textit{Australia: The Catholic Chapter} (1959) p.88.
religion, education, and crime and with the relative efficacy of state and church schools was reflected in the statistical records. The report on the 1856 census, for instance, noted that Anglicans stood lower in the scale of literacy than Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and other dissenters, though higher than Roman Catholics. A suggested explanation was that "Congregationalists, Wesleyans, and other dissenting bodies are found congregated principally in the towns and villages where the means of education are nearer at hand".

At the 1881 census the total of children between the ages of five and 15 able to read and write was divided among the main religions as follows: (we give also the religious structure of the whole community)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyans</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregationalists</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholics</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we take the proportion of children between five and 15 able to read and write in each sect we find (1881 Census Report, p.xxx):

41 p.xxvii.
Jews 77.0
Congregationalists 74.3
Baptists 71.2
Wesleyans 70.8
Presbyterians 68.2
Church of England 65.8
Roman Catholics 65.2

The low status of Roman Catholics was persistent. In an age when schooling was voluntary and when Catholics attended both their own and state schools the extent of literacy was largely a reflection of parental circumstances and attitudes. The introduction of compulsory education ended distinctions at this level - though not in higher education beyond the age of 14. In 1859 it was still possible for Coghlan to say: "The adherents of the Roman Catholic Church are amongst the poorest in the Colony, and want of means is, perhaps, the chief cause of the comparatively small number of their marriages." 42

Catholics were consistently under-represented in higher education. In 1868 Professor Badham commented that by far the greatest number of university students in Sydney were Presbyterians. 43 Admittedly the total number of students was then only 36. In 1859 an Anglican residential College was opened in the University grounds, followed by a Catholic one in 1860 and a Presbyterian one in 1876. By 1880 only 53 students were in residence, but the majority (29 in all) were to be found in St. Andrew's, the Presbyterian College.

42 Wealth and Progress of N.S.W., 1890-91, p.796.
43 Speeches and Lectures (1890), p.9.
After 1880 the Catholic Church strove to develop a complete system of primary schools, but was less prominent in secondary education, fewer Catholics being aspirants for professional and middle class vocations. On the other hand, the Protestant denominations gave more attention to higher education.  

The Congregationalists were predominantly middle class and relatively well-educated. In 1879 the Chairman of the N.S.W. Congregational Union commented that Congregationalists had concentrated their work almost exclusively among the educated middle class. Among the important business men of Sydney who were Congregationalists were John Fairfax of the "Herald", and David Jones and Anthony Hordern, both drapers. In the 1860's, at a time when non-conformists were opening institutions of higher learning in many parts of Australia the Congregationalists established Camden College.

It is safe to say that from 1833 to 1880 (and indeed thereafter) the non-conformist groups were strong in middle class urban occupations, and had an influence on and interest in education greater than their proportionate strength would lead one to expect. This interest is reflected in figures

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44 For the proportion of scholars over 15 years of age according to denomination of school, cf. N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1890, pp.339, 345, 349; for number of private schools giving higher education (by denomination) and number of graduate and non-graduate teachers therein, cf. N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1895, p.803.

for the literacy of children according to religion, and in
the enhanced representation of dissenters among pupils in
secondary schools providing higher education, and in the
university. Dissenters also formed a large group within the
body of teachers. Catholics tended to be working class in
status, Anglicans upper class or lower class. The educational
aims and curricula of the denominational elementary schools,
as well as the fees charged, reflect class and vocational
influences.

The paradox of a prolonged dominance of social-economic-
religious factors in education in a seemingly "classless"
society is explained by the relative unimportance of
education in determining social status and of social status
for economic welfare in a pioneering, expanding society.
Class was less important in colonial N.S.W. than in older
lands and this limited the importance of the educational
symbols of class status. Education was less sought after as
an avenue for upward social mobility. Neither the working
classes nor the pastoralists felt the need of education, and
the sort of middle class whose interests might have been
involved in education was slow to emerge. For historical-
geographical-economic reasons the N.S.W. middle class was
not very strong, and lacked economic independence. The
commercial classes had some of the freedom which comes from
self-employment, but large sections of these were directly
or indirectly dependent on the pastoral industry. The rural
farming middle class was underdeveloped, the selection movement failing in its prime ambitions. Above all, a strong industrial middle class had not yet developed. In contrast to England, political and social democracy in N.S.W. preceded the industrial revolution.

Not only was social and material improvement largely independent of education, but the higher ranks into which successful colonials rose were also not closely linked with education. A leisured section dedicated to intellectual pursuits showed little evidence of emerging; all social orders were busy. By contrast, in the United States, also a new, pioneering society, with great social mobility, a strong urban and middle class grew up and these classes had an interest in education, for after the Civil War industrialization enhanced the importance of schooling, while the multiplication of provincial cities encouraged cultural growth.46

(e) The Problem of a Social-Intellectual Elite.

The problem of creating an intellectual elite has dogged Australian society for most of its history. As far back as 1831 the supports of the Sydney College urged the importance of their school in creating a colonial intellectual elite, warning that "every situation of confidence, of opulence, of respectability, of honour" must

46 For a more detailed discussion of class and education in N.S.W. vide Appendix C.
be occupied by strangers unless the colonial-born recognized the value of advanced education. In 1838 the Annual Report urged "one more slight effort" and the school would start to pour forth "our future judges, legislators, and rulers, our heroes ..., our bards, historians, and our future men of science, of literature, and piety".

W.C. Wentworth returned to this theme in his speech on the University Bill (4 October, 1849), stressing the importance of the proposed institution for the training of a political and social elite - "the native youth cannot now obtain the education which would fit them for the high offices of the State". And Edward Reeve, in his bitter analysis of N.S.W. education about the same time, also drew attention to the failure of the colonial-born.

Such are the circumstances under which the field is left vacant for the youthful colonist, who has recently emigrated to this land from the United Kingdom. Educated under a very different system, he is qualified to take up that position in this, the country of his adoption, from which the native born are as a body, for the mere mismanagement of their Education, so hopelessly excluded. How long shall these things be?

The answer was, for many years. Immigrants continued to provide the leadership at least till the 1880's. In 1886 The Australian Magazine commented that "our thinking

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49 The People's Advocate, 6 September, 1851
men seem to be almost all of English birth;" and about the same time a writer in the Sydney University Review complained that a visitor might "look in vain in the popular branch of our legislature for those who, by wealth, intelligence, and influence, should be expected in the years of ease and leisure to show some patriotic interest in the country to which they owe their all".  

The Sydney Morning Herald and other newspapers were concerned in mid-century with both the lack of culture in N.S.W. and the apparent absence of any desire to supply that lack. Apart from newspapers, what was N.S.W. doing for the republic of letters? "Is there one single publication which is exclusively devoted to the assertion of the dignity or the enterprise of our people as an intellectual, or educated or inquiring people, beyond the sphere of gossiping, politics, and squabbles?" The Australia Era found no culture among the squatters, though

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50 Article, "Education and Democracy", September, 1886.

51 William McMillan, "Sydney: Past, Present, and Future", in the Sydney University Review, 1883 (quoted A.W. Martin, "William McMillan, A Merchant in Politics", in Journal, R.A.H.S., March, 1955). The complaint was re-echoed 75 years later by J.D. Pringle in Australian Accent (1958, p.108): "Content with their pleasant, prosperous existence, they (the graziers) refuse to take part in public life and government ... They grumble about politics and politicians, but only rarely enter politics themselves."

52 Leader, "The Intellectual Barrenness of New South Wales", 12/3/1847; in a second Leader on this theme, 23/3/1847, the paper stated: "Public mind is not in existence here".
appreciation was growing of "moral worth and mental accomplishments" in commercial and professional circles. But cultural institutions were still lacking. "It is in the absence of these institutions, these great aids and incitements to educational advancement, that we are forced to the conclusion that our social position does not rank high." 53 The foundation of the university shortly thereafter promised amelioration, but its impact was a limited one. When J.A. Froude visited Australia in 1885 he commented that "the deficiency of the Sydney colonists is one they share at present with a large part of the civilised world - that they have no severe intellectual interests".

They will have good lawyers among them, good doctors, good men of science, engineers, manufacturers ... But of the heroic type of man, of whom poets will sing and after ages be anxious to read, there will not be so many, when the generation is gone which was born and bred in the old world. 54

In 1893 Francis Adams concluded that "Culture" at the Antipodes was in as bad a way as "Society". 55

And yet the 1890's and the following decade saw an intellectual flowering. An Australian-born generation was coming to maturity.

There had grown up a legend of the Australian nineties as a period of intense artistic and political activity, in which the genius of this young country had a brief and brilliant first flowering. Something new, it is claimed emerged into the light. 56

53 Leader, 1 November: 1850.
54 Oceana, (1886), pp.165, 168.
55 op.cit., p.58.
Doubtless it was a flowering by Australian colonial standards - but not by English standards, as the comments of English visitors suggest. And the evidence is that the new cultural leadership gained little or no aid from the existing system of formal education. They were aware of their inadequate education; they owed their intellectual preparation to an abnormal degree to their parents rather than their teachers.\textsuperscript{57}

The spirit of this small cultural strata was nationalistic and democratic:

This fiction \ldots is never, or very rarely, written from the eyrie of a detached observer, well above the crowd, but from some point in the working community. The idiom, too, is often that of the man on the job, with his slang and his colloquial rhythms. This distinguishes it from most English writing where the style aimed at is a literary one and the point of view is fixed in a secure middle class. In our novels there is not much emphasis on the interior life of the individual; there is more on his activities as a social being, or on his experiences at work.\textsuperscript{58}

After the educational renaissance of 1905-1910 the nature of the small intellectual elite began to change. Professional academics were emerging; the era of the amateur was passing. But it was not until the educational revolution of the 1950's, with its dramatic rise in the

\textsuperscript{57} Cf. S. Murray-Smith, "The Educational Experience of Australia's Creative Writers who were Writing in the Last Twenty Years of the Nineteenth Century", History of Australian Education Essay, Melbourne University, 1959, p.34.

\textsuperscript{58} Palmer, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.170-171.
proportion of the population receiving advanced education, that the foundations were laid for great innovations in learning and culture in N.S.W.

(f) The Colonial Tradition in N.S.W. Education.

In this colony, every man, from the highest to the lowest, has to work for his daily bread; and the sweat of the brow, therefore, is no sign of inferiority or degradation. The meanest handicraftsman is oftentimes better off here, in a pecuniary point of view, than the man of talents and education, who is but little sought after in a new country, where the active business of life engrosses so much attention.  

From this condition were derived the essential features of the educational tradition which dominated N.S.W. between 1833 and 1887. The shortage of labour, the limited importance of the middle and upper classes, the utilitarian preoccupations of all social classes, and the democratic egalitarian spirit coloured both the form and content of education. The main features of the colonial tradition may be summed up as brief schooling, irregular attendance, and "fair average quality" standards. Children commenced schooling at an early age, and left at an early age. Dependence on state support and centralization characterized the organization of education. Vocationalism and

59 The Australian Era, 1 November, 1850, p.37.

60 Spread rather than intensity was achieved - in curriculum, in provision of facilities. At times a relatively high spread of literacy was achieved; at other times N.S.W. seemed to lag behind European countries. In general standards were not as high as in the best English schools, not as low as in the worst.
utilitarianism were strong influences on the curriculum, leading to the flourishing of the commercial subjects in the more ambitious schools. The school system was based on a growing tradition of democracy, taken to mean equality of educational opportunity.

In the first number of *The Journal of Primary Education*, published in Sydney in August, 1871, the hope was expressed that Australia might contribute something to education.

It seems to us not too much to expect that the possibility of Australia contributing something new, important, and desiderated, must eventually convert itself into an accomplished fact.61

In the 19th century this contribution was practical, not theoretical; administrative and organizational rather than in teaching technique; and found in elementary education rather than in advanced.

This educational tradition was not static. Although considerable portions of it have underlain all of N.S.W. educational history, it has developed and changed. In the first 45 years of N.S.W. certain of the general features had already emerged - the brevity of attendance, the high proportion of infants enrolled, the role of the state - other features were specific to the early penal settlement - the absence of anything like higher education, the anxiety

61 Vol.I, No.I, August, 1871 (Sydney), p.5. It was not till the 1940's that anything significant in the way of educational theory was produced and then, appropriately, it was in connection with primary and infants work (Schonell's writings).
of school authorities to remove children from the influence of their parents, the class character of the schools, the supremacy of the Church of England in education, the complete inadequacy of many of the teachers.

Between 1833 and 1880 the educational tradition continued to develop. Possibly the main modifications may be summed up as the growth of the principle of "free, compulsory, and secular". Over the years the costs of education were lowered as the state was persuaded, or persuaded itself, of its obligations to supply the sources of education. There was a growing realisation of the need to enlarge the number of children come within the compass of the schooling system. And the Churches were steadily on the retreat as state schooling (though not, strictly speaking, secular schooling) advanced. A persistent feature of the educational tradition has been the inability of private and church schools to do as well scholastically as state. Towards the end of the fifty year period the provision of intellectual or academic education for middle class girls became incorporated in the educational tradition, at the same time as some effort was made to extend the provision of such education to children of ability within the lower classes. From 1867 on it could be said that an efficient and effective system of elementary education was available throughout most of N.S.W., in the countryside as well as the city. The beginnings of an efficient system
of higher education could be seen.

The appearance of an efficient educational system at the elementary level was a product of the growth of a state-controlled, centralized system. Some further consideration of this aspect of the educational tradition is worthwhile. It was state control, through inspectors, which raised the quality of teaching, which provided equal treatment for rural areas, which laid down a uniform curriculum. In the 19th century context of untrained teachers, the circulation of pupils, and lack of local interest in education, centralization brought more advantages than disadvantages.

Another strong tradition was that of educational democracy, taken to mean equality of education opportunity. This was seen much more in the elementary schools than at the university. In the 1830's equality of treatment was accorded the churches. In the 1860's the national schools widened their curriculum beyond the four R's, providing in their upper grade studies traditionally association with "superior" (secondary) schools. This claim to equal rights was strengthened in 1867 by the imposition of the national school curriculum on the certified denominational schools and the acceptance of Public School candidates for the Junior and Senior Examinations. The educational reformation of 1880-1883 represented a further advance for democracy in education through the extension of superior public
schools, the establishment of state high schools, the introduction of history into the state school system, the creation of a system of technical education, and the admission of women and evening students to the university.

Despite the practical, vocational character of 19th century education in elementary and high schools, the essential point was that education was not an important means of social mobility and of vocational preparation. Knowledge was not power, nor did schooling necessarily lead to material improvement. This governing element in the social foundations of N.S.W. education endured for a century and a half. It underlay the educational reconstructions of 1815, 1833, 1848, 1867, 1880-83, and 1905-11. Only to-day are the majority of the educational traditions described in this thesis being shattered; the educational revolution of the 1950's promises to result in the drastic reconstitution of the foundations of N.S.W. (and Australian) education, foundations hammered out over five decades in the mid-19th century.
APPENDIX A

RECRUITMENT OF THE N.S.W. PUBLIC SERVICE BY
COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION

(Reference Chapter VII, Section a).

The period from the 1850's to the 1880's in Australia has been described as one of haphazard but persistent challenges to patronage by the principle of open competition.¹ In 1860 Daniel Deniehy urged competitive examinations in the public service as a means of improving the political life of N.S.W.² In 1869 Henry Parkes gave oblique recognition to this need when he wrote, "the time is come when the Public Service of this colony ought to assume the character of a profession, and only young men ought to be received into it who should have a 'fair field' to work themselves up through the varifying ranks of official employment".³

The feasibility of competitive entrance to the N.S.W. Public Service became apparent with the commencement of the

¹ Curtin, in Spann, op.cit., p.326.
² In the Southern Cross, reprinted in E.A. Martin, Life and Speeches of Daniel Henry Deniehy (1884), pp.122-125.
Junior and Senior Public Examinations, though these were of too high a standard for this purpose. The *Australian Journal of Education* urged in 1869 that governmental employment should be obtained through open competitive examinations.  

The fact is notorious that Ministers are besieged by applicants for situations, not a tithe of the number having the remotest chance of obtaining employment ... an honest Minister sincerely desirous to protect the public interests can effect that object only by disregarding the ties of personal friendship, the obligations of social life, and the claims of his political adherents.

After 1 November, 1871, all persons seeking employment to a clerical office in the Public Service of N.S.W. were required to produce a certificate indicating that they had passed an examination in Section 1 of the Junior Public Examination. From 1876 on the Civil Service Examination was separated from the Public Examination.

The transition from a preliminary qualifying examination to an open competitive examination took some time. Occasional

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4 "Competitive Examinations for Government Situations", *A.J.E.*, 1 October, 1869, pp.363-365. A derivative evil remarked on was the inhibiting effect on public criticism of the pressure for governmental employment. "With so many petitions for ministerial favours, the proper relations of the government and the public are reversed. Those who ought from an independent standpoint to criticise the conduct of the government and hold it strictly to its responsibilities sink into the position of humble suppliants or of persevering suitors clamorous for bribes".


6 Report, University of Sydney, 1876, p.12.
open competitive examinations were held, but these were at first not widely publicized. In 1869, for instance, twenty candidates sat for an examination for three vacancies in the Surveyor General's Office. One of the successful candidates came from the King's School, Parramatta, and the other two from public schools under the Council of Education. But the Australian Journal of Education asked: "How came the twenty candidates to know that such an examination was to be held while the general public were left in ignorance?"^7

From 1877 on, entrance by competitive examination was regular in the professional branch of the Lands Department, one of the most sensitive administrative sections. But it was not until after the Royal Commission on the Public Service, 1894–95, that a proper system of appointment by competitive examination was introduced into New South Wales.^8

7 1 October, 1869, p. 365.
8 Bland, op.cit., p. 135; Bourke, op.cit., p. 303.
APPENDIX B

PARKES AND EDUCATION IN THE 1870'S

The traditional picture of the politics of education between 1867 and 1880 depicts Henry Parkes as staunchly defending the Public School Act, believing it a reasonable compromise between the views of extremists on both sides, and deserving of a fair trial. Then, as public opinion changed and defects in the Act became apparent, Parkes changed his views. Finally, the Pastoral letters of Archbishop Vaughan, convinced him of the need for reform.

This is too simple a picture. A more sophisticated version of Parkes' role comes from Bro. Ronald Fogarty. "The fact that the popularity of the denominational schools declined, and with it Parkes' championing of them, is reflected in his political career of the seventies. Throughout

1 "Parkes aimed at keeping a course midway between the extremists ... believing that the people had a law sufficiently elastic to accommodate itself to all requirements of Australian life" (Smith and Spaull, op.cit., p.159).
2 "Parkes's utterances between 1877 and 1879 point to an altered attitude ... aspects in the educational system were becoming more apparent, and an altered public opinion was expressing itself in the press and on the platform" (ibid., p.167).
3 "Educational reform was hastened by the Pastoral letters ..." (ibid., p.168).
the greater part of this decade Parkes stood with his back to the wall in defence of the denominational schools and the system he had created in 1866 ... By the middle of the decade, however, the slightest trace of indecision had crept into his voice." Parkes was wavering, and when in 1876 a Bill threatening these schools passed its second reading he suddenly changed, feeling himself relieved of any obligation to defend denominational schools. Fogarty places the initiative for the final break with Archbishop Vaughan and his suffragan bishops who were anxious to set up a separate Catholic system in N.S.W., and deliberately incited Parkes to action by their 1879 Pastorals.

But even this version accords too much weight to Parkes' educational beliefs and too little to his political opportunism.

Spaull, at one extreme, argues that attempts to rob Parkes of the credit for the 1866 and 1880 Acts are the result either of personal prejudice or supreme ignorance. "It would be foolish of course to say that these Acts were the unaided production of Parkes's intellect; but it is equally foolish and still more incorrect to state that they merely constitute the borrowed ideas of others".

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Whatever his personal faults it cannot be said that Parkes ever abandoned a great principle for the sake of any paltry temporary gain. Amidst a world of petty politics and narrow religious strife, he was one of the noble few who lifted his eyes to higher objects, and strove for nobler ends.  

But if Parkes lived in "a world of petty politics" his actions were inevitably affected by this fact. A.W. Martin provides a valuable corrective to Spaull's view.

To watch him at work, the ruthless politician operating adroitly in a milieu which demanded compromise and guile as the price of personal success, is to feel increasingly uneasy at the old vision of him as the "statesman father" of an education system. Indeed, the temptation to write him off as little more than an exceptionally talented adventurer is very strong. But to do so would be unjust.

The mixture of political expediency and the search for political prestige would explain not only Parkes' attitude to education but also to free trade and federation. And yet his association with the education controversies of the 1850's through The Empire, his membership of the Select Committee of 1854, his sponsorship of the Act of 1866, and his Chairmanship of the Council of Education made it natural for him to seek to reconcile his immediate political interests with his reputation as a principled educational reformer. Writing to his daughter

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on the eve of the passage of the 1880 Act he expressed his pride and excitement:

I am on the eve of a great event in my public life, the magnitude of which slightly upsets my equilibrium. The Public Instruction Bill will finally pass tonight ... framed by myself without consulting anyone ... passed through both Houses without a single material alteration. The good fortune does not fall to the lot of many men to be acknowledged author of two great measures like the Public Schools Act of 1866 and the Public Instruction Act of 1880, to be, in fact, the founder and moulder of the primary school system of a country.°

This was the legend Sir Henry wanted to create. The question at issue is the old one of how far politicians are initiators and how far agents. As an educational Parkes was clearly a populariser, not a creative thinker. But even as an educational administrator he depended on others, and the two Acts were certainly not his unaided creations. 9

Yet we must accept the depth and sincerity of Parkes' belief in education, despite the derivative nature of his theories. He had

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8 Quoted in Griffiths, op.cit., p.163.
9 Of the 1866 Act the Herald commented, 4 December, 1869 - "His warmest admirers do not pretend that that Act was a purely original conception, or that the merit of framing and passing it belongs exclusively to himself. Nor has he, though not deficient in self-appreciation, ever claimed any such monopoly of merit". In A Century of Journalism it is claimed that the 1879 Bill was "largely framed, there is every reason to believe, by Greenwood" (p.657). Parkes acknowledged only some aid from William Wilkins (letter to daughter).
received little schooling as a youth in England and it was not till 1848, when he was 33, that he first ventured to speak in public ("it was, I think, a sorry failure").\footnote{Cf. Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History (1872), p.8, 11. He refers to himself, in Carlyle’s presence, as "imperfectly educated". (p.139).} He was self-educated. "When he associated with statesmen in other countries he felt that they had always the advantage of him by reason of their educational background. The only time he ever expressed envy was of the superior attainments of imperial statesmen, attainments achieved through the advantages and privileges which had surrounded their youth."\footnote{M.D. McLaurin, Sir Henry (Sydney, 1946), p.57.}

His attempts at poetry, his prose writings, his encouragement of Australian poets (Harper, Kendall), his need for identification with the movement for education reform, all derived special urgency from a deep sensitivity to his own inadequate schooling.\footnote{In his criticism of the teaching of analysis Badham comments, pleasantly enough, on the uncertain basis of Parkes' oratory: "What does Mr Robertson know about 'relational adjectives'? Ask Mr Parkes to analyse one of his own sentences! And yet I suppose Mr Robertson knows what adjectives to use; and when Mr Parkes has a subject in hand, you may be pretty sure that the predicate will follow, to the delight of some and the amazement of others". (Speeches and Lectures, 1890, p.90).}
APPENDIX C

CLASS AND EDUCATION IN N.S.W., 1833-1883

(a) The Working Class and Education

Historians are likely to neglect working class attitudes to education because of limitations on either the ability or opportunity of members of the working class to formulate their views. Such views might often be \( \text{unexpressed} \) and revealed in action or non-action rather than in the written word. Nevertheless, \( \text{were advanced} \) working class views on education \( \text{by individual members or leaders of this class, by working class organizations such as trade unions, by left-wing newspapers, and towards the end of the century by the Labour Party. At the same time, a parallel middle and upper class opinion about the nature of education for working class children also influenced the provision of schooling for the lower ranks.}

By the time N.S.W. was founded the view that the formal education of the working class and their children was undesirable, though still voiced, it was a minority opinion. The state quickly accepted responsibility for the education of the children of the convicts, and after 1815 started to delegate this task to the Anglican Church. The growth of a free working class alongside the convict elements after 1831,
as free pauper immigrants started arriving in numbers, made the development of the elementary school system of greater importance. From 1833 the Anglican and Catholic Churches shouldered the main responsibility. They were aided by the system of multi-establishment, and state aid to denominational schools. These schools were working class schools in both curriculum and enrolment.

Between 1831 and 1848 a number of trade societies were organized in New South Wales, some of working class character. The earliest appears to have been formed by Sydney shipwrights in 1829. The growth of these working class institutions was aided by the cessation of transportation in 1840. Working class political organizations also emerged, particularly the Society of Emigrant Mechanics (1833) and the Mutual Protection Association (1843-44). A number of pro-labour newspapers appeared, notably the Guardian (published by the Mutual Protection Association, 1844), the Star and Workingman's Guardian, and the People's Advocate (1848-56).¹

These social institutions of the working class did not display much interest in the formal education of children, though they were concerned with self-education for adults. In 1833 immigrants established the first Mechanics' Institute.

in N.S.W.\(^2\) and the movement quickly spread (Newcastle 1835, Maitland 1839). After the 1841-43 depression the Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts declined in popularity and became more middle class in nature. The gold rushes brought further decline.\(^3\)

The left-wing newspapers gave a little more attention to education. The *People's Advocate* reprinted the Chartist programme on education,\(^4\) as well as publishing Reeve's critical articles on education in N.S.W.

The early unions showed little concern with education, or indeed, with any questions other than economic. However, during a printers' strike in 1854, "at public meetings and delegate meetings from trade unions the publication of a weekly paper, *The Operative*, on a co-operative basis was discussed; the paper's policy was to include a better general education and higher wages for workers, and an agitation against the flooding of the colony with cheap coolie labour. But *The Operative* survived only a few months".\(^5\)

\(^2\) Cf. Nadel, op.cit., p.115.
\(^3\) Ibid., p.145.
\(^4\) Cf. Point 3 of 10 Chartist Points, 6/9/1851 ("Education should be national, universal, gratuitous, and, to a certain extent, compulsory ... ").
Two approaches to working-class education thus struggled in 19th century N.S.W. Radical newspapers advocated an education primarily for adults and primarily concerned with political economy; the working man was rising socially and needed to advance his political interests. Middle and upper class spokesmen of popular education advocated a basic elementary education for workmen and their children, but by the 1850's some were going beyond this. Since the workers were rising socially, they and their children needed to be prepared for their new role if social stability was maintained. "The theme that the social mobility in new countries made education of the lower classes a particular and urgent problem is found in many contemporary discourses in education". When the National schools were established after 1848 quite a few offered courses generally considered suited to children of higher station. The Anglican and Catholic elementary schools tended to restrict themselves more narrowly to working class education.

Few advocated education as a means of social mobility - for the great majority of colonials it was not. (Therry recounts his a Hawkesbury settler in 1830 that "education aided in the

Nadel, op. cit., p. 171.
acquirement of property". The working man had obtained the vote in the 1840's and 1850's without prior education; he could rise socially, prosper economically, without much formal schooling. It was the middle-class reformers who henceforth urged education for working-class children to make democracy "safe" or to correct the social evil of neglected young children.

In 1853 G.K. Holden gave a lecture on "The Moral and Intellectual Culture of the People" at the Sydney School of Arts. Holden declared that education would teach the working classes to submit cheerfully to law and "to check the rashness of the merely speculative politician". Revolution, communism and socialism lowered the level of society to that of the poor, education elevated the poor to the level of the rich. Popular government made it necessary to render "the popular element innocuous" by creating an educated people. Popular education, the lecturer asserted, was a great leveller of external social distinctions and restricted privileges. Refinement would inevitably decline, but intellect would be substituted for it.

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7 Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in N.S.W. and Victoria, p. 121.
8 On this cf. letters of James Rutledge, The Empire, 19/10/1855; 3/12/1855.
9 Parkes printed 500 copies, which he donated to the School of Arts.
Parkes took up the same themes in the *Empire* during 1854. 11

It is education, and education only, that is capable of making the masses acquainted with their rights and mindful of their duties; equally hostile to anarchism 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 equality.

The argument thus rested on the twin strands of the political and social benefits of education. These were the sorts arguments advanced in contemporary England. They were the arguments of a privileged class in the face of the stirrings of the unprivileged. The argument of political benefits of education had less relevance in England, where the working classes had not yet achieved the franchise; that of the social benefits had less relevance in N.S.W., where improvement in status could occur easily without education.

The concern of the higher classes with the education of the lower also revealed itself in the 1850's in alarm at the neglected condition of some working-class children, and the threat of crime which this represented. Schooling was frequently regarded as a useful means of keeping children off the streets. Such an approach motivated the evidence of S.W. Mansfield, Master of the Benevolent Asylum for Children and former Secretary to the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts

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11 *The Empire*, 2/8/1850; this passage is somewhat misquoted in Smith and Spaul, *op.cit.*, p.107.
given to the 1860 Select Committee on the Condition of the Working Classes of the Metropolis.\textsuperscript{12} Mansfield argued that the "very lower classes" were "very indifferent" about the education of their children, that these children were "very much neglected".

The 18th century view that the best way of keeping the working classes quiescent was to deprive them of education was replaced in the 19th century by the view that the same end could be best achieved by giving them education.

After 1867 an effective system of elementary education existed in N.S.W., though it was as yet neither free nor compulsory nor secular. The existence of "grammar school" curricula in the senior classes of some of the public schools and the availability of the university's public examinations made some degree of higher education (and social mobility through education) possible for children of the working classes. Yet these facilities were not greatly used. Presumably this was one reason why they were available. The necessary openings in the professions and civil service were too few in number; it was quite possible to rise without schooling; and many working-class families needed to send their children to work, particularly in rural areas. Their attendance at school was irregular at the best; discipline

\textsuperscript{12} Henry Parkes was the Chairman. \textit{V.P., N.S.W.L.A.}, 1859-60, vol.4.
was still a problem, the schools were not very effective agents for higher education or social mobility.

The introduction of compulsory education acted as the first factory act in N.S.W., the first general regulation of child labour in factories or on farms. Once again, the initiative in working-class schooling had come from above rather than below, though philanthropists active among the more depressed areas of the city sometimes argued that many working class mothers favoured compulsory education as a means of keeping their children off the streets. In any case, it was possible to miss one-third of the school year (90 days annually) and still fulfil the conditions of the law. Compulsory education was not properly enforced until reforms in 1905 and 1916.

In the meantime political avenues were developing for the expression of Labour views on education. In 1874 the Sydney Trades and Labour Council, formed three years earlier, sponsored the candidature of Angus Cameron, a carpenter, for the Legislative Assembly. The Public School League had just raised education as a political issue and Cameron came out

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13 Cf. letter from "A City Missionary", S.M.H., 8/6/1875.
14 Cameron promised that his return to parliament would disprove "that the working man's vote could be had for a pint of beer" and would demonstrate that men of his class were capable of "giving a clear, lucid and honest opinion upon all questions of national importance".
strongly for free, compulsory, and secular education.\textsuperscript{15} In parliament this "representative of the intelligent working classes\textsuperscript{16} supported Dibbs' 1875 motion for discontinuance of aid to church schools,\textsuperscript{17} and Buchanan's 1877 Public Schools Act Amendment Bill.\textsuperscript{18}

In the 1870's Sydney Mechanics' Institute and the Trades and Labour Council displayed some interest in the development of technical education.\textsuperscript{19}

During the 1877 election a conference held to establish a working-class political organization sponsored a few candidates, but their programme was concerned mainly with matters of immediate relevance to labour.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{15} S.M.H., 5/12/1874. His meeting took over immediately from one of the Public School League. For an assertion by a working-class representative of an upper class political and educational monopoly cf. letter, William Millar, S.M.H., 3/12/1874; for denial, Leader, S.M.H., 4/12/1874.

\textsuperscript{16} So described in the article by X, "The Reaction of Political Conversion" (S.M.H., 22/6/1875).

\textsuperscript{17} V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1875, vol.I, p.303.


\textsuperscript{19} For the S.M.I's attempts to form technical science classes in 1873 cf. V.P., N.S.W.L.A., 1876-7, vol.5, p.809, and Nairn, op.cit., p.433-434.

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. Gollan, op.cit., p.83. The Working Men's Defence Association's policy was restricted to an Electoral Act, payment of members, immigration, encouragement of native industries, and the land question (S.M.H., 27/10/1877).
When the Public Instruction Bill was being debated Cameron supported it as a representative of the working classes, "the classes who will be most injuriously or most beneficially affected by this Bill". He argued that the Government had been forced to yield "to the clearly expressed opinion of the people out-of-doors". He drew attention to the children running about the streets of Sydney without education, but claimed that neglect of the parental duty to educate their children was not confined to the poorer classes.21

The formation of the N.S.W. Labor Party in 1890 widened the channels for the expression of working-class views on education. Point two of the 1890 platform was: "Free, compulsory, and technical education - higher as well as elementary - to be extended to all".22 This educational policy revealed little ambition to venture much beyond the reforms of 1880-1883. The belief still lingered that the main value of education to the workman lay in the understanding it provided of political economy and that higher education was the hallmark of classes other than the working class.23

21 N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 3/12/1879 (pp.469-470).
23 The Australian Workman (journal of the Sydney Trades and Labour Council) wrote, January 3, 1891: "What is considered education by many people does not necessarily include a
It was reasonable to expect that the establishment of evening schools would facilitate schooling for working class youth, but as we have seen, these "Night Schools" were not a success; they were usually restricted to boys over 14, but much of their enrolment consisted of teachers. Under the Public Instruction Act of 1880 attempts were made to expand this system, with little success. Teachers also provided a substantial proportion of evening students at the Technical College and University. The same underlying factor - the ease with which untrained youths could obtain employment - largely explains the failure of evening schools.

The persistent features of an expanding economy in a pioneering country (particularly a relatively high standard of living for the working class, and a constant shortage of knowledge of modern political economy ... The class of men who receive what is generally termed a finished education are, as a rule, of the class who have always enjoyed the sunny side of life, and the very nature of their education and surroundings is to estrange true manly sympathies towards those whom they have learned to think of as the 'lower strata' of society". (ibid., pp.213-214). Henry Lawson expressed the same recognition of the link between class and education and the rather resentful attitude of labour to higher education ("For'ard", 1893):

There'll be higher education for the toilin', starvin' clown,
An' the rich and educated shall be educated down;

"Fair average quality" indeed.

labour) served to limit working-class interest in education. The labour movement was little concerned with the content of education, but rather with the organization of and material provisions for education. The existing system was normally accepted without challenge, and any interest in it was mainly concerned with its spread.

(b) The Middle Class and Education

The peculiar characteristics of the middle class of colonial N.S.W. coloured its approach to education. It was predominantly an urban middle class, a middle class of one city, Sydney. A rural middle class of any significance did not develop; the relative failure of "free selection" confirmed this characteristic. The failure of a rural middle class meant the failure of provincial cities.

The urban middle class was predominantly commercial; but it was also to a considerable degree a client class, dependent on the pastoral industry. The long delay in the rise of a factory-owning class weakened the middle class. In the face of free trade, a pastoral economy, an under-developed internal market (pastoralism and a thinly-populated hinterland went together), and a shortage of capital, an industrial bourgeoisie was slower to develop in N.S.W. than in Victoria.

25 Only Queensland and S.A. developed rural middle classes of any significance measured by Australian standards.
The professional middle class of N.S.W. also developed in a rather stunted way. As Dr. Syntax observes:

The learned callings all agree
Are physic, law, divinity.26

But these vocations were ill-provided for in 19th century N.S.W. Despite some interim arrangements, a Faculty of Medicine did not emerge at the university until 1833, and Faculty of Law not till 1870. Divinity was held back as a profession by the secular nature of the university and the religious divisions of the colony. The Churches often preferred to use their own colleges for training their clergy or imported them from England. The "three learned professions" found little in common either with the merchant middle class or the unenlightened rural pastoral aristocracy.

Yet in the city, for want of anything better, this composite middle class constituted the elite, though an uneducated one. In 1850 The Australian Era remarked:

There is a class in this colony which is generally known as the aristocratic class ... The birth, education, and industrial position of the individuals belonging to this body did not entitle them to the distinction. It was composed for the most part of merchants, retired officers, the clergy, and other professional men.27

Truly, the "birth, education, and industrial position" of this group did not provide a traditional basis for their

26 Cf. W.O. Lester Smith, op. cit., p. 150.
27 Leader, "The Social Position of New South Wales" (1 November 1850).
existence as an elite. It was not a hereditary class; a vast number of the middle class had originated in the working classes - in 1845 Caroline Chisholm estimated that 24% of immigrants had left the labour market in four years, and in six had become employers of labour themselves. Nor was it an elite by reason of education. The colonial middle class lacked any strong element with a significant commitment to learning and education. They supported private schools for their children and, from the 1850's, some of the better national schools; they favoured a "modern", utilitarian curriculum (the classical studies were more appropriate to lawyers and clergymen). Their great social mobility made adult education as important as schooling for the middle classes - but it was an adult education in the surface accomplishments - "the habits of agreeable deportment, or tasteful enjoyment, of conversation with the better-taught". And finally, it was not a genuine aristocracy from "industrial position". This poor "elite" was involved in middle-class vocations, and in England would never have enjoyed status and prestige.

28 Report, Immigration, V.P., N.S.W.L.C., 1845, pp. 639-640 (quoted Margaret Kiddle, Caroline Chisholm (1950, 1957, p. 75)).
The relative weakness of the middle classes and their lack of involvement in education was partly responsible for the preponderance of small private-venture schools and the lack of independent, endowed, corporate boarding schools. Most of the corporate schools had to be church-supported or state-endowed, and hence never achieved the independence of the great English "public schools". Yet in the first half of the century it was only through large, independent, and wealthy corporate schools that educational standards could be achieved.30

The undeveloped nature of the middle class, together with the limited interest of the scattered upper class, goes far to explain the unimpressive record of grammar and corporate schools prior to 1848. Halloran's original proposal for a "Public Free Grammar School" in 1825 ("to perpetuate in Sydney the benefits of a liberal education, and to place them within the reach of the middle class of society") took a decade to materialize, in the form of the Sydney College. Broughton's scheme for a number of "King's Schools", to give "a good classical, scientific and religious education to sons of parents in the middle and higher ranks of society", met with partial success only. The corporate schools attracted

30 "large grammar school, where endowments ... render the teachers therein fearless in the discharge of their onerous duties". (Reeve, The People's Advocate, 30/8/1851)
only some of the upper class (many preferred the services of tutors) and some of the middle class (many relying on private-venture schools).

The private-venture schools held the field till the 1870's. But a succession of educational innovations started to weed out the inefficient. The university's public examinations set standards of assessment, extending both to rural areas and girls' schools. In the 1870's church corporate schools increased in number, particularly Catholic ones. After 1880 came the competition of the state High Schools, Superior Public Schools, and new corporate schools as the Protestants abandoned their elementary schools and concentrated on colleges for boys of the upper and middle classes. The Church of England promoted corporate schools at Bathurst (All Saints' College, 1874), Sydney (Church of England Grammar School, 1889) and Armidale (The Armidale School, 1894). The Presbyterians opened Coerwull Academy at Lithgow in 1883 and Scots College, Sydney, in 1893.

The Presbyterian Ladies' College, opened at Ashfield in 1885, becoming the P.L.C., Croydon in 1888, and the Burwood Ladies' College (Methodist), also opened about this time.

Of the eight state high schools established in 1883-4 only four remained in 1895. Their high fees discouraged lower and lower middle class families. Their classical curriculum did not appeal to the utilitarianism of commercial classes. The more ambitious parents gave their children secondary education at Sydney Grammar School or the corporate private schools; the less ambitious at the Superior Public Schools, or the private-venture schools. Yet the very need for state-supported secondary education suggests the underdeveloped nature of the N.S.W. middle classes.

One might expect middle class educational opinion and interests to find expression in voluntary organizations. Yet for long most educational associations were Church bodies. A Church of England Education Defence Association was formed in 1874. The denominations, which were more closely associated with the middle classes, were too small to sustain individual educational associations. However, their annual conferences provided occasions for the formulation of educational policies, and the dissenting Protestant groups, together with middle class supporters of educational reform, found a common meeting ground in the Public School League. With many adherents in middle class,

32 The Catholic Church, its adherents preponderantly working class, was unable to sustain a voluntary educational association for any length of time.
educated, vocations, such as journalism and teaching, the dissenters were in a strong position to express their views.

By contrast, Anglicanism embraced a wider range of social classes and the Church of England Education Defence Association was weakened by lack of social homogeneity, associated with divisions of doctrine and Church government.

The incipient rural middle class was represented organizationally by Free Selectors' Associations, but these associations stuck closely to the land problem and at the Free Selectors' Conference of 1877 a motion "that one-tenth of the land in each parish be permanently withdrawn from sale and the proceeds devoted to educational or literary purposes" was ruled out of order. 34

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33-34

S.M.H., 19/10/1877.
We occasionally find members of parliament claiming to express the interests of the middle classes. H. Taylor, M.L.A. for Parramatta (a butcher, correspondent of the Sydney Morning Herald, and Mayor of Parramatta, 1871-4) supported the 1866 Act but opposed the 1879 Bill with the argument that "before the Public Schools Act of 1866 was passed, the son of a middle class man never could get a position in the public service; but now the native youths are fairly represented there." It was generally agreed during the debate on the 1879 Bill that the proposed state high schools would serve mainly, though not exclusively, the middle classes.  

The main vehicle of middle class supporters of educational reform was the Public School League, formed in 1874. Non-conformist Ministers, such as the Baptist, Greenwood, the Congregationalist, Kirby, and the Presbyterian, Woolnough were prominent among the founders. The pressure of the League, together with the Catholic pastorals, and the parliamentary strength of the Parkes-Robertson Coalition, were responsible for the 1880 Act.

(c) The Pastoralists and Education

The first pastoralists were often immigrants of some education. In mid-century Rusden encountered squatters who

35 N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 4 December, 1879 (p.491). But perhaps the slow trend to recruitment by examination played an equal part in this transformation.
were quite willing to support national schools for the education of the lower classes.\textsuperscript{37} But frequently the nature of their work and life undermined their culture and their interest in and contributions to Australian education became limited. Other squatters originated in the emancipist class. Their attitude was likely to resemble Wiseman, who told Therry that he had given herds and flocks to his sons. "Now that's what I call education, for by it they acquire means to live".\textsuperscript{38}

In 1850 \textit{The Australian Era} regretfully dismissed the squatters as a force in colonial society.\textsuperscript{39} In 1857 F.L.S. Merewether, Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University, complained that the "wealthy, but illiterate settler in the Bush" had virtually no interest in education. He summed up their attitude in the following words:

\begin{quote}
What in this country is to be got by education? My son is robust and healthy, he is becoming very useful on my stations, he is learning to be a good manager, and he can read and write and do what is necessary for the ordinary transaction of his business. What more does he want? I have money to leave him, and he is in the way of making more, and here money is power.\textsuperscript{40}
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[37] Austin, \textit{Australian Education, 1788-1900}, pp.52-53.
\item[38] Therry, \textit{op.cit.}, p.122.
\item[39] Leading article, 1 November, 1850.
\item[40] Minutes of the Senate of the University of Sydney, 1 April, 1857 (quoted French, Ph.D. thesis, \textit{op.cit.}, p.144).
\end{footnotes}
In 1893 Francis Adams formed a similar opinion. What little there was of cultivation and refinement in the "Bush" came from the wives and daughters of the squatters and of the new class of managers for pastoral companies. "The bulk of the squatters yesterday, the bulk of the managers to-day, have risen from the selector class ... Educated at primary schools where the teaching was secular, deprived ... of the poetry of the life of the East".  

A forthright rejection of formal education came from a writer addressing farmers and graziers in 1896:

"What", I hear someone say, "would you have them grow up in ignorance?" "Certainly," my reply is, "if they can make as good and honest a living as their old parents. They can do very well without Euclid, French, Technical Drawing, Chemistry, Moral Philosophy, and a heap of other mental luxuries, about as useful to the average country boy or girl as gold in a waterless desert."  

Some pastoralists supported corporate secondary schools, both by sending their children there, and by benefactions. There is less evidence of their interest in the university. The great period for benefactions at Sydney University opened about 1880; but the majority of the donations came from...

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41 The Australians (1893), pp. 147, 149.


43 The first Council of Trustees of All Saints', Bathurst, consisted of two clergymen, two pastoralists, and a doctor (Steel, op.cit., ch.2). The majority of the first pupils were sons of pastoralists (p.28).
successful members of the urban middle classes. He did travel in rural areas seeking sponsors of university bursaries; but he seems to have concentrated on persuading country towns to provide bursaries for local students. He urged the squatter to consider his obligations to those less well off. "Every landed proprietor is bound to all his poorer neighbours as his natural clients ... the sons of hard-working, but ill-paid medical men or lawyers, the son of the poor minister of religion, of the schoolmaster, of the public servant". His exhortations do not appear to have borne much fruit.

There is little evidence of a specifically, pastoralist view on the educational issues of the 1870's.

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45 Cf. Speeches and Lectures, pp.70, 97.
APPENDIX D.

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS FOR N.S.W.

Finance and numbers were powerful forces for educational change in 19th century N.S.W. The influence of finance usually took the form of efforts to economise, though improved economic conditions fostered educational innovation. The pressure of numbers in the growth of children of school age, expansion of superior schools, increasing examination enrolments, and so on. Despite the unreliability of many of the statistics concerned with education, the importance of population growth for educational reform in the period under survey justifies assembling some of the available material.

Mostly the figures come from census reports and the N.S.W. Statistical Register. Coghlan's Wealth and Progress of N.S.W. is also a helpful source for material of this kind.

I. Children and Scholars in Census Years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
<th>Ratio of Children to Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>14,171 (under 12 yrs)</td>
<td>3,391</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>25,414 (two to 14 yrs)</td>
<td>9,632</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>49,614 (&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; )</td>
<td>19,033</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>50,013 (four to 14 yrs)</td>
<td>21,120</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1841 and 1846 figures include the Port Phillip District. In 1841 there were 1694 children and 573 at Port Phillip and in 1846 7857 children and 2770 scholars.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Students (four to 14 yrs)</th>
<th>Students (five to 15 yrs)</th>
<th>Students ('&quot;' '&quot;&quot;)</th>
<th>Students ('&quot;' '&quot;&quot;)</th>
<th>Students ('&quot;' '&quot;&quot;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>68,820</td>
<td>29,426</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>77,400</td>
<td>37,767</td>
<td>197,412</td>
<td>0.95</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>123,200</td>
<td>77,889</td>
<td>252,947</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>187,500</td>
<td>197,412</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>267,700</td>
<td>252,947</td>
<td>21.0</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Numbers and Percentages of Enrolled Pupils in Private and State-aided Elementary Schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Private Schools</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Aided Elementary Schools</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>2,356</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>7,016</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>9,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>5,840</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>13,015</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>18,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>6,721</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>14,399</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>21,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>8,456</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>20,929</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>29,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>9,087</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>28,624</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>37,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>13,700</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>63,855</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>77,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>18,317</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>178,476</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td>196,793</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. Ratio of Scholars to Population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>77,096</td>
<td>3,391</td>
<td>22.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>114,386</td>
<td>6,790</td>
<td>16.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 "Scholars" include children younger than five and older than 15; hence the excess over "children".

3 The proportion of population enrolled in schools was: 1836 4.4%; 1841 6.4%; 1846 9.7%; 1851 10.7%; 1856 10.3%; 1861 10.6%; 1871 15.0%; 1881 25.4%; 1891 21.7% (from Coghlan, The Wealth and Progress of N.S.W., 1892, p. 509).

4 Figures from N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1884. The ratio is obtained by dividing the number of people by the number of scholars, and is given correct to the second decimal place. The years chosen include census years and periods of educational reform. "Scholars" includes children in all schools, but excludes children educated at home.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>149,669</td>
<td>9,632</td>
<td>15.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>196,704</td>
<td>19,033</td>
<td>10.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>205,009</td>
<td>21,814</td>
<td>9.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>220,474</td>
<td>23,374</td>
<td>9.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>197,168</td>
<td>21,120</td>
<td>9.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>231,088</td>
<td>25,660</td>
<td>9.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>286,873</td>
<td>29,426</td>
<td>9.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>358,278</td>
<td>37,874</td>
<td>9.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>411,388</td>
<td>53,453</td>
<td>7.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>431,412</td>
<td>59,594</td>
<td>7.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>447,620</td>
<td>63,183</td>
<td>7.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>466,765</td>
<td>66,835</td>
<td>6.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>519,182</td>
<td>77,889</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>662,212</td>
<td>133,267</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>734,282</td>
<td>155,290</td>
<td>4.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>770,524</td>
<td>169,441</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>781,265</td>
<td>197,412</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>869,310</td>
<td>189,983</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Percentage of children literate and semi-literate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aged five to ten years</td>
<td>23.55%</td>
<td>34.70%</td>
<td>44.13%</td>
<td>53.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read and write</td>
<td>32.89%</td>
<td>27.52%</td>
<td>19.82%</td>
<td>13.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read only</td>
<td>43.56%</td>
<td>37.78%</td>
<td>36.05%</td>
<td>32.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to read</td>
<td>67.69%</td>
<td>76.66%</td>
<td>88.04%</td>
<td>97.05%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aged ten to 15 years
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Read only</td>
<td>13.54%</td>
<td>12.92%</td>
<td>6.14%</td>
<td>1.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to read</td>
<td>13.77%</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
<td>5.82%</td>
<td>1.52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E

THE NUMBER OF TUTORS AND GOVERNESSES

It is possible to make a rough estimate of the number of tutors and governesses in the 1860's and 1870's from the census returns of 1861, 1871, and 1881, which list the number of children being educated at home. However, the figures do not distinguish between education by tutors, governesses, and parents, and allowance must be made for the fact that, though education was not compulsory, some parents might prefer to claim that their children were receiving home education rather than admit to none at all.

In 1861 8,025 children (2.3% of the population) were listed as receiving education at home compared with 37,928 educated at school.\(^1\) Census returns suggest that the average family contained about five children, though only about 1.5 between the ages of five and 15.\(^2\) However, this does not reveal the number of tutors and governesses, as one tutor might cater for several families, while the poorer classes, who were unlikely to employ private teachers, might well have larger families. Moreover, in well-to-do families tutors might be educating children over the age of 15 for university matriculation and, after 1867, the Junior and Senior Public Examinations.


\(^2\) cf. Census of 1861, op.cit., p.400; Coghlan, *The Wealth and Progress of N.S.W.*, (1887), p.157. There were some 65,100 families (54,600 married couples and 10,500 widowed persons) in the colony in 1861 (Census, p.1) and 77,381 children between the ages of five and 15.
A very approximate estimate of the number of tutors and governessed can be reached by subtracting from the returns of teachers, professors, and governesses "of whatever branch of tuition, physical or mental" the figures for teachers in private or state-supported schools, etc. in the annual statistical registers. A slight check is supplied by comparison with the 1891 census, which specified tutors and governesses, by estimating the proportion of children per private tutor. This gives the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>116+</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>483+</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>1,330</td>
<td>1,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>599+</td>
<td>1,240</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>1,627</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average per tutor: 12 14 12 9

The figures for 1861 are too low, since the first accurate return of teachers does not appear in the Statistical Registers till 1864. It is not suggested that each tutor had a dozen or so charges; in many cases parents conducted the domestic education. Assuming the ratio of children educated at home to tutors remained constant, the 1891 figures suggest that the number of tutors for 1861, 1871, and 1881 should be reduced by one-quarter, giving some 450 for 1861, 930 for 1871, and 1,285 for 1881.

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The principle followed in drawing up this bibliography has been to include all items cited twice in the footnotes. In addition a few items which have proved valuable have been referred to, even though they have been cited once only, or not at all.

The bibliography is organized in the following sections:

1. Author's Publications Derived from the thesis.
3. Newspapers and magazines.
4. Primary (Contemporary) Books.
7. Collections of Source Material.
8. Contemporary Pamphlets.
9. Articles in Journals.
10. Theses Consulted.

1. Author's Publications Derived from the Thesis.

The following articles (except the first) were written while the thesis was in progress and contain material relevant to issues raised in the thesis.

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Tykes' studies were of limited use for my purposes.


